HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT

To Emilie O'Donnell

from her affectionate Mother

16th May 1879.

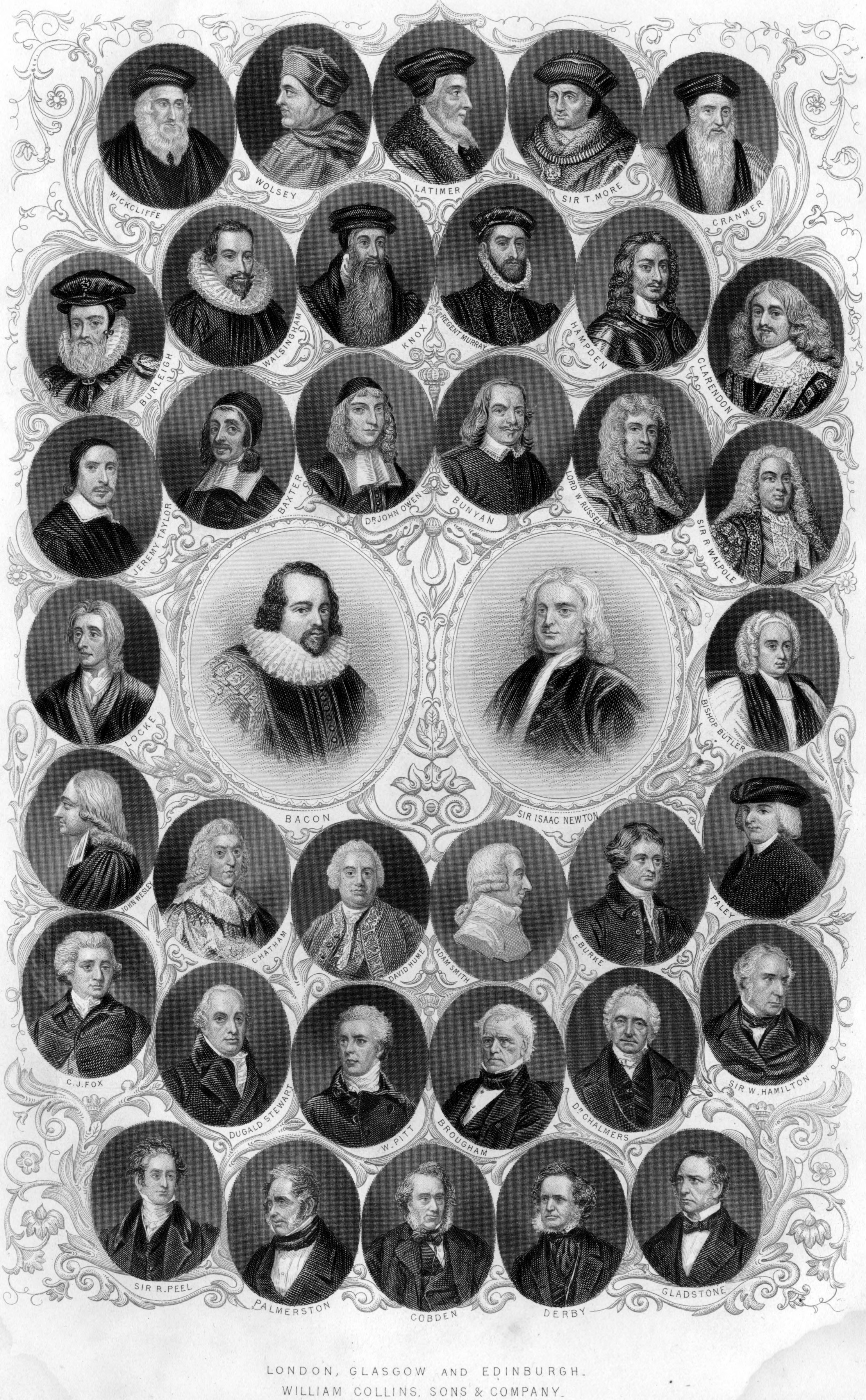
* * *

THE

NATIONAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. III.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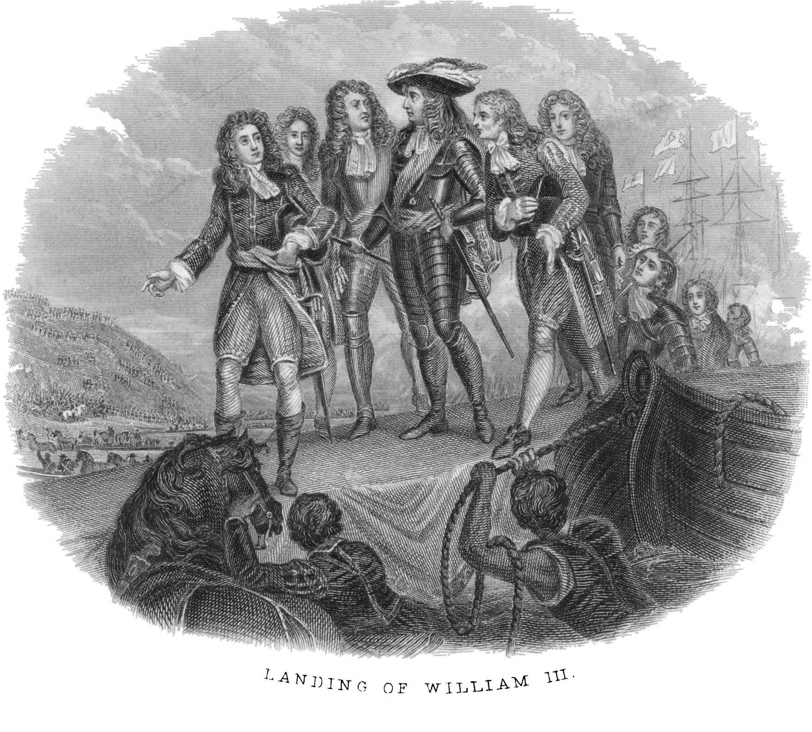
THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

Civil Military & Domestic:

WITH UPWARDS OF FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS
ILLUSTRATIVE OF ANTIQUITIES, SCENERY, MANNERS, CUSTOMS &c.

VOL. III.



LANDING OF WILLIAM III.

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THE
NATIONAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Civil, Military, and Domestic,

FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME;

WITH AN

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM;

ILLUSTRATED WITH FIFTY ENGRAVINGS

OF THE

MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN BRITISH HISTORY,

ENGRAVED BY DALZIEL, CHESHIRE, MILLER, &c., AFTER DRAWINGS BY SELOUS, WILKIE, ZWECKER, BAYES, HARLOWE, &c.,

AND UPWARDS OF

FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS,

OF ANTIQUITIES, ARCHITECTURE, SCENERY, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ETC.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

BY

EDWARD FARR,

AND

JOHN GOODALL.

LONDON AND GLASGOW:
WILLIAM COLLINS, SONS, & COMPANY.
1871.

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INDIA—RISE OF BRITISH EMPIRE.

Mr. GOODALL'S contributions to this Volume comprise the six opening chapters, covering the period 1660–1688; together with such sections of the five final chapters as relate to the years 1760–1789.

The remainder of the Volume represents the last literary labour of the late Mr. E. FARR, author of the first volume of this Work.

THE

NATIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND DOMESTIC.

STUART PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

The Civil and Military History of Great Britain, from the Restoration of Charles II., A.D. 1660, to the Revolution, A.D. 1688.

SECTION I.

CHARLES II.

THE restoration of kingly government, in the person of Charles II., was hailed throughout the land with the most exuberant demonstrations of delight. The mass of the living generation in the three kingdoms carried in their minds only a faint remembrance of the evils of arbitrary power as exercised in the time of the two first kings of the Stuart line. A recent bitter experience had taught them to hate the misrule and oppressions of military despotism and the legislation of gloomy fanatics. The return of Charles from his long banishment was accordingly accepted as a pledge that peace, happiness, and prosperity would be restored with the old constitution, which had been superseded since the outbreak of civil strife and the dethronement of his father. Never did exile come back to his ancestral home and honours amid more auspicious surroundings. Crowds of enthusiastic people of all ages and of every rank assembled at Dover to greet the arrival of the king on the 25th of May. The firing of cannon, the ringing of church bells, the joyous shouts of loyal throngs, music, flags and banners enlivened the journey of the royal party on the whole line of road from Dover to London. Endless pageantries, festivities, and rejoicings signalized the entry of the wanderer into his capital, and his return to the palace of his ancestors, on the 29th of May. On that day, which was his thirtieth birthday, he received the congratulations of the public functionaries and the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. The earl of Manchester, on behalf of the Lords, addressed Charles as "the strength and stay of the tribes of the people, the restorer of the collapsed honours of these nations." Eighteen years earlier he was one among those six members of the House of Commons whose attempted arrest hastened the final breach between Charles I. and the parliament. The Speaker of the Commons, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, in a strain of fulsome flattery, such as was common among courtiers of the time of Elizabeth and James I., told Charles that his conduct in the school of affliction had been such as to entitle him to higher honours than those paid in ancient times to a Roman conqueror, and to a more splendid crown than the primitive church awarded to its martyrs. He added that Charles was the king of hearts, and would receive from his people a crown of hearts; that he would be the happiest and most glorious king of the happiest people. The address containing these high-flown compliments was directed principally to urging the king to give his assent to the Petition of Rights—that second charter of English liberty which had been wrung from the unwilling hands of his father thirty-two years earlier. The emblems and memorials of republicanism, and the arms of the Commonwealth, had already been everywhere defaced or destroyed before the king's return. Now that Charles was actually among his people, all parties vied with each other in extravagant demonstrations of loyalty. The few who were too deeply committed to republicanism to hope for admission to the royal favour, withdrew, whenever practicable, into obscurity or exile. The Cavaliers were everywhere exultant in the triumph of the cause for which they had for eighteen years shared the distress of their prince. The Presbyterians, with Monk as their leader, had atoned by recent services their long hostility to the royal cause. They were now as zealous in setting up the throne of the son as they had been in pulling down the throne of the father. The contagion of fervid loyalty passed over all the rival factions. The personal qualities of the king contributed largely to the heartiness of his reception. His manners were affable, easy, and gracious; he was good-tempered, liberal to excess in kind words and fair promises; his figure and deportment were manly, and not wanting in dignity when occasion required; and he exhibited such a keen delight in the popular demonstrations of joy, and in receiving the loyal greetings of his subjects, as won all hearts. His long banishment, his romantic adventures after the battle of Worcester, the cruel fate of his father, his own privations, and his opportune return to his native land just at the time when it seemed about to fall a prey to contending military despots—all these considerations combined to render him at the outset an object of affectionate interest to his people. The leaders of rival factions submitted loyally to him as the only arbiter who could bring about an acceptable compromise between their conflicting aims and interests. His foibles and vices were spoken of with all indulgence, as youthful levities, that would never more be heard of now that he had attained to the full fruition of his royal dignity, and had reached the age when the passions submit to the control of the matured judgment of full manhood. The pleasing self-deception did not last long. Charles was too indifferent to the opinion of others to be a dissembler, except where he conceived plain speaking and open dealing to be unsafe, or seriously detrimental to his interests.

In his exile he had formed and broken many a resolution of amendment in his conduct. On the eve of his restoration, especially, he had expressed an unalterable purpose to renounce the frivolities, follies, and vices to which he had been addicted in his early manhood, and to adopt a rule of life more consonant with the exalted station he was at length called upon to fill. With monarchs, as with their humblest subjects, such virtuous resolves are difficult of accomplishment in proportion to the strength of the habit which has to be surmounted, and of the passions which have to be subjected to control. The case of Charles turned out to be nowise different from that of thousands of other votaries of pleasure. From the first day of his arrival at Whitehall he proved to be a confirmed voluptuary, hating business, and caring only for ease and pleasure. His conversational powers were of a high order, and he indulged his facility as a good talker very far beyond the limits befitting the dignity of his station. With tastes and powers of mind that qualified him to appreciate the most intellectual society of his age, he was ever most at his ease in the company of the witty, gay, and dissolute, the votaries of dissipation and profligate pleasures. He had learned from bitter experience the insincerity of courtiers, and from such types had drawn the conclusion that love of self is the only motive power in human actions, and that every man and every woman was to be bought; but, in order to raise the price of the service to be rendered, they had adopted the trick of giving fine names to their numerous forms of self-love, such as integrity, honour, modesty, and chastity, all of which he held the possessors would barter away if only a sufficient price were offered. "He thought that nobody did serve him out of love; and so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him" (Burnet). In religion, he adhered from policy to the outward forms of worship prescribed by the Church of England; but he made no pretence to having his conscience engaged in any religious exercises in which he participated. It seems doubtful whether he was a deist or a papist, but in the final scenes of his life, the suspicions that had been entertained from the first, of his leaning towards popery, were fully borne out. With all his failings, follies, and vices, the history of his reign teaches that the nation at that period of its history could better have spared a better man, had such a one then filled the throne. Unwittingly, and despite of himself, he rendered a larger service to his country by his shortcomings and his very vices than by his better qualities. His indolence and his profligacy kept him poor and dependent on his parliament; parliament, in the interest of posterity, exacted a substantial recompense for its acts of liberality in his behalf.

As Charles owed his restoration to a coalition between his old enemies the Presbyterians, and his old friends the Cavaliers, who had adhered to his cause through long years of adversity, so his first council partook of a like composite character. Monk had begun his military career as a Royalist; he had since held high command under all changes of government, down to that in which he bore the chief part against his masters and in favour of the royal cause. He was now the chief of the Presbyterian party, who were in the ascendant in the Convention Parliament; and, in virtue of his great services to the crown, it fell to him as a matter of course to propose the names of others who had worked with him in bringing back the king. He rode in the same carriage with Charles in the triumphal progress from Dover to London. At Canterbury he handed to the king a list of men qualified by their abilities or their influence to serve him. Hyde (soon afterwards earl of Clarendon), who had shared the exile of his prince, and came back with him as chancellor, tells us that this long list of seventy names, all of whom were recommended for the rank of privy councillor, included only two who had ever done a service for the king or proved their attachment to royalty. The chancellor had another set of men to serve, and was accordingly well pleased to gain Monk's consent to set aside the comprehensive list of "men of all humours and inclinations," whom the general candidly admitted he never supposed the king would accept. Clarendon, however, was constrained to admit into his own list a larger proportion of Monk's friends than was palatable to himself or the impatient Cavaliers. The principal men in Charles's first privy council were his brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester; Hyde, as lord chancellor; Monk, created duke of Albemarle, with the official rank of lord-general; Ormond, lord-steward; Culpepper, master of the rolls; Southampton, lord treasurer; Montague, admiral of the fleet; the earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain; Nicholas and Morrice, secretaries of state; and others who filled no specific office. The council comprised three distinct elements, viz., the friends and advisers of the king in his exile; Monk and his friends, who were admitted on the strength of the recent services of their party; together with the surviving councillors of Charles I., several of whom had sided with the parliament. Out of these incongruous elements Clarendon caused a sort of inner council or cabinet to be chosen, under the name of a committee for foreign affairs. Whatever this secret cabinet decided was afterwards submitted to the full council, which rarely ventured to oppose measures for which the personal inclination of the king could be pleaded by his more confidential ministers. This inner council consisted of Clarendon, Ormond, Southampton, Monk, Nicholas, and Morrice. The burden of government, however, rested almost exclusively with Clarendon. Charles left everything to his management. He had begun political life as a reformer, but had ranged himself on the king's side before the outbreak of civil war. He had since endured a banishment of fourteen years for his adhesion to the cause of prerogative, and had suddenly exchanged the privations and the bitterness of prolonged exile for the sweets of power and the solace of wealth. The principles which had carried him to the dignity of prime minister were now more than ever dear to him. The growth of the power of the House of Commons was hateful to him, as a departure from the old constitution of the time of Elizabeth, which he held to be the perfect model of monarchical rule. He directed all his powers to re-establishing the state and the church on their old illiberal and despotic foundations. His religion has been called a hatred of sects, because his intense zeal for the Church of England led him into all the extravagances of bigotry in his treatment of the non-conformists. His petulant temper and haughty bearing made him many enemies, but his immense superiority as a political leader over all his colleagues gave him an easy ascendancy in the conduct of public business.

Ormond had always been identified with the interests of the crown, but was no bigot either in politics or religion. His early services in the cause of royalty, his participation in the exile of the king, his personal accomplishments, cheerfulness, and wit, gave him great influence, which he often exerted in the direction of moderating the excessive zeal of his colleagues. Southampton was another of the old councillors of Charles I., who carried to his grave a never-varying fidelity to the cause of royalty. But he was scrupulously just, and like his friend Ormond frequently raised his voice against the violent measures of the chancellor and the court. He had contributed largely to Charles's necessities while in exile. Monk seems to have played a very small part in the cabinet; but his great services demanded that he should be treated with all the deference due to the most influential promoter of the restoration. He was a man of insatiable avarice, and omitted no opportunity of grasping at additional emoluments, beyond the first lavish rewards and honours which were showered upon him in the earliest months of the reign. Morrice had been the confidential agent of Monk in the communications opened up with the court at Breda. There was moreover a relationship by marriage between them, and on these very insufficient grounds Morrice attained the dignity of a secretary of state. Charles was too shrewd to be imposed on by his empty pedantries and affectations, and had some inclination to get rid of him; but was induced to waive his objections out of respect for his patron, the lord-general, who urged in behalf of Morrice that "he did not know what was necessary for a good secretary of state in which he was defective, for he could speak French and write shorthand." Nicholas had served Charles I. in various official employments; he proved less acceptable to Charles II., and was only kept at his post by the influence of his friend the chancellor.

The parliament that called back Charles II. is known by the name of the Convention, a name given in derogation of its title to the full dignity of a regularly constituted parliament, because it had been convened independently of the king's writ. One of its earliest acts after the king came over was to pass a bill declaring the former parliament dissolved, and the two houses then sitting to have the full powers of a parliament summoned by the king's writ. This bill received the royal assent, and was confirmed by another in the new parliament which met next year.

The earliest proceedings of the newly-formed government were marked with a moderation and prudence that present a favourable contrast with the extravagant efforts of the parliament to exalt the king's interest above all other considerations. Former parliaments had sometimes been parsimonious in their provision of revenue for the crown, with the fixed purpose of obliging the sovereign to have recourse to frequent meetings of the two houses, so that in voting money bills they might have opportunities of claiming the confirmation of the liberties of the subject, and a redress of any grievance that had sprung up since the previous parliament had separated. The Convention made a merit of departing from the old way of English parliaments, in token of their unbounded trust in his majesty's fidelity and good intentions. They were ready to lay the national liberties at the feet of the king, without exacting any of the old securities against encroachments. They raised the yearly revenue of the crown to 1,200,000*l.*, an amount exceeding all precedent. A part of this arrangement consisted in giving the king a half of the produce of the excise in lieu of the profits which his predecessors had derived from the Court of Wards. This court took cognizance of the feudal tenures under which most of the landowners held their estates from the crown. Under these tenures in chivalry, as they were called, a landed proprietor paid a large fine to the crown on succeeding to the ownership. He was obliged to pay for permission to sell any part of his land. When he died, his heir, if an infant, was a ward under the guardianship of the king, and most of the proceeds of the estate belonged to the royal guardian. An heiress was obliged to accept in marriage the husband selected by the sovereign, who often abused the rights of a guardian with the view to reward an unprincipled adventurer who had done him service. The Court of Wards, which had charge of this branch of the profits of the crown, had been in abeyance since 1642, when the civil war began. Every proprietor of land was interested in preventing the revival of an institution replete with grievances to his order. In a season of mutual concession and reconciliation, it was easy to obtain the consent of the king to a measure which had often been mooted without success in earlier reigns. It was first proposed to put a permanent tax on the lands held by knights' tenure, in lieu of the old fines and other burdens to which they were liable; but when a member suggested the excise, the proposal was eagerly adopted, and thus the lords of manors obtained a substantial benefit at the expense of other classes of the community.

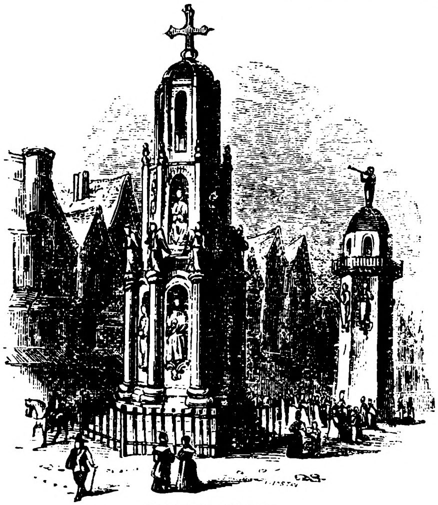
The disposal of the army of the Commonwealth, in number about sixty thousand, claimed early and anxious attention. The traditional dread of standing armies as engines of arbitrary power was heightened at this juncture by recent bitter experience, and by the imminent danger of some reactionary movement by the soldiers. Charles took especial pains to keep them in good humour while arrangements were in progress for paying their arrears and disbanding them. Five thousand picked men were retained under the name of guards; the rest were dismissed to their homes, amid great misgivings as to their future behaviour. But the old soldiers of the Commonwealth were formed of widely different material from that which composes the bulk of modern armies. They proved as quiet and orderly in peace as they had before been terrible in conflict. Burnet says of them, "They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplined, and the soberest army that had ever been known in these latter ages: every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer. The court was in great quiet when they got rid of such a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raised, were made up of such of the army as Monk recommended and answered for."

In the eighteen years preceding the Restoration, the bulk of the landed property of the three kingdoms had changed hands. The critical question of rightful ownership excited the keenest anxiety, alike on the part of present possessors and of the representatives of the former owners. The crown and church lands had all been confiscated, and a host of new masters now held them. The question of restitution had been anxiously discussed at Breda, and Charles's declaration contained a guarded statement that he was "willing to leave all controversies in relation to grants, sales, and purchases of lands to be determined by parliament, which could best provide for the just satisfaction of all who were concerned." Many adherents of the royal cause had sold their estates at ruinous prices, because they could not hold them with safety, or in order to equip men for service in the king's ranks, or for the purpose of relieving the pecuniary wants of their sovereign. The Cavaliers confidently counted on the gratitude of the king and the justice of parliament for the restitution of estates which they had sacrificed for his advantage. To have attempted to satisfy the extravagant expectations of all who had incurred losses in the royal cause, would have exposed the new government to the hazard of arraying against itself the still more formidable numbers whose interests were bound up in the existing distribution of property. The answer to all remonstrants of this class was, that they were bound by their own acts; the sales had been effected with their consent. Those who had purchased crown lands were in most instances admitted as tenants on easy fines, in accordance with the recommendation of the king. He was less successful in his efforts to secure similar lenity in behalf of revolutionary purchasers of church lands. The restored incumbents, in disregard of the king's advice, selected for tenants in most instances the highest bidders, without regard to the claims of *bonâ fide* purchasers.

Equally difficult was the question of adjusting the affairs of the Church, which had been completely disorganized in the time of the civil troubles. The Act which restored the king revived also the laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, which had long been in abeyance. But the Presbyterian clergy, who had succeeded to the church livings, had been zealous promoters of the Restoration; and in requital of that service to his cause the king had pledged his word to promote "liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion." To give effect to this promise, the Presbyterian party brought a bill into the House of Commons for the settlement of religion. But Clarendon took every means to thwart the success of this measure. After protracted discussions, it was rejected, November 28, by a majority of twenty-six. The Presbyterian party were meanwhile quieted with assurances that the liturgy should be revised by a mixed commission, in which they would be well represented; and that questions respecting ceremonials, such as the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, and the use of the surplice, should be settled in a manner that would set tender consciences at ease. Ten of their leading ministers, among whom were Calamy and Baxter, were gratified with the compliment of being made chaplains to the king. Dr. Reynolds, the leader of the Presbyterian ministers in London, was so far satisfied with the promised concessions, that he felt no scruple in accepting the bishopric of Norwich. The subsequent action of the government proves that there was no sincerity in the soothing and conciliatory policy which was employed to lull suspicion while the Convention Parliament was still in existence. Meanwhile the survivors of the sequestered clergy were restored to their benefices; the number of the bishops was recruited by successive nominations until all the sees were filled; the ejected fellows of colleges were reinstated; and the prospect of any harmonious blending of the interests of church and kirk faded rapidly away.

In the year of the Restoration, an Act was passed making the 29th of May a day of perpetual anniversary thanksgiving for the re-establishment of monarchy, and a special form of service for the occasion was inserted in the Prayer Book. The commemorative service survived by several generations the feeling in which it originated; but it was at length expunged, two centuries after its establishment, together with those other souvenirs of the Stuart period which carried down to very recent times the memory of the Gunpowder Plot and the execution of Charles I.

The Bill of Indemnity formed the most anxious and important of all the occupations of the Convention Parliament. In response to the first serious overtures for his recall from Holland, Charles had addressed a letter to both Houses of Parliament, which is known by the name of the Declaration of Breda. In this document he had pledged himself, should he be restored to his regal dignity, to pardon all who had borne any part in the late troubles, "excepting only such as shall be excepted by parliament." The judges of the late king were called upon by proclamation to give themselves up for trial, on pain of being omitted from the forthcoming Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. In the preliminary negotiations, Monk had humanely insisted that only four of those concerned in the late king's death should suffer capital punishment. Vindictive party and personal feeling proved more powerful than the new king-maker. The Commons were bent on immolating a much greater number; but Monk's friends in the Lower House succeeded in getting the exceptions to the Indemnity Bill reduced to seven. Twenty others were specified for penalties short of death, and no favour was to be extended to such as failed to surrender themselves for trial within a given time. When the Bill passed to the Upper House it encountered much opposition on the score of its misplaced clemency. After several conferences between the two Houses, the Commons always holding to the side of mercy, and the king repeatedly counselling moderation, the "Act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion of all treasons and and other state offences committed between 1 January, 1637, and 24 June, 1660," received the royal assent. The individuals excepted from pardon were, first, all those actually concerned in the death of the king, fifty-one in number; secondly, Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert; thirdly, Monson, Haselrig, and five more, whose punishment was loss of estate and imprisonment for life; fourthly, twenty others were named as incapable of holding any office in church or state. The nineteen regicides who had surrendered in reliance on the prospect of mercy held out in the royal proclamation were the subject of much contention between the two Houses; the Lords holding that the only indulgence offered by the proclamation was a fair trial in open court, while the Commons, with more humanity, contended that as those only who disobeyed the proclamation were threatened with exception from pardon, those who obeyed that instrument had fair ground to look for leniency. The vengeful Cavaliers vented their disappointment in unmeasured abuse of the Act, because it offered them no hope of that compensation on which they had counted for the sacrifices they had undergone in the cause of royalty. They summed up its shortcomings in a facetious definition of the Act, which they described as an act of oblivion for the king's friends and of indemnity for his enemies. The list of exceptions included twenty-five who were already removed by death from the direct action of human vengeance, and nineteen who had withdrawn into exile to avoid the fate with which they were threatened. Twenty-nine were in custody, including the nineteen who had surrendered on the faith of the proclamation. A special commission of thirty-four members was appointed for the trial of the regicides. Clarendon and most of his colleagues in the government were on this commission, and with them were associated men who had filled high office under Cromwell, or had been engaged against Charles I. Sir Orlando Bridgman had the chief management of the trial. Sentence had in effect been already passed on the unhappy prisoners by parliament, so that the trial was a mere form of law to carry out the predetermined sentence. The whole of the twenty-nine were found guilty, and judgment of death was pronounced upon them all; but the nineteen who had given themselves up for trial were respited for such mitigation of the extreme penalty as parliament should decide. The ten selected to suffer were Harrison, Scroop, Carew, Scott, Clements, and Jones, who had signed the warrant for the death of Charles I.; Peters, the army chaplain, who had been distinguished by his fanatical zeal against the king, especially at the final scenes of his life; Cooke, who had acted as solicitor for the prosecution; and the two officers, Hacker and Axtel, who had the custody of the king in his last imprisonment. All the barbarities of the old law of treason were revived to increase the horrors of the fate of these unhappy men. Harrison, who had held the high rank of major-general in Cromwell's armies, was the first to suffer. He met his fate on the 13th of October, not only with unflinching firmness, but with actual exultation, glorying in his being counted worthy to suffer in what he believed to be God's own cause. He was drawn on a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross, where a lofty gibbet was erected within sight of the spot where Charles I. had met his fate. He mounted the scaffold with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness, his face glowing with a glad enthusiasm. He made a speech to the assembled spectators, telling them that he was about to suffer for the most glorious cause that ever was in this world, and thanking God that he was accounted worthy to suffer in the good old cause which he was about to seal with his blood. He was cut down while still alive and in full consciousness. He witnessed with the last fading powers of sight the disgusting process of his own entrails being torn from his living body and flung into the fire. His yet throbbing heart was held up to the gaze of the assembled throng, and the other horrid indecencies of quartering and beheading the mangled corpse were performed to the very letter of the law. Two days later the same process was gone through with Carew, who bore his punishment with almost as great demonstrations of joyfulness. On the following day, Cooke, the solicitor, and Peters, the army preacher, were the victims. The ghastly head of Harrison was placed on the same hurdle with Cooke, uncovered, and with the face towards his, to add to the terrors of his fate. Undismayed by the sight, he triumphed over the malice of the underlings who had thus outraged public decency, and boasted to the last that he was proud to seal with his blood the part he had borne. Peters was made to witness the horrors of Cooke's punishment, and according to some contemporary testimony, to which, however, little credit is due, he was obliged to



CHARING CROSS.

sustain his sinking powers with the aid of cordials. The record of his execution, which appears in the State Trials, shows that he met his death with resignation and firmness, despite the brutalities of his executioners. On his way to the scaffold he handed a coin to an acquaintance whom he saw among the crowd, charging him to give that piece of gold to his daughter, as a token of his entire peace of mind, and to tell her that before it reached her hands he would be with God in glory. Four others suffered on the following day, and the remaining two the day after. Death had no terrors for any of these men. The fervid enthusiasm with which they were lifted above any concern for their cruel tortures raised a feeling of commiseration in their behalf that was damaging to the government. "In one thing," says Burnet, "the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings; for though the regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crowds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and by most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and show of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the king was advised not to proceed farther, at least, not to have the scene so near the court as Charing Cross." A period of well nigh a dozen years had elapsed since the participation of these men in the crime which they now expiated. After such a lapse of time the government might have omitted the death penalty with advantage to its character for moderation.

Within a few weeks of the executions at Charing Cross, Charles's younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, fell a victim to small-pox. His loss was regretted by the nation, as he was by many degrees superior to his brothers in amiable and virtuous traits of character. The king evinced the deepest concern for his fate. The Princess of Orange, Charles's sister, who was then on a visit to England, took the same disease, and died shortly after her younger brother. About the same time another domestic event in the royal family excited much public notice, on account of its probable influence on the succession to the throne. While residing in Holland, the duke of York had secretly married Anne Hyde, who was then a maid of honour to the princess of Orange. Her father, now that he was chancellor, began to think of a suitable alliance for his daughter, and recalled her to England. She was far advanced in pregnancy, and at once applied to his royal highness, her husband, to acknowledge her as his wife. The duke broke the intelligence to the king, who received it in good part, and sent a friend of the chancellor's to inform him of the duke's avowal of the marriage. Clarendon exhibited the greatest indignation against his daughter, and told the king that he held it to be his duty, as one of his majesty's privy councillors, to advise that she be at once committed to the Tower. He added that he would give his utmost support to any measure of punishment that might be proposed in parliament for the unpardonable offence of marrying one so near the throne without the king's leave. His own account is that he told Charles, "If the marriage had really taken place, he would give a positive judgment that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living should be permitted to come to her; and then, that an Act of Parliament should immediately be passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man to propose it." Pending other proceedings, the chancellor confined his daughter as a prisoner in his own house; but the royal family were soon reconciled to the event, and Anne Hyde was received at court with all the respect due to the duchess of York. The most stubborn opposition to acknowledging the marriage proceeded from the queen dowager, who came to England expressly to raise all possible hindrances. But even her resistance was overcome, and she was reconciled or silenced by offers of the chancellor, as Evelyn alleges, to get parliament to pay her great debts.

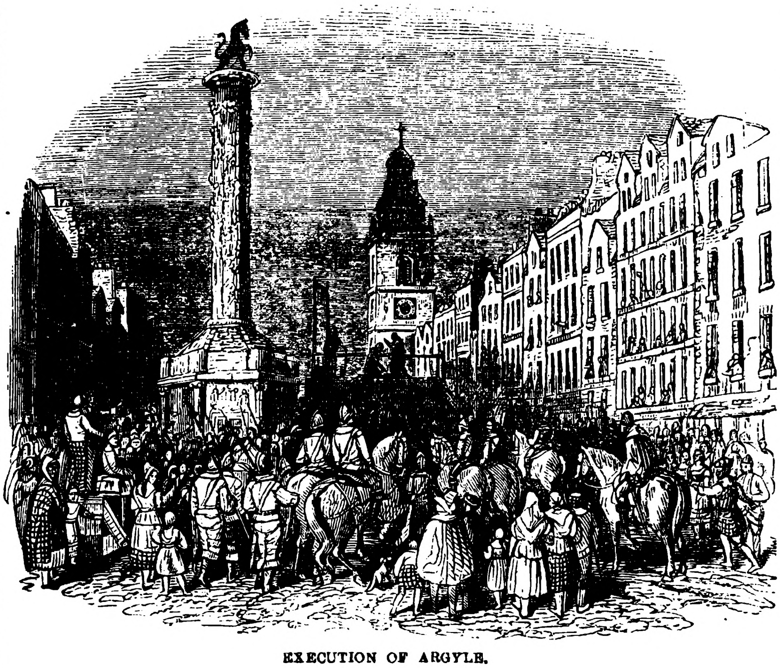
Before the close of the year, the Convention Parliament issued an order, with the concurrence of the king, under which the graves of the leading Commonwealth men were violated, and their half-decayed corpses subjected to the grossest indignities. The coffins containing the remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were removed from Westminster Abbey, and drawn on hurdles to the place of execution at Tyburn. The bodies were hanged on the gibbet till evening, when the heads were severed from the trunks, and exhibited on poles to the public gaze over the gateway of Westminster Hall. The mutilated corpses were tumbled into a hole dug for their reception at the foot of the gallows. The anniversary of the death of the late king was fixed upon for this disgusting exhibition, with the view of fixing upon the indecent ceremony the solemn appearance of retributive justice. Other illustrious dead were torn from their tombs in the Abbey, and buried in one promiscuous heap in St. Margaret's churchyard, adjoining. Among these was the heroic Blake, the Nelson of his century; Pym, the great parliamentary leader whose name is inseparably associated with Hampden's as intrepid champions of English liberty; May, the historian of the Long Parliament; Cromwell's daughter and his mother, both ladies of exemplary and blameless lives; with all others that were anywise associated with the cause of the Commonwealth. Milton was for some time in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and in expectation of penalties for his service under Cromwell, his "Defence of the English people," and the other writings by which he had so deeply offended his now triumphant enemies. But respect for his lofty genius, and the good offices of some of his friends in parliament, saved him from more serious molestation than the burning of some copies of his writings in defence of the Commonwealth, and a brief durance, from which he was released by an order of the Commons on the 13th of December. The Convention Parliament came to an end on the 29th of the same month.

The new year, 1661, was ushered in with many rumours of plots to restore republican government. It is customary with one class of historians to call these plots mere fictions, circulated in the interest of the government, to afford an excuse for the establishment of a standing military force. An insane insurrection on a very small scale actually occurred in London within a few days of the dissolution of parliament. A conventicle of Anabaptists, or Fifth Monarchy men, under a fanatic named Venner, who held their meetings in Coleman Street, near the Bank of England, made a rush through the principal streets of the city, attacked and killed some soldiers whom they encountered, and retired as night drew on to the cover of Caen Wood, between Hampstead and Highgate. On the following day a party of troops killed or captured half their number, and the rest were thought to have dispersed, effectually intimidated. On the 9th they appeared again, reinforced, but still a mere rabble, without organization or discipline. They hastened tumultuously towards the lord mayor's house, shouting as their watchword or rallying cry, "The King Jesus! and *their* heads upon the gates." Small patrols of guards were scattered by their fierce onslaughts, but as more force was got together, they were quickly disposed of, more than a score of them losing their lives, and as many others falling wounded into the hands of the authorities. Most of them were hung, persisting to the last in the fanatical declaration that they were fighting for the sovereignty of their heavenly king, against the kings of the earth who had usurped his power. This insane rising of a few scores of heated enthusiasts was made the occasion of some proposals to add to the military force of the government; but on the earnest remonstrance of Southampton, who threatened to resign his office of lord-treasurer unless the scheme was abandoned, Clarendon advised the king to give it up. The loyalty of the Convention had been sufficiently marked. The new parliament, which assembled in May, 1661, contained an overwhelming majority of Cavaliers. Macaulay gives a graphic picture of the composition and temper of this parliament, and of the circumstances of its election, in the following words: "The people were mad with loyal enthusiasm. The capital was excited by preparations for the most splendid coronation that had ever been known. The result was that a body of representatives was returned such as England had never yet seen. A large proportion of the successful candidates were men who had fought for the crown and the church, and whose minds had been exasperated by many injuries and insults suffered at the hands of the Roundheads. When the members met, the passions which animated each individually acquired new strength from sympathy. The House of Commons was, during some years, more zealous for royalty than the king, more zealous for episcopacy than the bishops. Charles and Clarendon were almost terrified at the completeness of their own success. Even if the king had been desirous to fulfil the promises which he had made to the Presbyterians, it would have been out of his power to do so. It was indeed only by the strong exertion of his influence that he could prevent the victorious Cavaliers from rescinding the Act of Indemnity, and retaliating without mercy all that they had suffered."

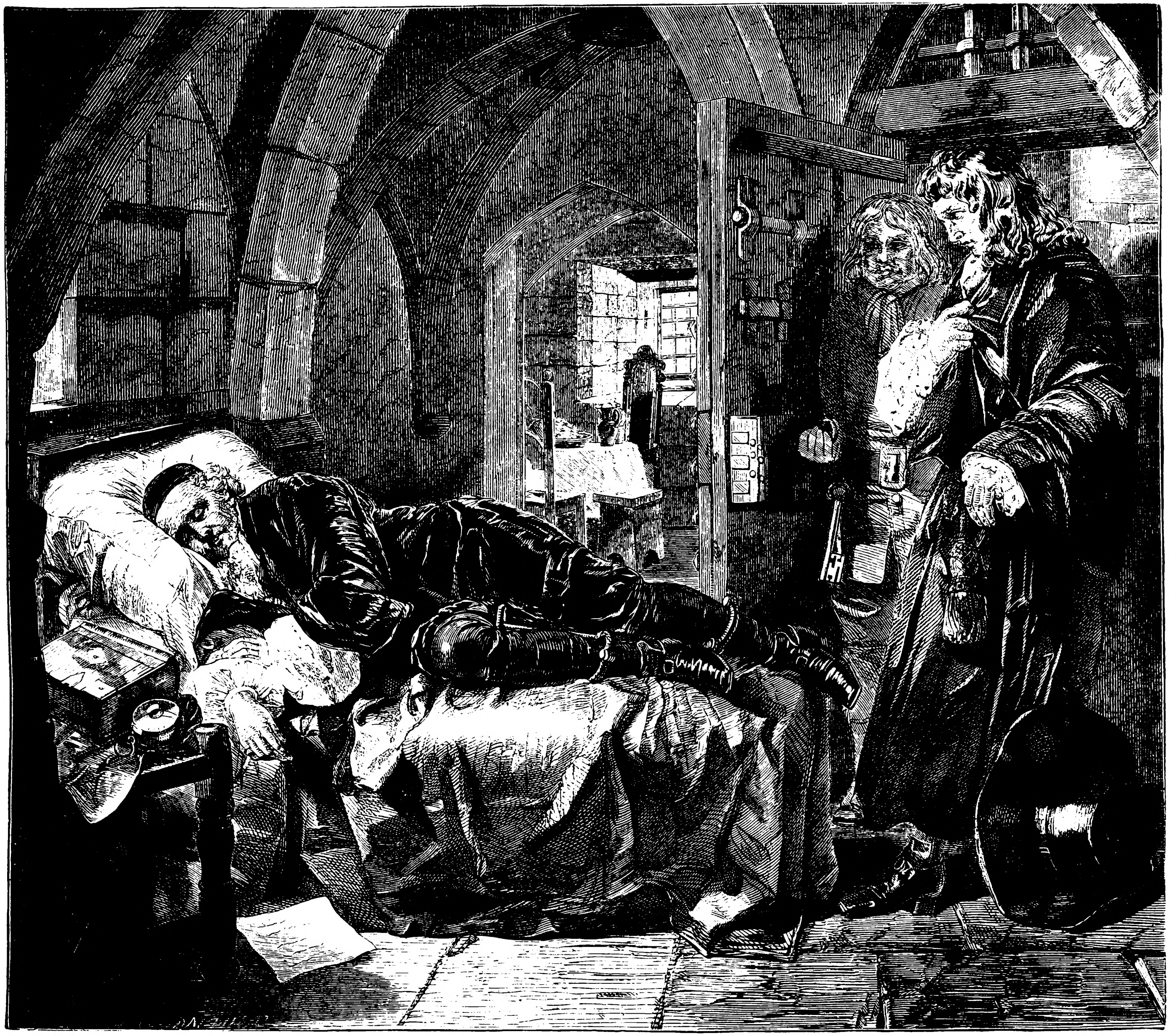
This parliament lasted the long term of eighteen years, from which circumstance it is sometimes called the second Long Parliament. It also bears the opprobrious name of the Pension Parliament, because very many of its members sold their services to the king, his ministers, the king of France, or other foreign princes, indifferently, for places, pensions, or other bribes. Political morality had fallen to the lowest depths of shamelessness before the Pension Parliament ended its long career of degradation. One of the earliest acts of the new parliament was to order that the Solemn League and Covenant—which the king had several times pledged himself to observe—should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Acts for erecting a high court of justice for the trial of Charles I., for renouncing the title of his son, for establishing a commonwealth, and for the security of Cromwell's person, shared the same indignity in the centre of Westminster Hall. The bishops were reinstated in their ancient dignity as peers, and took their places in the Upper House. It was declared that the command of the national forces is inalienably vested in the crown, and that parliament had no right to levy war, offensive or defensive, against the sovereign. The statutes of treason were rendered more stringent; it was declared also that the Houses of Parliament, jointly or separately, had no legislative power except in unison with the king. All members of parliament were required to partake of the sacrament according to the ritual of the Church of England, on pain of exclusion. The liberty of the press was largely curtailed by an enactment prohibiting the publication of any book contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the established church, or tending to the defamation of the church or state, or the ruling powers thereof. The Corporation Act required every person holding office in a corporate town to swear that he held resistance to the king's authority to be in all circumstances unlawful. All persons, in future, on entering such offices, were required to show that they had, within the year preceding, partaken of the sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England. By this high-handed measure all conscientious Presbyterians were deprived of their share of civil trust and influence in the state. Other measures were soon brought forward, with the similar purpose of dispossessing them of the church livings which had fallen into their hands in the revolutionary period. The king had promised a revision of the liturgy by a mixed commission, and that he would use his best efforts to bring about a compromise between the opposing religious sects, whose differences had proved quite irreconcilable in the Convention Parliament. In pursuance of this pledge, a conference of thirteen bishops and eleven nonconformists was convened at the Savoy palace, the residence of the bishop of London. The duration of the commission was limited to four months, the whole of which were consumed in fruitless discussions. The demands on one side were so considerable, the concessions on the other side so trivial, that no basis of agreement could be discovered. This result had been anticipated, if indeed it had not been brought about by the king's advisers. The task which had proved insuperable to the Savoy conference was at once handed over to

Convocation. Some six hundred alterations were introduced into the Book of Common Prayer, but these numerous emendations took no account of the chief objections of the nonconformists. The amended book was sanctioned by the king, and sent by him to the House of Lords. The Act of Uniformity was passed the following year, by which it was made obligatory on all clergymen to profess their unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the revised Book of Common Prayer. Other clauses in this memorable enactment provided that no person who had not been ordained by a bishop could administer the sacrament or hold a church living; and all incumbents, dignitaries, officers in the universities, schoolmasters and private tutors, were required to declare their abhorrence of the Covenant, and their conviction that it was unlawful to take up arms against the king on any pretence. The liberality of the Lords in the debates on this bill offers a marked contrast to the intolerant bigotry of the Commons. But the court sided with the Lower House; the Lords gave way, and on the 19th of May the royal assent was given to the bill, which was fixed to come into operation on the 24th of August following. That day is the anniversary of a memorable persecution for conscience sake in France. In England it was signalized by the ejectment from their benefices of two thousand clergymen, whose consciences would not suffer them to conform. In the time of Elizabeth, Roman Catholics had been dispossessed of church preferment, and the same lot had befallen Episcopalians in the time of the recent troubles. But in both these cases provision was made for the support of the deprived clergy—an example that was cruelly ignored in the case of the sufferers by the Act of Uniformity. Then followed a series of odious Acts against dissenters, the provisions of which will come under notice in treating of the transactions of the several years to which they respectively belong.

The affairs of Scotland now claim some attention. In Cromwell's time it was governed as a conquered province, and Charles was advised not to give it again the dignity of a kingdom. Presbyterianism was the form of ecclesiastical polity established there since the date of the Reformation. Charles's principal adviser on Scottish affairs was the earl of Lauderdale, who recommended him to respect the national partiality for the Kirk, which was endeared to the mass of the people by many cherished recollections. The counsels of Sharp, the leader of the episcopalian party in the northern kingdom, seconded by the views of Clarendon, gained the ascendancy; and Charles gave in his adhesion to the policy of establishing an Anglican Episcopacy on the ruins of Presbyterianism. A rapid succession of Acts passed through the Scottish parliament in 1661, under the management of Middleton as commissioner, and his colleagues Lauderdale, Crawford, Rothes, and Glencairn, by which the royal prerogative was exalted not only to its old level, but greatly augmented, so as to leave the subject scarcely the semblance of liberty. The doctrine of passive obedience to the crown acquired a complete ascendancy; all meetings for public affairs were prohibited. The marquis of Argyle had taken a leading part in furtherance of the Covenant, and in upholding the government of Cromwell. A few weeks after the Restoration he had gone to London to give in his adhesion to the king. He was seized and thrown in the Tower; and after some months' detention there, was sent back to Scotland to take his trial at the hands of his implacable enemies. The most culpatory formal evidence against him was furnished by Monk, in letters addressed to him by Argyle when both were in the service of the Long Parliament. Fear for his abilities, and animosity against him as leader of the popular party in the days of the Commonwealth, determined the Scottish Royalists in their verdict. He was beheaded at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, on 27th of May, two days after his sentence. Guthrie, an eminent preacher, was next tried and sentenced to die for having advocated opinions adverse to the crown and the church, and subversive of civil subordination. His memory was revered by the Covenanters as that of a martyr. The nation sullenly submitted to the scheme of the government, and episcopacy was established by law. The oppression of military rule during many years, and the unqualified success of the royalist reaction in England, had tamed the spirit of the people. They attended, not without abundant murmurings, the ministrations of the episcopalian clergy, or of those Presbyterian ministers who had accepted the form of toleration known by the name of



EXECUTION OF ARGYLE.



THE LAST SLEEP OF ARGYLL.

the Indulgence. Many earnest adherents of the Covenant, however, defied the law, and endured all the extremity of a long and cruel persecution rather than conform to the practices of a church which they hated. Believing the religion of their childhood to be the purest form of Christianity, and detesting a prelatical church, which they held to be akin to the church of Rome, many congregations in the western lowlands persisted in meeting to worship God after their own fashion. "Driven from the towns, they assembled on heaths and mountains. Attacked by the civil power, they without scruple repelled force by force. At every conventicle they mustered in arms. They repeatedly broke out into open rebellion. They were easily defeated and mercilessly punished; but neither defeat nor punishment could subdue their spirit. Hunted down like wild beasts, tortured till their bones were beaten flat, imprisoned by hundreds, hanged by scores, exposed at one time to the license of soldiers from England, abandoned at another time to the mercy of bands of marauders from the Highlands, they still stood at bay in a mood so savage that the boldest and mightiest oppressor could not but dread the audacity of their despair" (Macaulay).

In Ireland, twenty years of war and irregular government had engendered a plentiful crop of difficulties. Six months after the Restoration, Charles had issued a declaration for the settlement of Ireland, promising that the innocent should be reinstated in their lands, and that no actual possessors should be ejected without compensation. Before any steps could be taken to give effect to this declaration, the king had made so many lavish grants of forfeited lands to the dukes of York, Ormond, Albemarle, and others, who were nowise concerned in the sufferings or losses of the Irish war, that he was quite unable to perform his promise. There was besides a very chaos of conflicting claims, of wrongs to be redressed, and rights to be confirmed. A body of commissioners unconnected with Irish affairs disposed of all questions affecting property which had changed hands since the time of Charles I. They pronounced in favour of some hundreds of the ejected proprietors, declaring them entitled to restitution, as they had borne no part in the rebellion. The Cromwellian landowners took the alarm, and, to ward off worse evil, offered to give up a third part of their lands, to form a fund out of which to fulfil the purposes of the king's declaration. This compromise, however much it fell below the level of simple equity, was as large a measure of recompense as could be secured without raising the flames of war afresh. Between fifty and sixty Irish noblemen and gentlemen received each two thousand acres of land in lieu of estates of which they had been deprived within the preceding twenty years. About as many royalist officers obtained from the same fund arrears of pay due to them before the establishment of the Commonwealth; but the mass of those who had been driven from their lands since 1641 received no recompense. Episcopacy was re-established in Ireland with even greater facility than in Scotland.

On January 30, 1662, three of the political offenders whose lives had been spared by the Act of Oblivion, but who were condemned to imprisonment for life, underwent the punishment of being drawn on hurdles, with ropes round their necks as if for execution, from the Tower to the gallows at Tyburn and back. These were Sir Henry Mildmay, Lord Monson, and Sir Robert Wallop, all distinguished Commonwealth men. Their estates were confiscated, and they were degraded from the rank indicated by their titles. The king's zeal for the church was not the fruit of piety. Burnet tells us (and his testimony is abundantly confirmed by many of his contemporaries) that Charles seemed to have no sense of religion. Both at prayers and sacrament he was at no pains to conceal his unconcern in that about which he was engaged. In the freedom of social intercourse, which he relished infinitely more than all the pageantry of his kingly office, he would often drop expressions which proved that he regarded religion as simply a useful engine of orderly government. He often spoke against the liberty that all men in Protestant countries took in discussing questions of religion, grounding his objection on the fact that the habit of inquiry carried men from religion to matters of state. He spoke of the task of government as safer and easier in those countries where authority was believed to be infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit. He often said that a king who might be checked, or have his ministers called to account by a parliament, was a king in name only. His nine years of wandering and exile had given him a large knowledge of the world, but not in its best aspects. He was surrounded always by intriguing men, whose selfish aims were transparent to him in the midst of their most ardent professions of devotion and zealous acts of service. He had been from earliest manhood a voluptuary, and now, although he was far beyond the age when the levities of youth are excusable, and had attained the period of life when the mind as well as the body is in its highest vigour, he gave unrestricted play to his licentious passions, and uniformly preferred his ease and pleasure to the calls of business. He was enamoured by the charms of a succession of mistresses more numerous than the wives of his predecessor, Henry VIII. Now that he was firmly seated on the throne, he began to turn his attention to the choice of a wife, but he was resolved that marriage should nowise limit the exercise of his accustomed profligacy. Barbara Villiers, who had deserted her husband, Mr. Palmer, to become the king's mistress in the first days of the Restoration, held the foremost place in his roving affections, not only up to the very day of his marriage, but for years after that event.

In May, 1662, Charles took to wife Katherine, princess of Portugal. With her he received as dower 350,000*l.*, the fortress of Tangier, and the island of Bombay. She had many charms and graces of person and of mind. In a letter to the chancellor, a short time after the nuptials, Charles speaks of her in the following terms: "Her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and not anything on her face that in the least degree can shock one. On the contrary, she has as much agreeableness in her looks altogether as ever I saw; and, if I have any skill in physiognomy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born. Her conversation, as much as I can perceive, is very good, for she has wit enough, and a most agreeable voice. You would much wonder to see how much we are acquainted already. In a word, I think myself very happy." Despite the merits and virtues of his youthful queen, the licentious monarch had the effrontery to insist on her receiving as one of her attendants his favourite mistress, with whom he continued his accustomed intimacy.

Since the queen's arrival, Barbara Villiers, who had been advanced to the dignity of countess of Castlemaine, had given birth to a son, one of the king's very numerous offspring. Soon after this he presented her to the queen in the midst of a brilliant court. The shock of such an unexpected insult overcame the queen, who fainted, and gave other signs of her intense distress. Clarendon and Ormond endeavoured to dissuade Charles from the repetition of such indecent cruelty. His reply to these persuasions is contained in a letter to Clarendon, which is preserved among the Lansdowne manuscripts, from which the following is an extract:—"I thinke it necessary to give you a little good counsel, least you may thinke that by making a further stirr in the businesse, you may diverte me from my resolution, which all the world shall never do. And I wish I may be unhappy in this world, and in the world to come, if I faile in the least degree of what I have resolved, which is of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife's bedchamber; and whomsoever I finde use any endeavour to hinder this resolution of myne (excepte it be only to myselfe), I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. If you will oblige me eternally, make this businesse as easy to me as you can, of what opinion soever you are of." The chancellor compromised the high dignity of his office so far as to persuade the queen to comply. She repelled his unseemly advice with the disdain of offended modesty and queenly dignity. He reported his ill success to the king, who lost no time in reproaching the queen with stubbornness and want of duty. The quarrel proceeded to such a height, that the queen threatened to return to Portugal. Charles thereupon sent back most of the suite that the queen had brought with her to England, telling her she should soon learn from her banished servants whether her mother would receive her. "In all this time," Clarendon tells us, "the king pursued his point. The lady came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's presence, and the king in continual conference with her, whilst the queen sat untaken notice of. And if her majesty rose at the indignity, and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. . . . She alone was left out of all jollities, and not suffered to have any part of those pleasant applications and caresses which she saw made almost to everybody else; an universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but in her chamber; her own servants showing more respect and more diligence to the lady than towards their own mistress, who, they found, could do them less good. The nightly meetings continued with the same or more license, and the discourses which passed there, of what argument soever, were the discourse of the whole court, and of the town the day following. . . . All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne; so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall, first to conversation and then to familiarity, and, even in the same instant, to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly." The king subsequently advanced Lady Castlemaine to the higher rank of duchess of Cleveland, with remainder to Charles and George Fitzroy, her sons by the king. His spurious issue by other mistresses were drafted into the peerage. The son of Lucy Walters, alias Mrs. Barlow, the king's favourite mistress at the date of his father's death and for several years afterwards, became duke of Monmouth, of whom much remains to be said in some subsequent pages of this chapter. Charles Fitz-Charles, whose mother's name was Catherine Peg, became earl of Plymouth. Nell Gwynn's progeny by the king were Charles Beauclerk, created duke of St. Albans, and James Beauclerk, who died young. Louise de Querouaille, the favourite mistress of the king in the latter years of his life, and who is better known as the duchess of Portsmouth, bore a son to the king, who was advanced to a peerage in France, and at home became duke of Richmond. Several of the king's illegitimate daughters were married into the peerage. Among these was Mary Tudor, daughter of an actress called Moll Davis: she married the earl of Derwentwater, and by that alliance became the mother of the earl who met his death in a later reign for his share in the attempt to restore the Stuart line in the person of the Pretender. Another of the king's natural daughters, by Elizabeth Killigrew, became the wife of the earl of Yarmouth.

Shortly after the king's marriage, public attention was absorbed in the fate of the two most distinguished of the political offenders then in the hands of government. Sir H. Vane and General Lambert had each filled high office under the Commonwealth, and were both identified with the fallen cause of republicanism in so many ways that the triumphant Royalists decided upon their destruction, although they were both entirely free from the reproach of complicity in the death of Charles I. Lambert carried his adhesion to the republican cause down to the latest moment before the Convention Parliament declared for the recall of Charles. He was made prisoner while attempting to stem the tide of Monk's movement in favour of the Restoration. On the passing of the Indemnity Bill, he and Vane were recommended for mercy in the event of a conviction in the trial for which they were reserved. When put on his trial on the charge of treason, after a two years' imprisonment, his conduct and bearing formed a striking contrast with the character he had so long borne as a fearless parliamentary soldier. He had borne a brilliant part at the battle of Marston Moor, and, as one of Cromwell's major-generals, had faced danger in many a stubborn fight. In presence of a court of justice he exhibited a submissive timidity that gratified the malice of his foes and put his friends to shame. He threw himself on the royal mercy, pleading the king's promise to the Convention Parliament. Sentence of death was recorded against him, but he was reprieved, and consigned to imprisonment for life. He survived twelve years, six of which were spent in Guernsey, and the remainder on an islet near Plymouth. The evidence offered against Vane in support of the charge of treason was that he had filled the post of treasurer of the navy, and had been a member of the council of state in the government that succeeded the execution of the king; and that in both capacities he had laboured to keep out the present king. Vane defended himself with energy and ability, repelling the charge of treason with an eloquence and a strength of argument that perplexed the counsel for the crown. He pleaded the statute of Henry VII., which excuses obedience to the ruling power for the time being, although that ruling power may be usurping the place of a government possessed of a better title. He had acted in obedience to parliament, in which alone the ruling power was vested after the conflict that overwhelmed the throne. The judges decided that the statute to which he appealed contemplated no other form of government than that with a king at its head, and that Charles II. was king *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, from the moment of his father's death. This is universally held to be a strained and unwarrantable construction of the law; for the king *de facto* has no other intelligible meaning than the king in possession, and in the actual exercise of the royal authority. But the ruling of the judges was accepted by the jury, who returned a verdict of guilty. Vane expected no other result. In his opening address he had told his judges, "Unless some remedy be afforded by the justice, candour, and favour of this court, it may be better for the prisoner to be immediately destroyed by special command (if nothing else will satisfy), without any form of law, as one to whom quarter, after at least two years' cool blood, is thought fit to be denied in relation to the late wars. This may seem better than, under colour and form of justice, to pretend to give him the benefit of the law and the king's courts, whose part is to set free the innocent, upon an equal and indifferent trial had before them, if their cause will bear it; but it is very visible beforehand that all possible means of defence are taken and withheld from him, and laws are made *ex post facto* to forejudge the merit of the cause. . . . Far be it from me," he continued, "to have knowingly, wittingly, or maliciously offended the law, rightly understood and asserted, much less to have done anything that is *malum per se,* or that is morally evil. . . . It will be evident to the consciences of the jury that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honour, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as is suggested in the indictment, by instigation of the devil, or want of the fear of God." The usual sentence for treason was passed on the 6th of June, and Charles, who was at Hampton with his bride, spending his honeymoon, was at once acquainted with all the circumstances of the trial. Next day he sent the following letter to the chancellor: "The relation that hath been made to me of Sir H. Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter; which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all, and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow." Charles was easily persuaded that in such a case his promise to spare life, given in reply to the address of the Convention Parliament two years before, would be more honoured in the breach than the performance, "inasmuch as even God himself refuses pardon to the unrepenting sinner." The only mercy extended to Vane was the commutation of the sentence from hanging, and the worse parts of the traitor's doom, into simple beheading on the block. Vane met his fate with cheerful resignation on the very spot on Tower Hill where Strafford suffered two and twenty years earlier. He was subjected to the usual indignity of being drawn on a hurdle, pinioned, to the place of execution. His attempt to address the spectators was suppressed by a precaution on the part of the authorities, which is thus described by Burnet: "And now a very indecent practice was begun. It was observed that the dying speeches of the regicides had left impressions on the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So, strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak to the public, upon a given sign struck up with their drums. This put him in no disorder; he desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it." Pepys, who was one among the near spectators and auditors of the tragedy, says: "He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. The trumpets were brought under the scaffold, that he might not be heard." After some unavailing efforts to obtain a hearing, he quietly submitted to his doom. A single blow of the axe severed his head from his body, and the Royalists gloated over the retaliation they had secured for the fate of Strafford, the first victim from their side in our long strife between prerogative and the liberty of the subject.

The king's marriage with Katherine of Braganza had been brought about in a great measure by the intervention of the French court, with whom it was an object of the first importance to check the threatened extension of Spanish rule over the sister kingdom. Charles's youngest sister, the Princess Henrietta, was married a few weeks earlier to Philip, only brother of the French king. Charles's marriage with Katherine was looked upon by the French court as a security that the English king would aid Portugal to withstand the pretensions of Spain. The marriage of Charles's sister with the French king's brother established a bond of union between the English and French courts, on which Charles counted for such help as occasion might call for in any troubles that might spring up between himself and his subjects. Among the first fruits of the friendly relations thus established between the courts of Versailles and St. James was the proposal to sell Dunkirk to the French. It is usually alleged that Clarendon suggested the sale, with the view to relieve the king's urgent want of money. The liberal allowance voted by the Convention Parliament had proved utterly inadequate to meet the wasteful expenditure of Charles. He bestowed estates, titles, places, pensions, among his shameless throng of concubines, parasites, and unprincipled flatterers. His lavish gifts to worthless men and women about his court, the panders to his sensual indulgence, kept him always poor. His preference of the match with the princess of Portugal over the several other alternatives that were submitted to his notice by foreign ambassadors and discussed in his cabinet, was based almost exclusively on the fact that the dower offered with Katherine was the most liberal of the proposals before him. The dower was soon squandered, and the subsidies voted by parliament were all absorbed. Dunkirk was valued by the English as their only possession on the Continent, and as a compensation for the loss of Calais. It had been taken by Cromwell's soldiers from the Spaniards, who held that it ought to be restored to them now that it had come into Charles's disposal, as the king and his brothers were in their armies when it was captured by his enemies, the soldiers of the Commonwealth. The French held that Cromwell had agreed to hand it over to them as soon as they paid the cost of the military aid he had rendered them in their contest with Spain. Charles declined to be bound by any promise of Cromwell's, but he eagerly embraced the idea of selling the place. The price asked by Charles was twelve millions of livres, but eventually he accepted five millions. The money was soon squandered, and the transaction was regarded by the public as a scandalous barter of the national dignity. A mansion built by Clarendon at the time acquired the nickname of Dunkirk House, from the popular belief that it was built out of the proceeds of the chancellor's share in the purchase money. Lady Castlemaine and her faction at court are mentioned in connection with the sale in Pepys' Diary, as leading topics of popular discontent. Burnet says the affair caused the loss of the king's reputation abroad. The court was believed venal, and subsequent transactions between Charles and the French king proved how well that belief was founded. To aggravate the discontent engendered by the sale of Dunkirk, Tangier, received as part of Katherine's dowry, turned out a source of more plague than profit, leading to ceaseless petty hostilities with the Moors. It was abandoned in 1683 as a useless encumbrance.

In the same month in which the Dunkirk business was settled, December, 1662, the king issued his famous Declaration of Indulgence. The Presbyterians had made repeated and urgent appeals to the king in deprecation of the Act of Uniformity. They recalled their recent services, and his own solemnly plighted word in the Declaration of Breda. He was anxious to comply with their prayer, not alone because his honour was compromised by non-compliance, but because by doing so he could include the Catholics, with whom he deeply sympathised, in the same act of concession, if parliament could be persuaded to consent. In his Declaration of Indulgence, Charles expressed his aversion to all severity the score of religion, and gave hopes that he would employ means for tempering the severity of the Act of Uniformity. Sanguine hopes were at once excited among the Catholic party, and their indiscreet discussions gave rise to a wide-spread suspicion that the king's main object in the proposed indulgence was to favour the Papists, for whom it was known he entertained the most friendly feelings. The Church party took the alarm, and on the reassembling of parliament (18th of February, 1663), the declaration was subjected to the bitterest criticism. On the 23rd of February a Bill was brought into the Upper House, to enable the king to dispense at his discretion with the laws and statutes requiring oaths or subscriptions of obedience to the doctrines and discipline of the church. The bishops vigorously opposed the measure, but their opposition was tame in comparison with the zealous onslaught of the two chief ministers of the crown, Southampton and Clarendon. Both Houses presented an address to the king, urging that he should issue a proclamation for the banishment of Catholics from the kingdom. The king reluctantly complied. A bill was forthwith introduced into the House of Commons, embodying repressive measures against Popery and nonconformity with the Established Church. When the bill passed to the peers, they substituted for it an address to the king to put in execution all the existing penal laws against Catholics and dissenters of all kinds.

The earl of Bristol had the temerity to impeach Clarendon of treason and misdemeanour. The grounds of this charge were submitted to the judges, who pronounced them frivolous; whereupon the king put an end to the impeachment, and issued an order for placing Bristol in custody. He absconded.

The Commons, in settling the revenue for the year, exacted from the king to submit the public accounts to the inspection of a committee, and the session was brought to a close at the end of July without passing any other measure of public importance. In the summer an insignificant rising of some religious fanatics took place in the north, which was easily suppressed. It bore evil fruit, in affording an excuse in the following session for additional severities against dissenters.

The session of 1664 opened on the 16th of March. At the opening, Charles dwelt on the Yorkshire insurrection, as affording grounds for a material change in the Triennial Act. Some of the insurgents had justified their rising by a clause in that Act, from which they inferred that as parliament was at an end, by lapse of more than three years from its first assembling, and as the court had issued no new writs, the freeholders were entitled to assemble of themselves for the election of new members. He urged parliament to reconsider the Triennial Act, and while retaining the clause which enacted that parliament should never be discontinued for more than three years, to repeal the compulsory clauses which directed the keeper of the great seal to issue writs, and the sheriff to hold elections in defiance of the royal pleasure. The Commons submitted to this large curtailment of their liberty, exacting at the same time the consent of the king to a new measure of religious intolerance. This was the notorious Conventicle Act, forbidding more than five beside those of the family to assemble for any form of religious worship except as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. Meetings which contravened this law were declared to be seditious and unlawful conventicles, punishable with a fine of five pounds or three months' imprisonment for the first offence; ten pounds or six months' imprisonment for the second; one hundred pounds or seven years' transportation for the third; and for each succeeding offence an additional hundred pounds fine. The king, with all his faults, is not fairly chargeable with the blame of this flagrant violation of the compact under which he was recalled from exile. He exerted himself long and fruitlessly to withstand the bigotry and intolerance of his advisers, and of the parliament which supported their inhuman measures. The Quakers were the greatest sufferers by this odious Conventicle Act. While the Catholics and other nonconformists used all available expedients for eluding detection, the Quakers deemed it their duty to assemble openly, despite all consequences. The prisons were soon crowded with the victims of this iniquitous law.

Parliament met again in November, after a six months' recess. The first business of the session was to give effect to the popular clamour for war against the Dutch. The quarrel sprang out of a collision between the commercial interests of the two nations on the coast of Africa. Charles had established an African company, which traded in gold dust and the other products of the Guinea Coast, and supplied slaves to the West Indian planters. The Dutch, who were first in this field of business, used all opportunities of thwarting their new rivals in a lucrative trade. Disputes occurred, in which each party made seizure of the property of the other. The English merchants made out such a case of injuries sustained, that the Commons voted an address to the king, urging him to take speedy steps for obtaining redress. A little moderation on both sides would readily have composed the differences in question. But the Dutch government evinced no disposition to make concessions, and Charles had long cherished a deep resentment against the ruling faction at the Hague, on account of real or imaginary slights and indignities which they had put upon him in the time of his exile. De Witt had long been at the head of the ruling party, and in that capacity was the leading opponent of the Prince of Orange, nephew to Charles. It had been part of the policy of De Witt's party to maintain a good understanding with Cromwell. This obliged them to be very chary of courtesies to the royal family of England, and Charles and his brother James had neither forgotten nor forgiven the slights and scant courtesies under which they had smarted in the days of their fallen fortunes. More recently, too, the Dutch government had permitted the exposure of very damaging caricatures of the English king, in which he figured as the captive of his many mistresses, and was ridiculed for his poverty and indolence. The republican government and puritanical religion of the Dutch furnished another ground of ill-will on the part of the English court. Mutual animosity was fostered between the two nations by the fact that they were rivals in trade in all quarters of the world. The English merchants made out a list of damages and losses sustained at the hands of the Dutch, to the amount of 700,000*l.* On the 21st of April, 1664, the Commons voted an address to the king, praying him to demand atonement from Holland, and pledging themselves to stand by him with their lives and fortunes in securing redress. Up to this point the king had been averse to war, in the fear that the additional taxation which it would occasion would bring his prerogative under further check and control from parliament. But the prospect of having the handling of the supplies, of rewarding some of his needy supporters by lucrative offices in the naval and military services, and the hope of humbling the party in Holland that had deprived his nephew the prince of Orange of his dignity, and had humiliated him and his friends in exile, overcame his misgivings. While negotiations were still pending, both nations entered on vigorous preparations for the war on which each had resolved. Hostilities began on a limited scale between the Dutch and English African Companies before the issue of a formal declaration of war by either government. Early in 1664 Sir Robert Holmes was sent by the African Company to recover the forts and factories on the Guinea Coast, of which the Dutch had unceremoniously dispossessed them. Having completed this service he crossed the Atlantic, and took possession of New Amsterdam (27th of August), which thenceforth, in honour of the king's brother, the governor of the company, bore the name of New York. The Dutch under De Ruyter made reprisals on the Guinea Coast and in the West Indies. Thereupon the English fleet captured numerous Dutch merchantmen in the narrow seas, and held them as hostages for an indemnity on account of De Ruyter's depredations. In November, parliament voted funds to the amount of two and a half millions for the war, and three months later (February, 1665) the king issued a declaration of hostilities. The money bill providing supplies for this war is memorable as setting aside the old system of subsidies of tenths and fifteenths, which was never again resorted to. When taxation was raised by subsidies, the clergy enjoyed the privilege of separately assessing themselves in Convocation. They usually granted clerical subsidies at the same rate as the lay subsidies fixed by parliament. Monthly assessments on the several counties were now substituted for the subsidies, and the clergy were merged with the laity, losing their separate privilege of exemption from taxes imposed by parliament. In lieu of their ancient immunity, they obtained the right of voting as freeholders at elections. From the date when Convocation lost its right of taxing the clergy, its meetings lost their ancient dignity, and became of so little service to the crown that its functions dwindled down to the merest empty formality.

The duke of York, as lord high admiral, put to sea on the 21st of April. His fleet consisted of ninety-eight fighting ships and four fire-ships. It was a more powerful armament than England had ever before sent forth. The seamen, who had made the name of their country everywhere respected in the days of the Commonwealth, exulted in this fresh opportunity of gaining renown. The fleet was arranged in three squadrons—the red under the duke of York, the white under Prince Rupert, and the blue under the earl of Sandwich. The Dutch fleet, under Opdam, consisted of one hundred and thirteen ships of war. A month was wasted in manœuvres on the part of the English fleet on the coast of Holland, awaiting the appearance of their adversaries. An easterly wind at length drove them back to their own coasts, and the Dutch fleet put to sea. Both fleets were thronged with landsmen volunteers, among whom were many of the noblest youths of their respective countries, utterly ignorant of seamanship, but eager for the fray. Opdam, conscious of the relative inferiority of his crews in the essential quality of matured discipline and seamanship, but with no misgiving of their valour, expressed to his more intimate friends his conviction that he ought to avoid an encounter. "But," he added, "I must obey my orders, and by this time to-morrow you shall see me crowned with laurel or with cypress." The fleets met off Lowestoft, at the earliest dawn of morning, on the third of June. Seven hours were consumed in preliminary manœuvres, each fleet attempting to gain the weather gauge. A gentle south-west breeze scarcely rippled the placid sea, and the sky was without a cloud. At length the hostile fleets closed in two long parallel lines, and each ship opened fire on its nearest opponent. Both sides fought with the desperation of rivals contending for the mastery of the sea. The fate of the battle hung in suspense for fully four hours. The duke of York, in his flag-ship the Royal Charles, was in the thickest of the fight. The earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and a son of the earl of Burlington, were slain at his side, and he was bespattered with their blood. The action continued to rage obstinately on both sides, until the Dutch admiral's flag-ship, the Eendracht, which had been long in close encounter with the Royal Charles, blew up with a terrific explosion, and the gallant Opdam, with his brave crew of five hundred, perished. His foreboding before the fight calls to mind Nelson's memorable words on a similar occasion: "Now for the House of Lords or Westminster Abbey." His fate in the battle, too, recalls the memory of Nelson's victory at the Nile, in which the French admiral met the same fate as Opdam. On the loss of their admiral, the Dutch, whose fire had been observed to slacken before the explosion of the flag-ship, withdrew from the scene of their disastrous defeat, leaving numerous disabled ships in the hands of their enemy. The English fleet followed, and sending their fire-ships among the crowded and disabled enemy, burned seven of their squadron. Darkness favoured the fugitives, who escaped, under the skilful command of the younger Van Tromp, into the security of their intricate shallows. The loss of the Dutch is usually computed at seven thousand men slain or captured, and eighteen ships taken or burnt; among their killed were four admirals. The loss of the victors amounted to six hundred killed and wounded. Among their slain were Admirals Lawson and Sampson, the earls of Marlborough and Portland, besides the noblemen already named. The pursuit was slackened at a critical moment, on an order given by the duke, as alleged by Burnet and other authorities.

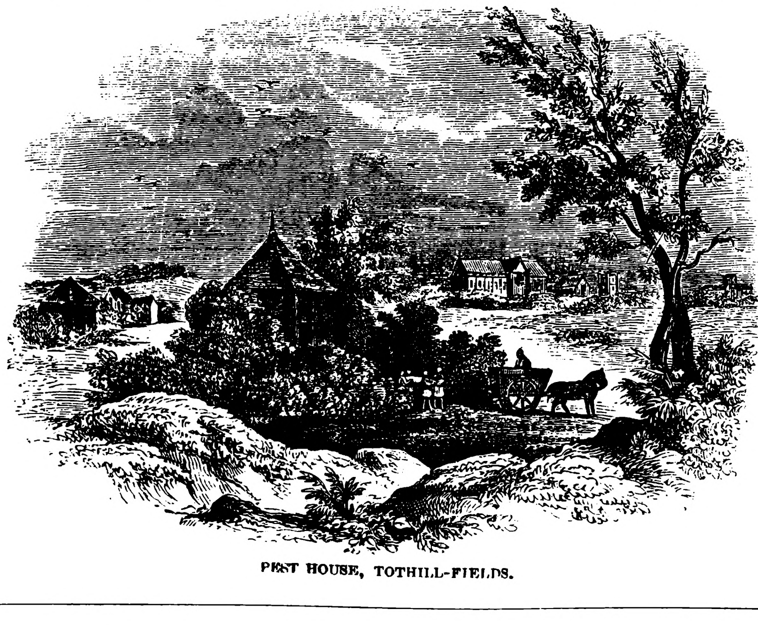
In the official account, published after an inquiry instituted by the House of Commons, the blame is thrown on Brunkhard, one of the duke's servants, who is said to have been prompted by his fears to forge the order, which he handed to the sailing master after the duke had gone to bed. The duchess of York seems to have charged several of the duke's personal attendants to do all they could to hinder him from going too far into danger. The House of Commons voted a reward of 120,000*l.* to the duke on account of the victory; but on the ground that his life was of too great consequence to the nation to be again subject to the risks of battle, he was removed from the command of the fleet, which then devolved on the earl of Sandwich. The victorious fleet had sustained so much damage in the fight that it was obliged to return without delay to its own shores to refit.

To estimate correctly the importance of this victory, the reader must bear in mind that the relative strength of England and Holland as maritime powers were widely different in the time of Charles II. from what they have since become. The Holland of the former date ranked among the very foremost of the states of Europe in respect to its mercantile marine, its trade with all parts of the globe that were then accessible to commerce, and in the number and magnitude of its ships of war. In the later stages of the same contest, the Dutch fleets, ably commanded, and under the vigorous administration of De Witt, proved more than a match for the naval power of England under the wretched naval administration by which it was feebly handled in the evil days that followed the glorious triumph at Lowestoft.

The important victory sent a thrill of gladness through the land, but the joy, which in ordinary times would have been exuberant, was now subdued by the gloom which an awful scourge had spread far and wide. A terrible plague was ravaging London. In the two preceding years Amsterdam and Rotterdam had suffered severely from the same pestilence, and fears were long entertained of its extension to England. In the winter of 1664 two or three cases occurred in St. Giles's, a parish then forming the north-western suburb of London. With the warm weather of May came a rapid development of the dreadful distemper. Holborn, St. Giles's, and St. Clement's Danes, furnished the first victims, and very soon every part of the capital was visited by the desolating scourge. Before the end of June there was a general rush of all whose circumstances enabled them to desert the stricken capital. The court and the gentry set the example of flight. The city was in a panic, establishments everywhere broken up, and trade paralysed. The domestic servants thrown out of employment were reckoned at fully forty thousand, and the labourers and artisans deprived of work were more numerous still. The pressure of a widespread poverty was thus added to the horrors of pestilence. Very large sums were subscribed for the relief of the privations of the poor. The humbler classes were at first almost the only sufferers by the plague. The putrid air of close-pent courts and alleys, and the stinted quantity and meagre quality of their food, rendered them easy victims to a disease which at first attacked the weakly rather than the robust. At the commencement of its deadly ravages it preferred children to adults, and females to males. As the heat of summer advanced the disease rapidly increased in its destructive power, until all classes and all ages appeared equally amenable to its virulent powers. The disease commenced usually with shivering, nausea, headache, and delirium; in other instances, oppressions of the chest, diarrhœa, and fever; in others, stupor, giddiness, and a misty appearance of the eyes. Buboes and carbuncles followed on the third day, if a fatal result was delayed so long, but death frequently occurred before this stage. If the swellings could be made to suppurate, recovery was hopeful. Purple spots about the chest, which were popularly called "the tokens," were fatal symptoms, indicating only a few more hours of life. Death occurred with little suffering in cases where the purple spots appeared. Those who reached the stage of buboes commonly suffered under a high state of fever and delirium. In their phrenzy they would often break away from the beds in which they were fastened, and making their way into the streets, exhibit the appalling spectacle of uncontrollable madness. In this condition many of the hapless creatures laid violent hands upon themselves, and rushed into the river, to which access was at that time easy. Many fell of sudden exhaustion, and expired in the streets. The greatest mortality occurred in July, August, and September. In the succeeding months of the year, when cooler weather set in, the proportion of recoveries was about three out of every five attacked. Among the cruel precautions adopted to check the spread of the pestilence, all houses infected were closed, and watchmen placed with arms in their hands to prevent the egress of the unhappy inmates. On the door of such houses a red cross, twelve inches long, was painted, over which was written, "The Lord have mercy upon us." Pest-houses or hospitals were established, in which those who were willing to enter were subjected to medical treatment, and placed under the care of nurses. In the dearth of other occupation large numbers of the destitute class were engaged night and day in the burial of the dead. The pest-carts went round the streets in the night, announcing their approach by the tinkling of bells and the glare of torches, the drivers calling, "Bring out your dead." Wrapped in sheets, the uncoffined bodies were crowded in unseemly heaps in the pest-carts, and shot into spacious pits in the churchyards and other receptacles appointed for the ghastly interments. No mourners were permitted to perform the last offices of affection for departed friends; no religious service was attempted in these wholesale burials. Some religious enthusiasts traversed the streets, denouncing the judgments of the Almighty on the plague-stricken people. One of these, imitating the prophet Jonah, proclaimed in woful accents, as he passed along, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed." Another, in a state of nudity, traversed the city with a pan of burning coals upon his head, uttering similar ejaculations. A third walked often with hurried steps through the streets, shouting, in deep sepulchral tones, "Oh, the great and dreadful God!" Whole streets were desolated either by the death or the flight of the inhabitants. Traffic ceased, and grass grew in thoroughfares lately crowded with their thousands of wayfarers. While the silence of death reigned in many quarters, in others might be heard the delirious ravings of the sufferers in infected dwellings, or the disgusting revelry of hardened wretches who had grown indifferent to a fate which it seemed impossible to shun. Early in September fires of sea coal were kindled at short distances apart in all the streets, alleys, and courts, and kept burning three days and nights, in the hope of dispersing the infected air, and so quelling the pestilence. The week in which this experiment was tried exhibited a large decrease in the number of fatal cases, but in the succeeding week the disease attained unprecedented virulence, and carried off more than ten thousand victims. Then came the high winds of the autumnal equinox, which purified and cooled the atmosphere. A rapid decrease in the number of fatal cases followed, and by the close of the year the plague had ceased its ravages in London, except in a few scattered cases which continued to be recorded throughout the following year. The total number of deaths from the pestilence in London alone is usually estimated at 100,000. Colchester, Norwich, Salisbury, Cambridge, Winchester, and some other towns suffered under the same dire visitation in the following summer. The court returned to Whitehall in February; the other fugitives of all ranks followed the example, and the capital rapidly assumed its accustomed rush of busy life.

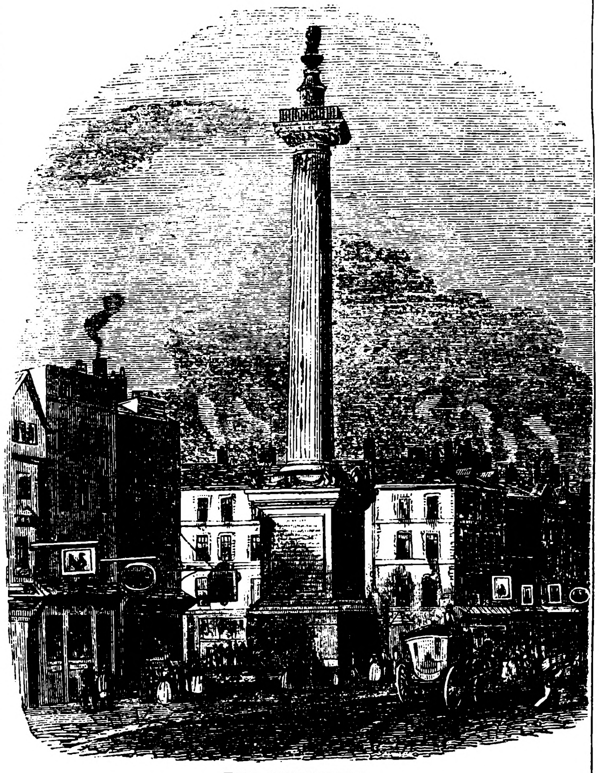
A few months later, when the unsatisfactory progress of the war was filling the public mind with discontent, and bringing deserved odium on the government, London was visited by another awful calamity. A fire broke out at a baker's in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge, a dense neighbourhood of narrow streets. Large stores of the usual commodities for furnishing ships, such as pitch, tar, sail-cloth, oils, hemp, and other combustibles, were crowded in neighbouring buildings, which for the most part were constructed of wood. The adjacent wharves and warehouses also were crowded with combustible materials. A sultry August had prepared these wooden structures for rapid conflagration. Their roofs were of wood, coated with pitch or tar as a protection against the wet. When once the flames gained access to such buildings their destruction was certain, and the only effectual way to check the spread of the fire was by pulling down ranges of the nearest houses, which would else soon feed the devouring element and give it fresh power for more extensive devastations. The lord mayor and other civic authorities were early on the spot, and were urged to order the demolition of buildings towards which the fire was rapidly extending. The timidity of some and the avarice of others of these depositaries of civic power shrank from such decisive measures until too late. The fire spread westward with rapid strides; burning flakes were carried by the high wind to more distant roofs, which rapidly ignited and became the centres of fresh devastation. By eight o'clock in the morning three hundred houses were destroyed, and in quick succession street after street was involved in the resistless flames. For three days and nights the fire continued to spread, resisting all the efforts of thousands of soldiers, sailors, and other workmen, who were employed to blow up with gunpowder, or otherwise demolish houses that were in the path of the spreading conflagration. Clarendon, who was an eyewitness of the fearful calamity, says: "The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. . . . . Let the cause be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city were burned to ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greatest warehouses and the best shops stood. The Royal Exchange, with all the streets about it, Lombard Street, Cheapside, Paternoster Row, St. Paul's Church, and almost all the other churches in the city, with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all St. Paul's Churchyard, even to the Thames, and the greatest part of Fleet Street, all which were the places best inhabited, were all burned without one house remaining. The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, over and above the houses, could never be computed in any degree." All the space as viewed from the river between the Tower and the Temple, and extending northwards to Smithfield and Cripplegate, was one blackened mass of ruins, covering an area of four hundred and thirty-six acres. Thirteen thousand two hundred houses, St. Paul's Cathedral and eighty-eight other churches, and many public buildings, were consumed.

Evelyn, who passed on foot through the city on the 7th of September, relates as follows:—"At my return I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church St. Paul's now a sad ruin. . . . Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, beside near a hundred more; the lead, iron-work, bells, plate, &c., melted. The exquisitely-wrought Mercers' Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the companies' halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragoes of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke; so that in five or six miles' traversing about I did not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. . . . I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen two hundred thousand people of all ranks and degrees dispersed, and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld." The roads in all directions leading from London were thronged with fugitives, encumbered with such portions of their household goods as they had saved. Tents and huts were erected in the fields for multitudes of houseless citizens who could find no better shelter. Two hundred thousand of the inhabitants were thus dispersed over the meadows about Highgate, Holloway, Highbury, and Islington. The king had exhibited unwonted energy in organizing means of stopping the progress of the fire, if that had been possible. Evelyn tells us: "It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the king and duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen." In the same spirit Charles exerted himself to the utmost in mitigating the sufferings of the thousands who were suddenly reduced to utter destitution. He sent out patrols in all quarters of the town to prevent robbery, for which the excitement and confusion offered a tempting opportunity; and he contributed largely from the royal stores to the relief of the destitute families that were lodged under canvas in the fields.



PEST HOUSE, TOTHILL-FIELDS.

Suspicions were rife that the fire was the work of incendiaries employed by the Dutch, or their new allies the French, and the Catholics of London were most unjustly involved in imaginary complicity with the enemies of their country. Foreigners and their supposed friends and confederates were roughly handled by the mob; but with all their excited bewilderment, they nevertheless refrained from extreme measures of violence, and were content to lodge in Newgate the objects of their distrust and resentment. An investigation was subsequently instituted under parliamentary control, the result of which was to exculpate all the suspected parties. Nevertheless, when the lofty obelisk which bears the name of the Monument was erected in 1671, to commemorate the calamitous fire, the civic authorities embodied the opinion which retained its hold on popular prejudice in a calumnious inscription, which remained uneffaced until the year 1830, inculpating the Catholics as the authors of the Great Fire of London. The terms of that inscription were as follows:—"The burning of this Protestant city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in order to the effecting their horrid plot for the extirpating the Protestant religion and English liberties, and to introduce popery and heresy." No unprejudiced man now entertains the shadow of a suspicion that the fire had any other origin than a purely unforeseen accident.



THE MONUMENT.

Some events that have been dropped out of their due order, with the view of giving a continuous narrative of the twin calamities of pestilence and fire, now claim a retrospective glance. Two large fleets of Dutch merchantmen, one from the East Indies, the other from the Mediterranean, on learning that the direct passage to their own ports was barred by the English cruisers, took the circuitous route round Ireland and the north of Scotland, and sought refuge in the neutral harbour of Bergen in Norway. The earl of Sandwich was cruising off the Dutch coast when intelligence reached him of the prospect that the Danish king would connive at the seizure of this valuable booty, on condition that he received half the spoil. Sandwich sailed forthwith, and while negotiations were still pending with the government at Copenhagen, but in implicit reliance that the governor of Bergen would not interpose, commenced his attack on the batteries which the Dutch had erected for their own defence. Just as the Dutch batteries were silenced, a sudden and destructive fire was opened from the castle of Bergen on the English fleet. One ship was sunk; the rest slipped their cables and abandoned the attempt. Much outcry was raised against the treachery of the Danes, but in this particular the English ambassador held them to be blameless, and charges Sandwich with having purposely acted without the final instructions that he knew to be on the eve of reaching him, in the persuasion that the lack of a formal permission from the Danes would enable him to exclude them from a share of the plunder. De Witt placed himself at the head of the Dutch fleet, and eluding the English, succeeded in reaching Bergen. Under his protection the Indiamen ventured to move homewards early in September; but a storm dispersed them. More than a score of them fell into the hands of the English, and eight of the Dutch vessels of war shared the same fate. Sandwich was soon after displaced from the command, for having appropriated part of the booty to his private use. His failure at Bergen probably had its share in bringing about this result; but his demerits must have been considered as of small moment by the government, for he was shortly afterwards made ambassador at the court of Spain. The pestilence in London had driven the court and parliament to Oxford, where, in an autumnal session, the Commons voted additional supplies (1,250,000*l.*) for the expenses of the war. There was much talk of plots and conspiracies on the part of some republican exiles in Holland and their confederates in London. Emissaries were said to pass and repass between the Hague and London while the plague was at its height, and some fervid enthusiasts were detected holding secret meetings in London, discussing wild projects of revolution. Some obscure men were apprehended, and paid the forfeit of their lives on a charge of plotting the seizure of the Tower and setting fire to the city. Colonel Danvers, the leader in this conspiracy, escaped, and found concealment in the country; his associates, Rathbone and Tucker, with six others, were executed by Monk, who held something like viceregal authority in London while the court was scared away by the plague. The Oxford parliament passed another repressive act against nonconformist ministers, many of whom had taken possession of the churches from which the regular clergy had fled to avoid the pestilence. Burnet records the circumstances leading to this penal enactment in the following words: "The House of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in against the nonconformists very high. A great many of the ministers of London were driven away by the plague, though some few stayed. Many churches were shut up when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons. Some of the nonconformists upon that went into the empty pulpits and preached, with very good success. In many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the sins of the court, and on the ill usage that they themselves had met with. This was represented very odiously at Oxford."

The memorable Five Mile Act was thereupon passed, forbidding any nonconformist minister to come within five miles (except in journeying from one place to another) of any city or borough, or any place in which he had preached or taught since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, under a penalty of forty pounds for each time of offending, with the further penalty of six months' imprisonment if he refused to take the oath of non-resistance. The divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience on the part of subjects, became again, as in the time of Laud, favourite themes in high church pulpits and pastoral charges. Meanwhile the court, while at Oxford, exhibited the same disregard of morality and decorum which had characterized it at Whitehall and Hampton Court since the first days of the Restoration. "It was a time," says Clarendon, "when all license in discourse and in actions was spread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of many good men, who had terrible apprehensions of the consequence of it."

Towards the close of 1665, negotiations were carried on between the Dutch and the French, which resulted in a declaration of war by the French king against England in the following January. Louis aimed by this alliance to lull the jealousy of Holland in respect to his ambitious designs on the Spanish Netherlands. The English fleet, under the joint command of Monk and Rupert, returned in May to its old cruising ground on the coast of Holland. Towards the end of the month they returned to the Downs, under the impression that the Dutch fleet was not yet ready to put to sea. A further rumour pointed to the approach of a French squadron seeking a junction with its ally. Rupert was thereupon sent westward with twenty sail to intercept the French, leaving Monk to look after the Dutch. He had not long to wait. They had already left the Texel, under the command of the heroic De Witt and De Ruyter, and next morning, 1st of June, were descried at anchor a few miles from the North Foreland, and numbering over eighty ships. Albemarle had only fifty-four sail, but he resolved at once to attack the enemy. The conflict spread over four days, with varying fortune. On the first day the English bore down upon the Dutch while they were still at anchor. Slipping their cables, the Dutch stood for their own shore, and the fight began between Dunkirk and Ostend. Berkley, who had the command of the advanced squadron—the blue—was killed early in the action. His ship was taken, and most of his division destroyed or disabled. The chain-shot from the Dutch ships, used for the first time in this battle, made great havoc among the spars and rigging of the English fleet. In the night the Dutch received a reinforcement of sixteen sail. Despite the greatly increased disparity of force, now fully two to one against them, the English fought with unflinching bravery through the second long day, and gladly hailed the darkness, which brought an enforced truce. In the night Monk learned the desperate condition of many of his ships. At dawn of day he burned the least seaworthy, ordered others—that were scarcely more sound—to make their way to the nearest home ports; and with only sixteen fit for further fighting, moved towards the mouth of the Thames, still fighting as he retreated, and checking the pursuit of his numerous enemy. As the third day wore on the peril of further defeat and capture became imminent. The finest ship of the fleet, the Prince Royal, grounded, and was lost on the Galloper Sand. Others were in imminent peril of the same fate, when the white squadron of twenty ships, under Prince Rupert, hove in sight, and came in a critical moment to the rescue of the shattered remnant of the blue and red divisions under Monk. Rupert, on his way down Channel in quest of the French, had luckily put in at St. Helens, where he learned that the Dutch had come out of the Texel, and received orders to retrace his steps, and unite his force with Monk's. His fresh orders reached him on the 1st of June, when the battle had already commenced, and he only succeeded in coming to the aid of his chief at the end of the third day, when his help, though well nigh too late, yet proved of priceless value. The pursued turned upon their foe; the forces on each side were now pretty nearly equal. At earliest dawn the battle was renewed with unabated vigour, until a dense mist parted the combatants, and each fleet returned to its own shores to refit. The Dutch unquestionably had the advantage in this four days' fight. They captured ten English ships and two thousand men. The loss in killed and wounded was about eighteen hundred on each side. The combatants had fought throughout with a courage and resolution on both sides which could not be surpassed. When it is remembered that the English began the fight with only two-thirds the force of the Dutch, and that the latter were heavily reinforced for the second day's contest, we can readily concur in Burnet's remarks on the state of affairs when Rupert arrived on the scene of action. "The English fleet was quite unrigged, and they were in no condition to work themselves off. So they must have all been taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert, hearing that they were engaged, by the constant roaring of guns, had not made all possible haste to get to them. He came in good time, and the Dutch, who had suffered much, seeing so great a force come up, sheered off." After deprecating the rejoicings at court and the public thanksgiving that were ordered for the so-called victory, he adds: "We had in one respect reason to thank God that we had not lost our whole fleet." A few weeks sufficed for repairs, and on the 25th of July the hostile fleets again met in stubborn and prolonged conflict, commencing off the North Foreland, and continuing until next day as far as the intricate shallows, by which the Dutch, as in the previous year, effected their escape after a disastrous defeat. Besides inflicting a loss of twenty ships on their enemy, and chasing him into his own ports, the English, whose loss was inconsiderable, closely blockaded the coast of Holland, penetrated the narrow channel between Ulie and Schelling, destroyed two men-of-war and two hundred laden merchantmen that were anchored in the usual rendezvous for the Baltic traders, and reduced to ashes the town of Brandaris, comprising about a thousand houses. De Witt was so exasperated by these acts, that he swore solemnly to have revenge, and the opportunity soon offered.

The French had hitherto played an insignificant part in the war. Their fleet at length succeeded in passing from the Mediterranean to Rochelle, and a scheme was concerted by which they and their

Dutch allies were to meet in the English Channel. The Dutch passed the Straits of Dover, but at sight of Rupert's ships made their way close in shore by Boulogne, to await the arrival of the French. Bad weather ensued, and each fleet sought the shelter of its own harbours.

Parliament met in September, and voted further supplies to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* for war expenses. The temper of the House was changed since its two earliest sessions. The conduct of the government was now boldly criticised, especially in regard to the expenditure of the last supplies. A bill was brought in to appoint commissioners to examine the accounts of the several public departments, and check the appropriation of their funds. Charles strenuously resisted a measure which threatened to reveal many indefensible acts of generosity performed at the expense of the public towards his favourites and flatterers. Clarendon and other members of the government were even more intensely adverse to such a scrutiny than Charles himself. They held that such concession would trench on the power of the crown in its most vital point. Clarendon earnestly exhorted the king to resist these excesses in parliament; not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they had nothing to do with; and added that "the scars were yet too fresh and green of those wounds which had been inflicted upon the kingdom from such usurpation." Obstructions were raised in the Upper House, but threats of impeachment were launched against the chancellor and Lady Castlemaine. The king became alarmed at the bold tone of the numerous *country members*—a name which had been bestowed on the party opposed to the court. He exerted himself to overcome the opposition of the Lords, and the bill was passed in January, 1667. Parliament was prorogued in the following month.

During the session the Covenanters of the western part of Scotland had risen in insurrection against the cruel persecution to which they were subjected by the episcopalian party. After seizing some dragoons, who had been employed to disperse their prayer-meetings on the moors, and making the local commandant of the forces, Sir James Turner, a prisoner, they held a solemn fast day at Lanark, renewed the Covenant there, and drew up a declaration of grievances, the chief of which was the tyranny to which they were subjected by Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp. A regiment of foot guards, and two troops of horse, under the command of Dalziel, were sent against them. The Covenanters marched towards Edinburgh, eleven hundred in number, but being badly officered and disciplined, they were easily overcome in an encounter on the Pentland Hills, 28th November. One charge sufficed to scatter them; fifty were killed on the spot, about a hundred and thirty were made prisoners, and the rest sought safety in flight. In the absence of Lauderdale at court, Sharp had the supreme direction of affairs, and abused his power most mercilessly in his treatment of the Covenanter prisoners. Twenty were hanged at Edinburgh, and many more at Ayr, Dumfries, and Glasgow. Gross severities and even tortures were exercised on large numbers of other Covenanters. Soldiers were quartered in the houses of those who would not attend the Established Church services. After an inquiry into the causes which had produced this insurrection, the king admonished his representatives in Scotland to abate their severities; and the poor Covenanters thus obtained a partial, but only temporary alleviation of the oppressions under which they had suffered.

The French king next year proved but a lukewarm ally of the Dutch. The claim to the Spanish Netherlands, which he was about to prosecute with all the resources of his kingdom, supplied him with a motive for seeking to be at peace with England. He made secret overtures to Charles, who had his own reasons for desiring an early cessation of hostilities. It had been decided by Charles's government not to attempt to fit out a large naval armament as in previous years, but to lay up all the larger ships, and put in commission only such a number of second and third rate vessels as would serve to harass the commerce of the enemy. This resolution was adopted because money was not forthcoming to pay off the heavy debts of the navy department and to refit the fleet. The government could not, as in former times, obtain advances from the bankers; partly on account of its repeated failure to meet previous engagements, but chiefly on account of an absolute scarcity of money in the banks. The plague and the fire had thrown trade into disorder or stagnation. Large stocks of warehoused commodities, on which duties were leviable, had perished in the flames, thus rendering the taxes less productive than had been anticipated, while the impoverished people consumed less and less of the articles which yielded revenue. The creditors of the government were clamorous for payment. Even the poor seamen, who had performed prodigies of valour in the four days' fight, were still waiting for arrears of wages, and refusing further service unless cash payments could be assured to them.* Charles and his advisers had a wholesome dread of a fresh appeal to parliament so soon after recent experience of the determination of the Commons to sift every item of public expenditure. De Witt was well acquainted with these embarrassments of the English government, and although the prospect of peace was sufficiently alluring to his countrymen at large, he contrived to delay the negotiations until he could turn to account the rare opportunity presented by the impoverished state of the English exchequer, and the consequent disorganization of the naval forces of his antagonists. His aim was that "the Dutch should leave some such mark of their having been upon the English coast as the English had left of their visit upon that of Holland.” The ambassadors of the three powers met in the middle of May at Breda. An armistice was proposed, but De Witt energetically objected to any suspension of the full rights of war until the terms of peace had been settled. The arsenals of Holland had been incessantly at work since the autumn, and a force of seventy ships was now fully equipped for service. De Witt caused these to sail in separate squadrons, and to assemble, under the orders of De Ruyter, at the mouths of the Thames and Medway. This danger had been foreseen, and some precautions had been adopted to avert it. The passages into the Medway were obstructed by the usual appliances of booms and sunken ships, and some land defences on a small scale were erected at Sheerness and other points on the way up the river towards Chatham. On the 9th of June De Ruyter appeared in imposing force off the Nore. A few broadsides from his fleet shattered the inadequate defences at Sheerness. Two days later he attempted to pass through the obstructions barring the passage to Chatham. Foiled by the sunken ships, he fell back with the tide, but succeeded next day in finding a practicable passage to the boom, which was readily sundered by the force of several large fire-ships carried against it by the tide. Monk was in charge of all the defensive operations, but they proved utterly inadequate to oppose the powerful fleet of the enemy. His guard-ships were burnt by the Dutch fire-ships, his batteries silenced by broadsides, and the hostile squadron passed triumphantly up the Medway, to Upnor Castle, close to Chatham. The invaders burned some laden merchantmen, and three large men-of-war, the James, the Oak, and the London, and captured the Royal Charles. None of these were manned or equipped, and a small amount of forethought would have sufficed to place them beyond reach of the enemy, whose visit was not unexpected. The Dutch made no attempt at landing, and though they sustained very little damage from the batteries, they withdrew with the ebb tide, and rejoined the other division which remained anchored at the Nore. They subsequently ascended the Thames almost to Gravesend. The capital was in the greatest alarm; numerous ships were sunk off Woolwich, to stop the passage of the enemy to the port of London. Then, for a month or more they cruised about the coasts of Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, entering at times the Downs or the Thames, and causing incessant alarm on the coasts insulted by their presence. The wonder is that they did so little mischief, when a little more enterprise would have enabled them to destroy all the ships of the navy that were laid up in inglorious rest at Chatham, and all the throngs of merchantmen that crowded the port of London. But if the actual damage inflicted was small, the disgrace was immeasurable, and rankled deeply in the heart of the nation.* “It was said that on the very day of that great humiliation [the Dutch in the Medway] the king flirted with the ladies of his seraglio, and amused himself with hunting a moth about the supper room. Then, at length, tardy justice was done to the memory of Oliver. Everywhere men magnified his valour, his genius, and patriotism. Everywhere it was remembered how, when he ruled, all foreign powers had trembled at the name of England; how the States General, now so haughty, had crouched at his feet. When it was known that he was no more, Amsterdam was lighted up as for a great deliverance, and children ran along the canals, shouting for joy that the devil was dead. Even Royalists exclaimed that the state only would be saved by calling the old soldiers of the Commonwealth to arms. Soon the capital began to feel the miseries of a blockade. Fuel was scarcely to be procured. Tilbury Fort, the place where Elizabeth had, with manly spirit, hurled foul scorn at Parma and Spain, was insulted by the invaders. The roar of foreign guns was heard, for the first and last time, by the citizens of London. In the council it was seriously proposed that if the enemy advanced the Tower should be abandoned. Great multitudes of people assembled in the streets, crying out that England was bought and sold. The houses and carriages of the ministers were attacked by the populace; and it seemed likely that the government would have to deal at once with an invasion and with an insurrection. The extreme danger, it is true, soon passed by. A treaty was concluded, very different from the treaties which Oliver had been in the habit of signing, and the nation was once more at peace, but was in a mood scarcely less fierce and sullen than in the days of ship-money” (Macaulay).

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* Several seamen came this morning to me, to tell me that if I would get their tickets paid they would go and do all they could against the Dutch, but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they have already fought for; so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. . . . And indeed the hearts as well as affections of seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, "This comes of your not paying our husbands, and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not."

Did business, though not much, at the Navy Office, because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money, which do trouble and perplex me to the heart; and more at noon, when we were to go through them, for then alone a whole hundred of them followed us, some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us.—*Diary of Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty.*

The terms of the treaty between the English and the Dutch left each side in possession of its gains in the war. The island of Polerone and Fort Cormantin on the Guinea coast were thus retained by the Dutch, and the English were confirmed in their possession of New York and Albany. In the settlement between France and England, Nova Scotia was restored to the French, who in requital gave back Antigua, St. Kitts, and Montserrat to the English. These treaties, and a third, restoring amity with Denmark, which had borne a nominal part in the war against England, were signed on the 21st of July. Within a few weeks of the conclusion of peace Clarendon was made the scapegoat of the sins of the government in which he had now held the chief place for upwards of seven years. The lord-treasurer, Southampton, his most attached friend and trusty adherent, had died in May; Monk was now a mere cipher at court; there remained no staunch colleague to stand by the falling minister. He had enemies among all parties, for reasons as contradictory as the aims and principles of the parties themselves. His counsels had led to an entire perversion of the king's compact with his subjects as set forth in the declaration from Breda. On this score the nonconformists and Catholics regarded him as their bitterest enemy. His stiff and haughty bearing offended the courtiers. The Cavaliers, who were disappointed in the hope of repairing their losses at the expense of the Roundheads, regarded the chancellor as the only obstacle to their rights, which they said he had sacrificed by the Bill of Indemnity, a bill which they continued to characterize as "the act of oblivion of loyalty, and indemnity for treason." The Scotch laid at his door the subversion of their national church. The Irish Catholics held him to be the author of the confiscation of their lands. He had promoted the match with a barren princess, and his daughter was married to the heir apparent. The aggrandisement of his own family was therefore regarded as the sinister design which had led him to bring about the marriage with Katherine of Braganza. The magnificence of his establishment was believed by the vulgar to be fed with the bribes of foreign princes and the plunder of the public funds which he administered. The disastrous events of the war were attributed to his pernicious counsels and control. He was detested by the House of Commons for his dictatorial bearing, and for constantly reminding them that they were overstepping their powers and meddling with matters which appertained to the crown alone. His rigid decorum was a standing rebuke to the licentiousness and frivolity of the court. The king's mistresses—especially Castlemaine—were among the most spiteful of his enemies, because he had forbidden his wife to visit them. The queen hated him; the king had lost his old regard for him. His enemies at court took heart from the popular discontent, and plied the king with incessant arguments for displacing him. Buckingham, Arlington, Sir William Coventry, Lady Castlemaine, and others, acted in concert, and by dint of perseverance brought Charles to the conclusion that the dismissal of the obnoxious minister was an indispensable step for appeasing popular discontent, and calming the animosities of the leading political and religious factions. Charles sent his brother James, who was the chancellor's son-in-law, to break the unwelcome news of his fall. He was told that the best service the king could render him was to ask for his resignation of the great seal. Clarendon met the ungracious message with the lofty seeming of injured fidelity, and a resolution to face his enemies and not be scared from his post. He requested the king to call upon him, as he was suffering under an attack of gout, and under the domestic bereavement of the recent death of his wife. The king promised to visit him next day. The promised visit was postponed. His daughter, the duchess of York, with the archbishop of Canterbury and other friends, called on the king, and tried to dissuade him from dismissing the chancellor. Charles answered that the step he had taken was intended for Clarendon's good, and was indeed the only way to save him from impeachment and the doom that had befallen Strafford. Clarendon called at Whitehall, and obtained an audience with the king. He argued, in an interview of two hours' duration, against the intended dismissal. Charles told him that he would not be able to shield him from the coming impeachment in parliament, and that his removal from office was the only means of disarming the hostility of his enemies in both houses. Clarendon reminded the king of his long services to the crown, and that parliament might yet be controlled within the limits of its ancient functions as exercised under the Tudors. In the warmth of his expostulations against his unmerited dismissal, he mentioned "the lady," with some cautions and reflections that annoyed the king, who thereupon rose and left the room, without saying a word. As the discarded chancellor was walking from the palace, he saw "the lady," with some of her confederates, at a window, looking at him "with great gaiety." Four days later (30th of August) the chancellor received a written order from the king to deliver up the great seal. The vacant office was at once conferred on Bridgman, chief justice of the Common Pleas, who had presided in the court that condemned the regicides. Clarendon's enemies were not content with his deprivation. Notwithstanding the king's assurance that he would never again employ the fallen statesman, they feared the risk of his return to power when the duke of York should come to the throne. The Commons impeached him of treason upon the grounds of common fame, following the precedent of Strafford. The impeachment comprised seventeen heads, the gravest of which were, that he had counselled the king to govern by a standing army, to be maintained by forced contributions; that he had declared the king to be inimical to the established church, and in heart a papist; that he had advised the sale of Dunkirk to the French; that he had been guilty of many acts of corruption and venality in his office as chancellor; and that he had revealed the king's counsels to the enemy during the war.

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* The business of Chatham was a terrible blow; and though the loss was great, the infamy was greater. The parliament had given above five millions towards the war; but through the luxury and waste of the court, this money was so squandered away, that the king could neither set out a fleet nor defend his coasts. Upon the news of the Dutch fleets being in the river, the king did not ride down himself, nor appear at the head of his people, who were in such imminent danger. He only sent the duke of Albemarle down, and was intending to retire to Windsor, but that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay. And it was given out that he was very cheerful that night at supper with his mistresses, which drew many libels upon him, that were written with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to Nero, who sang while Rome was burning.—*Burnet.*

The impeachment was carried to the Lords with a demand that the ex-chancellor should be committed to custody as a traitor. The Lords demurred to a committal of the earl on a mere general charge, and in the absence of any recital of specific acts of treason. Conferences between the two Houses ensued, with a hopeless entanglement of claims and counterclaims, usage and precedent. Persuasions to quit the kingdom, while yet a chance of flight remained, were pressed on Clarendon from many friendly quarters, particularly from the embarrassed king. He resisted all persuasions, and resolved to brave the utmost malice of his foes, until a written order from the king was handed to him by the duke of York, requiring him to withdraw to the Continent. He reluctantly complied, leaving in the hands of his friend the earl of Denbigh a document, under the name of a humble petition and address to the peers, in which he vindicated himself from the charges of his accusers. The paper was passed from the Lords to the Commons, who voted it a scandalous and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burned with the usual indignities, a sentence in which the peers concurred. A bill was then passed banishing him for life, and subjecting him to the penalties of treason unless he surrendered himself for trial before the 1st of February. An illness hindered his contemplated return to take his trial within the appointed time. He never came back to England. After an exile of seven years, during which the king turned a deaf ear to all his yearnings and solicitations for a return to his native land, he ended his days at Rouen. He relieved the tedium of banishment by literary labours, which, after large deductions for their shortcomings, are still regarded as valuable materials for the history of the epoch in which he bore a leading part.

The new Council of State that succeeded to the direction of affairs after Clarendon's banishment acquired the name of the king's *cabal.* The term was not at first used in a reproachful or derogatory sense, but was merely another name for a secret council or cabinet. It is found applied in this inoffensive sense in the writings of Whitelock, under the date 1650. It was simply by an odd coincidence that the Cabal Administration included among its principal members, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, the initial letters of whose names make up the word CABAL. The earlier acts of the new government gained them great popularity, but they subsequently rendered themselves hateful by their pernicious measures, and thus brought on the memory of the Cabal a burden of reproach which has ever since been associated with the word. Sir Thomas Clifford, a commissioner of the treasury, and afterwards lord-treasurer, may be considered to have taken the place of Southampton; Sir H. Bennet, now made Lord Arlington, occupied the place of Nicholas as principal secretary of state; Lord Ashley and Sir William Coventry were also commissioners of the treasury; Ormond was soon displaced by Lord Robarts in the government of Ireland; the duke of Albemarle was getting too old for business, and had besides ceased to carry any weight; the duke of Buckingham, although at first without any specific office in the government, filled the leading place in it; Bridgman became lord-keeper on Clarendon's dismissal, but was a man of small account in the ministry; Morrice was soon displaced by Sir J. Trevor as secretary of state; the duke of Lauderdale was continued in his post of secretary of state in Scotland.

One of the earliest measures of the new administration was a scheme for checking the progress of the French in the Spanish Netherlands. Louis XIV. had long nourished the design of taking possession of Flanders in right of his wife, Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. He founded his claim on what is called the law of devolution, which was in force in some provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, under which the children by a first marriage, even if females, succeeded to their father's estate in preference to any of his children by a later marriage. Louis was married to the king of Spain's daughter by a first wife; the Spanish monarchy with all its dependencies passed to Charles, the son of Philip by a second wife. By the treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, the Spanish government had guarded against the risk of such a claim as that now advanced by the French king. In that treaty Louis and his wife solemnly renounced all title to Flanders or any other part of the Spanish dominions. Philip died in 1665, leaving a sickly boy as the inheritor of his vast dominions in the two hemispheres. The French king refused to be bound by the contract entered into at his marriage and in the treaty of the Pyrenees, on the pretext that his wife was under age when the pledge was exacted from her, and that for his own part he was released from his engagement by the failure on the part of Spain to pay the marriage portion of his wife. Under these flimsy pretexts he sought to cover the ambitious design which was ever uppermost in his thoughts, the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine. He had at his disposal the largest military force that had been wielded by any European monarch since the disruption of the Roman empire. The Spanish monarchy, once the dread of Europe, was now in its decline, and offered but a feeble resistance to the French armies that swarmed into Flanders in the summer of 1667. Many of the states of Europe were alarmed at the rapid progress of the French, and Louis was beset with counsels of moderation from several quarters. The growth of the power of France was particularly distasteful to the English. The government had the address to turn to account the traditional jealousy of France, and to perform a great service for Europe at large, by an opportune and successful stroke of diplomacy. Sir William Temple, the able representative of the English government at Brussels, had on several occasions pointed out the risk that the French would soon push their frontier to Holland and the Rhine, unless a league were formed to check their further progress. He urged the English government to enter into alliance with the Dutch, who were deeply concerned in averting the danger of having the French for their next neighbours. Temple's proposals were now taken up seriously by Charles's ministers. He was commissioned to go to the Hague, for a conference with De Witt, the chief minister of Holland. His overtures were at the same time very acceptable, yet very perplexing to the government of Holland. It was a great object with the Dutch that the Spanish Netherlands should remain a barrier between them and France, yet they hesitated to take part with their late enemies, the English, against their old friends and allies, the French. Temple put so forcibly before them the danger of delay, and the necessity for united and vigorous action to stop French encroachment on their borders, that he overcame their scruples, and they agreed to the terms of his treaty. Sweden also became a party to it, and thus was completed the famous Triple Alliance, for enforcing terms of peace between France and Spain, and checking the progress of Louis in his further schemes of conquest. French writers deny that the Triple Alliance had any influence in arresting the conquests of Louis; but it is nevertheless the fact that without waiting the risk of serious reverses, such as he might have encountered had he defied the united forces of the three nations who were banded together for the assistance of Spain, he at once agreed to negotiate, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2) was the speedy result. By this treaty France was confirmed in the possession of the towns in Flanders nearest to her own borders which she had wrested from the Spaniards, and relinquished the rest to their rightful possessor. Public feeling in England was highly gratified by this substantial fruit of the Triple Alliance, and the king and his new cabinet became on a sudden quite popular as the patriotic asserters of the influence of their country in the councils of Europe. National pride was further gratified by the arrival of intelligence of important successes achieved by a body of veteran soldiers who had been trained under Cromwell, and who had more recently been gaining fresh laurels under the king of Portugal in his war of independence against the Spaniards. By the aid of these English auxiliaries, who were sent to Portugal under the marriage treaty, which bound Charles to sustain the house of Braganza, the Portuguese gained a series of victories over their formidable adversaries. The English contingent gained great renown by the conspicuous part it bore in the battle of Evora, in which a formidable Spanish army, under the command of Don John of Austria, suffered a crushing defeat. Peace followed this victory, the earl of Sandwich acting as mediator between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon. A treaty of commerce between England and Spain was concluded at about the same time.

In the management of home affairs the king's new ministers were less successful than in their foreign policy. They courted the good will of all parties without gaining the entire confidence of any. They offended the Cavaliers by releasing some republican prisoners who had been arrested by the former administration and detained without trial. The Presbyterians and Independents were flattered with promises of large concessions, the value of which was however much diminished by well-grounded fears that an ulterior purpose of serving the Catholics was concealed under the specious show of general toleration. Churchmen were alarmed by the friendly bearing of the government towards nonconformists and Catholics. The character of the leading members of the cabinet affords a clue to the distrust with which their measures were regarded. Buckingham was notorious for his immorality. He was living in unconcealed adultery with Lady Shrewsbury, whose husband he had slain in a duel within a few weeks of his being called to fill the chief place in the councils of his sovereign. He was utterly destitute of principle, and ready to ally himself with any party that for the time seemed best fitted to promote the project then uppermost in his mind. He was at one time foremost among the party bent on advancing the prerogative of the crown; at another he was detected in intrigues with the remnant of the republican party in the city. His fickleness of purpose brought him several times into disgrace and some danger at court; but his versatility and mastery in the art of making himself agreeable soon paved the way for reconciliation in a circle where wit, mimicry, irreligion, and unabashed profligacy, were the sure passports to favour. Arlington was an accomplished man of the world, able, industrious, a good speaker, but wanting in earnestness of purpose. His religion was always matter of doubt, and his political leanings were in favour of despotic rule. He was seldom on good terms with Buckingham, who damaged his influence with the king by making him the butt of his ridicule. He was always suspected by the church party of being a Catholic, but the Catholics hated him for his lukewarm friendship, and accused him of betraying their interests while professing to serve them. Clifford resembled his patron Arlington in his preference for a despotic form of government. He was energetic and able, but evinced a most perverted sense of honour and public duty. Ashley resembled Buckingham in the facility with which he could sever old ties and attach himself to a new cause, but his latest choice was always the rising party. "His strength," says Burnet, "lay in his knowledge of England and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understandings and their tempers, and he knew how to apply himself to them so dexterously, that, though by his changing sides so often, it was very visible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the last much trusted by all the discontented party. He was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and he valued himself on doing it at the properest season and in the best manner." Lauderdale was rough, boisterous, ungainly in person, proud, passionate, and avaricious. Though at heart a Presbyterian to the end of his days, he lent himself as the willing instrument of the court in subverting the religion for which he had fought against the first Charles. He had no other policy than to please the king, and was never deterred, either by scruples of conscience or by promptings of humanity, in his means of enforcing the episcopal form of church government on his countrymen.

Parliament betrayed its mistrust of the cabinet in the earliest days of the session which opened on the 10th of February, 1668. Charles and his advisers were bent on rescinding or softening the laws against dissenters. The king, in a message to the two houses, recommended that a course should be adopted in matters of religion, whereby nonconformists should be induced not alone to submit quietly to the government, but faithfully to give their assistance in upholding it. It is honourable to Charles that he was always in favour of toleration. In this respect he was in advance of his time; but a prince of more stable character and fixed principles could have rendered great service, not alone to his own country, but to the progress of humanity at large, by taking the lead in opposing the bigotry and intolerance of his subjects. After seven years' experience, the most servile parliament grew slack in its devotion to a king whose only rule of action seemed to be the indulgence of his ceaseless craving for profligate pleasures. His failings never leaned to virtue's side, and the rare occasions of his inclination for honourable and virtuous actions came at length to be regarded but as the specious covering of some latent evil purpose, cloaked under the mask of goodness that was alien to his nature. His chosen counsellors were for the most part men after his own heart, heartless time-servers, unbelievers in the reality of goodness, void of patriotism, the tools of his extravagance and debauchery, a knot of mere trading politicians and profligate self-seekers. Had the court been pure and virtuous instead of corrupt and depraved, and had it been at the time supported by patriotic instead of venal advisers, the task of teaching the parliament then sitting the virtue of toleration would have been arduous in the extreme. In the actual circumstances there is little room for wonder that a majority in parliament opposed the government motion for indulgence to dissenters. One member predicted that toleration would require the counterpoise of a standing army to prevent perpetual strife between rival creeds; another held standing armies and toleration to be twin dangers of equal magnitude, and declared he would have neither; a third objected that toleration had no place in Judaism, Paganism, Mahomedanism, or Christianity; why then, he asked, should the Church of England bow to novices? In this attitude of suspicion the Commons voted only half the supplies demanded by government, and even this stinted money bill was coupled with a stipulation for giving stringent effect to the laws against liberty of conscience. A committee had been appointed by the Commons, notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition of the court, to investigate the expenditure of the supplies voted for the war with Holland. Many scandalous misappropriations of public funds were thus brought to light; but there still remained nearly a million for which no account was rendered by the government. The effect of these discoveries was very damaging to the king, and he was not altogether insensible to the disgrace in which they involved him. But the only lesson he learnt from this exposure was, that his brother monarchs in continental states, untrammelled by parliamentary control, enjoyed a more enviable lot than his, and that it behoved him to use all available means for dispensing with the help of meddlesome parliaments. A throng of flatterers taught him to believe that he was basely treated in being called upon to render any account of expenditure. They pointed to foreign governments, especially France, where the prince was absolute; they suggested that it was not impracticable to shake off the galling restraints of parliamentary interference, as had recently been done by the king of Denmark, who by a sudden and resolute exertion of power had made the crown hereditary and absolute, instead of elective and subject to the limitations of a senate.

The brief session was for the most part occupied in dissensions between the two houses on a question of privilege. A merchant named Skinner had sustained large damage at the hands of the East India Company, whose exclusive privileges of trading with the east he had in some way infringed. He complained to the king's council of the injuries inflicted by the company. The council referred him to the House of Lords for redress. The Lords decided in his favour, and ordered the company to make compensation. The company petitioned the House of Commons, urging that the case was not within the jurisdiction of the Upper House, inasmuch as it did not come before them as an appeal from an inferior court, but was an original complaint, which ought first to be heard in one of the ordinary courts of law. The Commons sided with the company in their objections to the jurisdiction of the Peers. Each House passed resolutions in derogation of the votes of the other; public business was stopped, and all intercourse between the Houses interrupted. It was not till two years later that the angry discussion was brought to a close by each House erasing from its journals all record of proceedings in the case of Skinner. Such a finale to a quarrel, maintained on each side with the most obstinate determination, was looked upon at the time as not a little ridiculous; but in the end it resulted in a tacit understanding, which has never since been violated, that the House of Lords has no right under the constitution to exercise original jurisdiction in civil causes.

At this period the court was more than ever distinguished by unblushing licentiousness. Frequent discussions occurred between Charles and his advisers on the expediency of his procuring a divorce from his queen, on no other ground than that she was barren. Buckingham vented his spite against Lady Castlemaine, now advanced to the dignity of duchess of Cleveland, by bringing two fresh rivals into competition with her for the king's favour. These were the actresses already enumerated in the long list of Charles's concubines. One of them, Moll Davies, captivated the king by her dancing, and gained from him a magnificent establishment in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall. The other, Nell Gwynn, who had first obtained access to the theatre as an orange girl, and from that menial position had been selected for her sprightliness, beauty, and wit, to fill a place on the stage among the king's players, first won the admiration of the king in the character and dress of a boy. He appointed her to an office in the queen's household, assigned her lodgings near the palace, and found constant solace in her sprightly and fascinating companionship. She became mother of the first duke of St. Albans, and preserved a leading place in the inconstant affections of the king to the end of his life. Not that she ever reigned alone in the amorous regards of the royal lover, but he squandered no less than 60,000*l.* upon her from his impoverished exchequer in the first four years of her concubinage with him, and the prime minister of England felt no shame in pandering to the lusts of his royal master. Bishop Burnet tells the story of Nell Gwynn's introduction by the duke of Buckingham to the king in the following terms: "At this time the court fell into much extravagance in masquerading; both king and queen and all the court went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolic. . . . They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who she was, went from her; so she was alone, and was much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach, some say it was a cart. The duke of Buckingham proposed to the king that he would give him leave to steal her away, and send her to a plantation [*i. e.*, a colonial settlement], where she would be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more; so it should be given out that she had deserted, and upon that it would fall in with some principles to carry out an act for a divorce, grounded upon the pretence of a wilful desertion. Sir Robert Murray told me that the king himself rejected this with horror. . . . But at last all these schemes settled into a proposition into which the king went, which was to deal with the queen's confessor to persuade her to leave the world and turn religious. . . . She herself had no mind to be a nun, and the duchess of York was afraid of seeing another queen, and the [king's] mistress, at that time created duchess of Cleveland, knew that she must be the first sacrifice to a beloved queen, and she reconciled herself upon this with the duchess of York. The duke of Buckingham upon that broke with her, and studied to take the king from her by new amours. And because he thought a gaiety of humour would take much with the king, he engaged him to entertain two players, one after another, Davies and Gwynn. The first did not keep her hold long; but Gwynn, the most indiscreet and most wild creature that ever was in a court, continued to the end of the king's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vast expense. . . . She acted all persons in so lively a manner, and was such a constant diversion to the king, that even a new mistress could not drive her away."

The gross licentiousness of the court was extensively imitated in the higher circles of society. Profligacy on the part of young men of rank was the surest passport to royal favour. Public decency was outraged by boon companions of the king. Sedley, Buckhurst, and other gallants got drunk on one occasion at a tavern in Bow Street, and going into the balcony, attracted a crowd by their mad frolics. Sedley divested himself of his clothes, and, in a state of nudity, made a drunken speech to the spectators, who revenged the gross defiance of decorum by pelting the performers with stones and other missiles. Sedley was afterwards fined 500*l.* for the misdemeanour, but he was consoled by the undiminished friendship of his approving king. Sir William Coventry proved too sedate and decorous to please such a chief as Buckingham, who picked a quarrel with him, and procured his dismissal from office and imprisonment in the Tower. Even the duke of York was not too high a mark for Buckingham's malice; but Charles was not wanting in brotherly affection, and from that cause alone he turned a deaf ear to repeated malicious hints from the unscrupulous minister. Buckingham was safe while he could cater satisfactorily for his master's pleasures. To this end liberal supplies of money were indispensable. Parliament had seriously disappointed his expectations in the recent session, and was so earnestly bent on scrutinizing the expenditure of the government, that he had little hope in that quarter. The only ready alternative that offered was to curtail expenditure. But economy was altogether foreign to the king's tastes and habits.

He had yet one resource left, but it was one which even the slenderest sense of patriotism, or the faintest remnant of honourable feeling, should have taught him to spurn with manly indignation. While the country was still ringing with applause for the successful issue of the Triple Alliance, while the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was still being negotiated, Charles and his minister were intriguing with the French court, with the view of securing money and military aid for rendering the English crown independent of constitutional restraints. Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, sister of Charles and sister-in-law of Louis, was the medium of her brother's first overtures, and of most of the subsequent negotiations that resulted in the infamous secret treaty. The Triple Alliance was scarcely less hateful to Charles, who gained the credit of it, than to Louis, whose pride it humiliated, and whose career of conquest it had stemmed. Both monarchs hated the Dutch. Charles had been disgraced in the eyes of Europe and of his own subjects by De Ruyter's successful raid up the Thames and Medway, and he had not forgotten or forgiven the churlish treatment they had bestowed on him in the days of his adversity. While his subjects welcomed the alliance with a Protestant people and a republican government against the encroachments of a Catholic power and an absolute prince, Charles was bent on making himself as absolute as Louis, and was fully prepared to declare himself a Catholic if such a course would further his chances of success. Louis eagerly desired an opportunity of punishing and humbling the Dutch for their presumption and ingratitude, as shown in their readiness to join in the league against him so soon after the war in which he had taken part with them. But the gratification of their mutual resentment against Holland was the least important among the motives which prompted the secret treaty. Charles yearned to be independent of his parliament, and Louis had grand schemes of extending his dominion over Belgium, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and even of uniting the kingdom of Spain, with its immense dependencies in both hemispheres, to the French crown, when the only brother of his consort, that sickly boy who then filled the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, should be removed by death. If any king could serve Charles in the darling object of his ambition, it was Louis; if Louis could count on the mere neutrality of England, the most formidable obstacle to his ambitious schemes vanished. Charles's first cautious overtures were received with pretended indifference, but Louis soon gave proof that the proposals from Whitehall were most welcome. When the negotiations had been some months in progress, the duke of York, with the concurrence of the king, declared himself a Catholic. Charles not only made no objection to his brother's open profession of the Roman Catholic faith, but, with tears in his eyes, declared that he himself was of the same mind. He consulted those of his council who were least likely to oppose him in such a matter, asking what course they thought best with the view of securing him against any difficulties with his subjects on his desertion of the reformed creed. Arlington, Clifford, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, who, with the king and his brother, were the sole parties in this conference, advised him to inform Louis of his purpose, and to ask his help in carrying it into effect. There is much ground for believing that Charles was deceiving both his brother and Louis in thus importing religion into the secret negotiations then pending. As matter of policy, he conformed strictly to the religious rites of the Established Church, but even to the bishops of that church he did not disguise his want of faith in many of the chief doctrines of every Christian communion. It was unlikely that such a man would endanger his throne in order to testify his attachment to a faith that was in antagonism with the religion of the great majority of his subjects. Charles wanted money, and sent over Lord Arundel and Sir Richard Bellings to solicit from Louis such a sum as would defray the cost of quelling the insurrection which might be expected to break out in England on the open profession of his faith as a Roman Catholic. He offered in return to break up the Triple Alliance, and to join the French in a war against Holland, on condition that Louis should pay for the military and naval help which he proposed to render in the war.

The duke of York's feeble scruples as to the dishonour in which these transactions involved the throne to which he was the nearest heir were of no avail against his bigotry in favour of the creed to which he was at length committed. He clearly discerned that if he remained a Romanist he had little chance of possessing the throne in peace, unless his own faith should be put in a position of ascendancy by such aid as the king of France could give. He was therefore a willing party to the dishonouring compact by which the conscience and the might of England were to be bartered away for foreign subsidies. The French king showed his thorough appreciation of the weak side of Charles's character by sending as one of his envoys in the negotiation a lady of great personal attractions, who was entirely unburdened with scruples of modesty. This was Mademoiselle de Querouaille, who soon became duchess of Portsmouth, and at once eclipsed, though she did not altogether extinguish, her many rivals in the profligate monarch's affections. Louis persuaded Charles not to be hasty in his public profession of Roman Catholicism, cautioning him of the danger of a widespread insurrection. The truth seems to be, that while the French king would have been glad to serve the cause of his church, he never for one moment entertained the thought that it would be possible to thrust his faith on the English people. His policy was to keep England out of the coalition that continental powers would aim to form against his schemes of aggrandizement for France. It was of the utmost importance to him to keep the king of England in a state of subserviency to his designs, and this he could readily do by appearing to promote the plans of the English court. To bring matters to a settlement, a visit was arranged to take place in May, 1670, between Charles and his sister, the duchess of Orleans. She was perfectly conversant with all tangled webs of the protracted secret negotiations that had occupied two years of discussion, and she had a private and domestic purpose of her own to serve in the meeting with her brother. In the interest of the king of France she urged Charles to commence hostilities with Holland, and to delay declaring himself a Catholic. In her own behoof she sought the support and countenance of her brother in obtaining a divorce from her husband. The first point was too hazardous for Charles to concede in the existing condition of home affairs; he steadily resisted the divorce, because it would have endangered his good understanding with the French court.

Meanwhile the terms of the treaty were settled and signed at Dover, just ten years after Charles's landing there amid the enthusiastic greetings of his people; and the beautiful and fascinating Henrietta returned to her French home, where she soon after died suddenly at the early age of twenty-six, not without suspicions that she was the victim of poison. The terms of the treaty were kept most scrupulously secret, and remained unpublished for a hundred and sixty years. The copy sent to France has long since disappeared beyond hope of recovery. Charles's copy was confided to the custody of Clifford, and remains to this day in the possession of his descendants. In 1830 Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian, was permitted to publish the mysterious document. Its chief provisions were:—1. That the king of England should, at such time as he should judge opportune, declare himself a Catholic, and after such declaration should join Louis in a war against the Dutch. 2. That the king of France should place at Charles's disposal a force of six thousand soldiers, and provide him with a subsidy of two million livres, to enable him to meet the opposition of his subjects to his conversion, or to his taking part in the war against the Dutch. 3. That each should faithfully observe the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. 4. That the king of England should aid Louis in establishing his rights on the Spanish monarchy in the event of the death of the boy-king of Spain. 5. That the war with Holland should not be discontinued by either of the confederates without the consent of the other. 6. That the expense of the war by land should be borne by the king of France, but that Charles should supply an auxiliary force of six thousand soldiers. 7. That Charles should find a naval force of fifty ships, and Louis of thirty, the whole to be under the command of the duke of York; and the French king to furnish Charles with three millions of livres yearly, to defray the charges of his fleet. There were also stipulations specifying the share which Charles was to have of the conquests to be made at the expense of the Dutch, and some reservations in favour of his nephew, William, prince of Orange. The odium of this scandalous treaty, by which a king of England voluntarily became the vassal and pensioner of a foreign power, belongs almost exclusively to Charles. Only two members of his cabinet knew the whole contents of the treaty. Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale were tricked into the belief that the copy signed by them was the complete document. Basely subservient as they were to the will of their master, he feared to trust them with a knowledge of the articles bearing upon his intended change of religion, and these portions of the treaty were accordingly omitted from the copy which bears their signatures. Arlington, Clifford, Arundel, and Bellings, only the first two of whom filled any office in the administration, signed the complete treaty on behalf of Charles. The Catholic Louis gave but scant encouragement to the Protestant Charles in the design of subverting either the religion or the government of England; but he soon became urgent with Charles on the treaty obligation with respect to war against Holland. He continued to remit the pension, and Charles continued for two years to frame excuses for his tardy performance of his part of the bargain.

Some home affairs now demand notice. The disastrous fire which, in 1666, had left the chief part of the city of London a desolate waste, was not an unmixed evil. Abundant and remunerative employment was found for vast numbers of the operative class in rebuilding the city. In the space of four years wider streets and more substantial houses covered the space formerly crowded with wood and plaster dwellings, and traversed by closely-pent lanes. Trade came back in full flow, and the nation at large enjoyed a term of marked prosperity and general contentment. In the two years preceding the treaty of Dover parliament had been adjourned for such long intervals as left little time for any other measures than money bills and the quarrel arising out of Skinner's business, already narrated. Before the session of 1670, attempts were made by the government to bring about a conciliatory arrangement with the more moderate nonconformists. Bridgman, the lord-keeper, and Hale, the chief justice, had drawn up an Act of Comprehension, for incorporating with the Established Church all who were content to sink minor differences. Wilkins, bishop of Chester, with Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Burton, represented the Church; Baxter, Manton, and Bates, represented the Presbyterians.

Had the followers of each party to this conference been loyally disposed to abide by the conclusions of their respective delegates, there was a fair prospect of such a compromise as would have healed the divisions in the religious opinions and practice of an overwhelming majority of the nation; but the intemperate zeal of outsiders soon marred the delusive hope of unity. Parker, on the side of the Establishment, raised a cry that it was unworthy of the Church to treat with its enemies, and that any concession would undermine and betray the Church by the admission that it had been in the wrong. Burnet holds, that while Parker deserves the praise of considerable learning, he was a man of no judgment, of no virtue, and more impious than religious. His writings against dissenters exhibit more satirical vivacity than of that charity which suffereth long and is kind. "After he had for some time entertained the nation with several virulent books, written with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who wrote in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure." The attack thus described by Burnet was Marvell's 'Rehearsal Transposed,' which brought all the laughers to his side. But ridicule is a dangerous weapon in serious controversies; it may demolish an opponent's arguments, but leave him more determined in his angry antagonism. The friends of compromise and conciliation were, on the occasion under notice, triumphant in argument, but powerless to overcome the prejudice of the other side. Parliament refused to entertain the proposal for comprehension and toleration, but eagerly adopted a measure of an opposite character. They passed a bill reviving the penalties against conventicles, and adding fresh clauses, by which magistrates who neglected to enforce the provisions of the law were subjected to fines. This drove many humane magistrates from the bench, and encouraged others in such severity as became a scandal to a civilized community. The Quakers braved all the hardships involved in an open defiance of the intolerant bigotry which forbade the worship of their Maker according to the dictates of their conscience. They went openly at the accustomed hour to their meeting-houses, where they were met by the officers of the law and taken before magistrates, who sentenced them in shoals to fines, which they refused to pay, preferring the alternative of imprisonment. In prison they declined to submit to the exaction of jail fees which would have procured a mitigation of their punishment. As soon as they came out they resumed their attendance at the meeting-houses; and when these were closed, they assembled in the streets for worship. Penn and Mead, their leaders in these persevering acts of passive resistance, were indicted on the charge of causing a riot, as their street-preaching drew audiences that had to be dispersed by the authorities. The case was heard by Starling, the lord mayor, a rigid asserter of orthodoxy. The jury endured thirty-six hours' confinement without swerving from their first verdict of *not guilty:* they were imprisoned and fined for contumacy, and the two preachers, though acquitted of the charge, suffered the like punishment for contempt of court, in refusing, according to the practice of their sect, to remove their hats from their heads in presence of the court. In the end the calm and firm resistance of the Quakers tired out the perseverance of their persecutors, and the government stopped further severities against their harmless perversity.

Buckingham was bent on thrusting the duke of York out of the succession to the throne, and made more than one daring attempt to enlist the king in the project. Charles's son by Lucy Barlow, his mistress in the first years of his exile, had been brought to England shortly after the Restoration, and was treated with great kindness by his royal father, who conferred on him the title of duke of Monmouth. While yet a boy of tender years the king gave him in marriage the countess of Buccleuch, the richest heiress in Scotland, and placed him, before he had attained the age of manhood, in command of a regiment of the guard. Buckingham was closely observant of the king's affection for his natural son, and seizing a favourable occasion, hinted to Charles that if he would like to secure the throne for his own well-beloved son, it was only for him to avow that he had been secretly married to the duke of Monmouth's mother, when evidence could readily be produced in confirmation of the marriage. Charles vented his honest indignation against the nefarious suggestion in the forcible rejoinder: "Much as I love the duke of Monmouth, I would rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for my lawful heir." Buckingham's suggestion for putting away the queen has already been noticed. He resumed the scheme when the Upper House passed a bill (March, 1670) enabling Lord Ross to marry again, after separation from his adulterous wife. He promoted by all means in his power the passing of this bill, expressly that it might serve as a precedent for the king, for up to that date the parties to a divorce were not free to contract a second marriage until the death of one left the other untrammelled. Charles followed with the keenest interest all the stages of this bill, with the evident intention of making it serve his own prepossessions in favour of a divorce and a second marriage; but his case against his consort was so weak that he felt constrained to relinquish the prosecution of his design.

Parliament was summoned in October, 1670, to discuss the question of the additional supplies which the government claimed under the pretence of putting the armaments of the country in such a state of efficiency as was demanded by the aggressive attitude of France. The lord-keeper drew attention to the treaties with several continental states for the encouragement of trade, and dwelt on the necessity of having a large naval force available to secure the country from any repetition of the disgrace suffered in 1667 through the insufficiency of the naval force then at the disposal of government. This reasoning had the desired effect; supplies to the amount of two and a half millions were cheerfully voted. In settling the new taxes by which these funds were to be raised, a member suggested a tax on the play-houses. The courtiers objected on the ground that the players were the king's servants and a part of his majesty's pleasures. With more wit than discretion, Sir John Coventry inquired, "whether did the king's pleasure lie among the men or the women that acted." This sarcastic reflection on his majesty's notorious profligacy was resented by a brutal outrage on the indiscreet member. He was waylaid by a party of the duke of Monmouth's regiment, who, under the direction of their officers, Sandys and O'Brian, set upon him in the middle of a December night as he was returning to his lodgings from a tavern in the Haymarket. Coventry defended himself manfully, using his sword with some effect on O'Brian, but he had no chance against such odds. He was disarmed, flung on the ground, and held there, while one of the party slit his nose with a knife, in accordance with the express order of the duke of Monmouth, who was charged by Charles to leave a mark upon the offender that would teach him what respect he owed to the king. The triumph of the court and its unscrupulous agents was of brief duration. The outrage occurred on the night of the adjournment (21st of December) for a brief Christmas recess. The first business of the House of Commons, on reassembling on the 9th of January, 1671, was to exact reparation for the indignity offered to the Commons of England in the person of one of their members. A bill was brought in banishing for life the principal actors in the affair, and declaring them incapable of pardon except by act of parliament. Any repetition of the like outrage was guarded against by additional clauses, which declared maiming or disfiguring the person to be felony. The court was scared by the fury of the Commons, and made no effort to shield the instruments of its malice. All other business was suspended until this bill became law. From the circumstances of its origin it has always borne the name of the Coventry Act. The money bills were then quickly disposed of, though one of them fell through on account of disputes between the two Houses on a question of privilege to which it gave rise. A customs bill had passed from the Lower to the Upper House, when some merchants petitioned the peers for an abatement in the rate of duties to be imposed on certain commodities. The Lords assented, and made the desired changes, but the Commons denied their right to do so, maintaining that they could only accept or reject, but could nowise alter a money bill. The dispute was maintained with great warmth for a whole month, when the king, in despair of a peaceful solution, closed the session, and dispensed with their services for two years. The king laid the blame of these untoward dissensions on Buckingham's want of tact in admitting the merchants' petition to discussion in the House of Lords. The duke of Albemarle, for whose great services Charles ever cherished a generous regard, died early in the year 1670. His vulgar and grasping consort, who had been originally his laundress, then his mistress, and subsequently his wife, and the awkward associate of his exalted dignities, followed him within a few weeks. The king's mother, whose counsels were thought to have led to some of the most pernicious of the acts of Charles I.'s reign, was numbered with the dead in the preceding summer. Clarendon's daughter, the duchess of York, died in March, leaving two children, the Princesses Mary and Anne, both of whom eventually became queens of England. The prince of Orange, Charles's nephew, was at this date on a visit to the court. Towards the end of the year a banquet was given in his honour by the civic authorities, to which all the dignitaries of the state were invited. Among the distinguished guests was the duke of Ormond, who narrowly escaped a tragic fate on his way back to the court end of the town. His carriage was stopped in St. James's Street by a party of armed desperadoes, who dragged him out, fastened him on the back of a horse, and hastened to hang him at Tyburn; but he contrived to fling himself to the ground in Knightsbridge, and by the help of some men passing by, was extricated from his dangerous predicament. Colonel Blood, an Irishman, was the leader of these desperate bandits. Some years earlier he had been concerned in an attempt to surprise Dublin Castle, on the failure of which several of his associates suffered death, and he only escaped the same fate by flight and concealment. Ormond, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had brought Blood's friends to a felon's death, and he in revenge now sought to inflict the same ignominious doom on Ormond. Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the daring villains, but they escaped detection until the following year, when Blood was taken in an attempt, in which he had well-nigh succeeded, to carry off the crown of England and the regalia from the jewel-room in the Tower. The king had the curiosity to see the malefactor who could engage in such outrageous plots. Blood boldly avowed his guilt, gloried in his crimes, defied the doom which he expected, and added that his death would be revenged by members of his numerous gang, who were bound by oath to exact life for life; and that it behoved his majesty to weigh well whether he ought to risk his own life by awarding the death-penalty for the attempt on Ormond and the crown jewels. It is added that he avowed another plot in which he had undertaken to shoot the king, and that with that intent he had waylaid his majesty on the occasion of his going to bathe in the Thames at Battersea, but that in the very act of taking aim from his lurking place by the river side, he was smitten with so deep an awe of majesty that he gave up the design. Charles seems to have been put off his guard by the assassin's flattering tribute to the "divinity that doth hedge a king," and his fears were probably aroused by the hints of vengeance. He not only pardoned but caressed the criminal, gave him an estate of five hundred pounds per annum,* admitted him to his intimacy at Whitehall, so that "all the world," to quote the words of a writer of the time, "stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour showed to so atrocious a malefactor, the reasons and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend." Ormond's family and friends believed that the attempt on his life was instigated by Buckingham and the duchess of Cleveland. Ormond's son, Lord Ossory, made no concealment of his opinion, but in the very presence of the king told Buckingham that he knew him to be at the bottom of the plot, and warned him in the following words:—"If my father come to a violent death by sword or pistol; if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison,—I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it: I shall consider you as the assassin. I shall treat you as such, and whenever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair, and I tell you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word."

The summer of 1671 was occupied in settling the preliminaries of the war on which Charles was about to enter. He had obtained supplies from parliament under cover of sustaining the national honour. The Triple Alliance was identified in the minds of both houses with the interests and the honour of the nation. Charles could not meet his parliament without peril at a time when he was about to desert the Dutch and side with Louis in a war of conquest and spoliation. He decided accordingly to have no session until the war had been some time in progress. Although the supplies voted by parliament were ample for a time of peace, and the subsidies from Louis were considerable, Charles and his advisers felt it necessary to adopt some financial expedient which should give them the command of larger funds at the outbreak of hostilities than would be available in the ordinary course of things. The bankers and capitalists of the city had been in the habit, since the time of Cromwell, of lending money to the government at the rate of eight per cent., receiving assignments on the taxes as they fell due for the periodical liquidation of both principal and interest. Clifford and Ashley proposed to the cabinet to stop payment for twelve months of all sums falling due under this arrangement. The cabinet having agreed to the scheme, it was submitted for the approval of the full council, coupled with the condition that no member was free to raise objections unless he were prepared to suggest an alternative scheme by which as much money could be got in as brief a time. The council sanctioned the proposal, and thus funds due to public creditors to the amount of thirteen hundred thousand pounds were impounded (2nd of January, 1672) for the service of the state. The bankers were thus deprived of the means of meeting the claims of their customers, and extensive bankruptcies, with a long train of private suffering, were the immediate result.

The gain to the government by this flagrant breach of trust was dearly purchased at the expense of extensive discontent and disgust. Although war was not yet actually declared, the symptoms of the approaching crisis were well understood by the Dutch. They sent a naval force to convoy a fleet of richly-laden merchantmen then on its way from the Levant, and which were due in the ports of Holland in the early spring. The recent treaty of Breda gave the merchant ships of the contracting powers immunity from capture for six months after the outbreak of hostilities; but this protection extended only to ships of either power which might be in the ports and harbours of the other at the commencement of war. Fleets of merchantmen returning from distant stations were still in hazard of capture as before, but not until the issue of a formal declaration of war. Charles sent a fleet under Admiral Holmes to intercept the Dutch trading ships in their passage, fully a fortnight before the issue of his declaration of hostilities against Holland. In his greed for an undiminished share of the rich booty of which he felt too sure, Holmes rashly evaded that part of his instructions under which he was directed to call to his aid all the ships of war he could find in his passage from Chatham to the Isle of Wight. In sailing down channel he met Admiral Sprague's squadron and a convoy of English merchantmen from the Mediterranean. From them he learned that the Dutch were not many days' sail in their rear, upon which, dismissing Sprague, he took up his station off the Isle of Wight. The Dutch fleet of sixty merchantmen and five ships of war soon hove in sight. Holmes attacked them with his eight ships. The Dutch men-of-war stood so well to their trust that their convoy escaped. Disgrace and ridicule followed this egregious failure of an enterprise that was looked forward to for months beforehand as a certain means of acquiring a large booty. The declaration of war followed on the 17th of March. In it Charles assigned as his reasons for hostilities the detention of English ships by the Dutch authorities at Surinam in contempt of all law; the refusal of the Dutch government to come to terms for the regulation of the commerce of the two nations in the East; their refusal to salute the English flag in the Channel; and their long-continued affronts offered to the person and dignity of the sovereign of England by defamatory publications and medals. Notwithstanding the attack on the convoy before the formal commencement of war, each side scrupulously observed that clause in the treaty of Breda which provided that the ships and property belonging to the subjects of either which might be in the ports or territory of the other, should have six months' grace, after any future rupture between their respective governments, before becoming liable to seizure.

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* Evelyn has a diary entry under date 10th May, 1671, with respect to Blood, which we here transcribe:—"Dined at my Lord Treasurer's, where dined Mons. de Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent, bold fellow, who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower, pretending curiosity of seeing the regalia there, when, stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it through all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received in favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the sectaries and enthusiasts, and did his majesty service that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly, as the boldest attempt, so the only treason of this sort that was ever pardoned. The man had not only a daring, but a villainous, unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well spoken and dangerously insinuating."

Charles and his advisers, at the commencement of the war, sought to diminish the number of the disaffected, whether at home or in exile on account of religious disabilities, by the issue of a declaration of indulgence to tender consciences. In this document the king dwelt on the abortive efforts made through a long course of years to coerce men's consciences in religious matters, and stated that he felt bound "to use that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which was not only inherent in him, but had been declared and recognised to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament;" that in virtue of his power as supreme head of the Church of England, it was his will and pleasure that "all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants, should be from that day suspended." The humane and tolerant purpose of this declaration appears at first sight to reflect great credit on the king and his council, for while, on the one hand, they gained the good will of the Catholics and dissenters by the concession, they incurred, on the other, the ill will of the more powerful Church party. Toleration had always been a favourite project with Charles; it is the one bright spot in his character, and goes far to redeem his manifold failings and to soften the detestation which attaches to the memory of his profligacy. His consent to penal enactments against offenders for conscience sake was always wrung from him by the bigotry of his parliaments, and it was only while parliament was not sitting that he could venture on suspending the rigour of laws that were a disgrace to the statute book of the realm. As it was, the staunch promoters of unvarying passive obedience to the royal will began to discuss the need of restrictions on the prerogative of the king in the matter of suspending the Conventicle laws. It will be seen presently that they had a good show of reason for this change in their opinion.

The Dutch had been observant of the signs of an approaching rupture with England and France, and had sought, but hitherto with no success, to enter into an alliance with Spain and the German powers. On the outbreak of war they promptly sent a formidable fleet into the Straits of Dover, to prevent the junction of the French squadron with the naval force of England that was gathering at the Nore. De Ruyter, as in the former war, commanded the Dutch fleet, and the duke of York, his old antagonist, was again in command of the English. The Dutch numbered seventy-five war-ships and a lot of fire-ships. The English had only forty ships in the mouths of the Thames and Medway fit for immediate service. These contrived to pass the Dutch in a fog, and sailed down channel to meet their allies and to pick up reinforcements. They then returned to bring the Dutch to action, the forces on each side being now fairly balanced. After much manœuvring along the coasts of Belgium and Holland, as in the former war, the hostile fleets at length tried the issue of battle on the Suffolk coast, a few miles from Southwold bay, and very near the spot in which the brave Opdam had perished in the memorable fight off Lowestoft just seven years before. The Dutch had skilfully avoided a battle on their own shores, using many devices to tempt their enemy into dangerous shallows. The English, baffled in their attempts to bring the enemy to action in deep water, crossed over to their own shore and anchored in Southwold bay, in order to make good deficiencies in their supplies and to ship additional seamen. At early dawn on the 28th of May the duke of York was startled with the announcement that the whole Dutch fleet, with wind and tide in its favour, was bearing down to attack his unprepared and anchored ships. The French, under D'Estrées, were also anchored along the shore near their English allies. The order to get under weigh and form in order of battle was passed through the allied fleets. But both wind and tide were dead against the allies, and only twenty English ships could be got off from shore to meet the full force of the Dutch. Then followed one of the fiercest fights on record. The duke of York, with such ships of the red squadron as could be brought at once into action, closed in with De Ruyter's division. The earl of Sandwich, second in command, with some ships of the blue squadron, encountered the force under Van Ghent. The French were opposed to the Dutch division under Banker, but these antagonists never came to close quarters, and after a while drifted out of sight of the main conflict. The score of English ships were soon entangled in the multitude of their adversaries. The earl of Sandwich fought his ship, the Royal James, for eight hours amid a throng of foes. His fire killed Van Ghent, and he boarded and captured a seventy-gun ship that fell athwart his bows. At length his ship was so crippled as to become quite unmanageable, when two fire-ships closed upon her, one of which she sunk, and the other grappled her and succeeded in setting her ablaze. Sandwich and many of his crew perished in the burning ship; others were picked up in boats sent to their aid. The duke of York, in his ship the Prince, of a hundred guns, was as hotly engaged as Sandwich, and lost a third of his crew within three hours of closing with the enemy. His rigging, masts, and spars were so cut up that it was with difficulty the unmanageable hull could be hauled off and saved from capture or destruction. The duke passed from his cabin window into his shallop, and transferred his flag to the St. Michael, of ninety guns. Later in the day he quitted this ship, which was so badly knocked about in the hull that it was expected to sink, and hoisted the royal standard on the London. By this time other ships had been brought into action, and the force on each side was pretty evenly balanced. The English had hitherto fought with an almost hopeless desperation against fearful odds. Elated with the better fortune that now shone on them, they pressed vigorously on their stubborn and skilful enemy, who at length sheered off, leaving three ships of the line in the hands of the victors. Next day, the twelfth anniversary of the Restoration, the hostile fleets again sighted each other. The English pursued, but the Dutch again found safety under screen of a fog and escaped within the security of their sandbanks, where no enemy could follow them with impunity. The French had taken a merely nominal part in the fight, and sustained hardly any damage. The English lost one ship, and in other respects the damage inflicted and received between them and the Dutch was about equally severe.

Meanwhile French armies to the number of one hundred thousand men, including the English contingent of six thousand under the duke of Monmouth, were swarming from Flanders into Holland. The Dutch were utterly unable to cope with the immense military force which overran three of the seven united provinces, wrested four fortresses on the Rhine from the power of Holland, captured the garrisons, and advanced its threatening outposts almost to the gates of Amsterdam. Hopeless of confronting such an avalanche of disaster, De Witt counselled submission; and the civic authorities at Amsterdam were on the point of sending the keys of the city to their triumphant enemy, when an internal revolution overthrew the government. De Witt was set upon by an infuriated mob, who accused him of treachery, and in their passionate fury killed him and his brother in the streets, and called William prince of Orange to the head of the government and the command of their forces. William had hereditary claims on the confidence and gratitude of his countrymen. His ancestor, the prince of Orange-Nassau, and Stadtholder of Holland, headed the insurrection which hurled the Spaniards from their long tyranny over Holland. The succeeding Stadtholders had also rendered great services to their country, but they had fallen into disfavour by grasping at an extent of power and influence scarcely below the level of regal dignity, until, in 1650, when William II. died prematurely and childless, the supreme power passed into the hands of the party opposed to an hereditary first magistrate. His party, however, was not long without a head, for his widow, Mary, princess royal of England, daughter of Charles I., gave birth to a son within a few months of the death of her husband. The young prince, nephew of the king of England, was now in his twenty-second year. He proved worthy of the confidence reposed in him in the hour of his country's greatest peril. The terms of peace offered by the allies were rejected with disdain. The dykes were sundered and the country laid under water, as in earlier contests against the Spaniards. This checked the advance of the French, and during the lull thus secured, the Spaniards and Austrians, alarmed by the prospect of French conquests at their own expense, joined their arms with the Dutch, and the tide of war began soon to turn against France. Louis soon had his hands so full that he was in no condition to help Charles in his cherished project of freeing himself from dependence on his parliament. The date fixed for the commencement of next session was October, when it was anticipated that provision would be made for paying the bankers; but the cabinet and the king had strong reasons for postponing yet longer the evil day of confronting the opposition which they had much reason to expect would be raised against their policy and practices since the last meeting. A further prorogation was therefore announced, and the exchequer was closed by proclamation for another half-year against the public creditors. Ashley meanwhile was put in Bridgman's place as lord chancellor, and was raised to the position of earl of Shaftesbury. In this high dignity Shaftesbury attracted much observation, and no little ridicule and odium, by his ostentatious disregard of the sedate deportment and decorous usages of other judges. In the procession to Westminster Hall, at the commencement of his chancellorship, he discarded the use of carriages, and obliged the judges, barristers, and law officers to accompany him on horseback, all in the costume of their profession. He would take his place in court in the gay apparel of a courtier, such as "an ash-coloured gown, silver laced, and full ribboned pantaloons displayed," in place of the sober and reverend garb of the highest judge in the land. His decisions seem to have given satisfaction to the public, but his eccentricities and contempt for precedent and form deprived him of the respect of the legal profession. Dryden, though by no means friendly to Shaftesbury, accords him the high tribute of being

> "Unbribed, unbought, the wretched to redress,
> Swift of despatch, and easy of access."

Parliament met at length on the 5th of February, 1673, after a recess of twenty-one months. The king and Shaftesbury addressed the two houses on the position of public affairs, justifying the suspension of payments from the exchequer, and arguing in favour of the declaration of indulgence and the war with Holland, and urging the need of liberal supplies for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities. In the long interval since their separation, vacancies had occurred in the lower house, which Shaftesbury, now lord chancellor, had caused to be filled up by elections on the authority of writs out of chancery. The earliest business of parliament was to quash these elections as illegal, because they were not made on the authority of the speaker's warrant. Large supplies were then voted (1,260,000*l.*), but they were coupled with the condition that the king should rescind the declaration of indulgence, and renounce the right which he had claimed of suspending the penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical. There was much to warrant the distrust of parliament and the country in respect to this stretch of prerogative. The king's brother, the heir apparent to the throne, was now a professed Catholic. The league with Catholic France against Protestant Holland was thought to betoken a conspiracy against the reformed churches. The declaration of indulgence was believed by all Protestants, including the dissenters, to be a cunning device for favouring the Catholics, and as the first in a series of measures by which Charles proposed to raise their church to its ancient ascendency. The most rigid Puritan preferred to remain under the ban of penal statutes rather than share the delusive benefit of an indulgence the ultimate aim of which he looked upon as the exaltation of Anti-Christ. The most zealous churchman and asserter of the duty of passive obedience was unwilling to uphold kingly prerogative in the direction of indulgence to sectaries. The warmest friends of toleration, who applauded the liberality of the king's declaration of indulgence, were yet fearful of the danger to which their liberties were exposed by the habitual exercise of the dispensing power claimed by the crown. The king would soon become absolute if he were permitted to suspend at his pleasure the operation of acts of the legislature. The country party was willing to support a measure of relief to dissenters, on condition that this should be done in a regular parliamentary way. For these various reasons, an overwhelming majority of the nation was bent on the recall of the king's declaration of indulgence, and the preponderance of sentiment in the House of Commons was nearly as great in the same direction.

On the 10th of February the Commons resolved, by a large majority, "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." An address to the king was then voted, calling his attention to the resolution. Charles temperately justified his right, quoting the practice of his ancestors. Precedent was certainly in his favour, for in ruder times the dispensing power had been freely exercised, and without challenge on the part of parliament. But a more enlightened age saw the inconsistency, which had been overlooked or disregarded in earlier times, of a dispensing power in its application to a mixed form of government. Charles's answer to the address was voted insufficient and unsatisfactory, and a second address was sent. Charles threatened to dissolve parliament rather than submit to dictation. The courtiers feebly defended his case in the Commons, but when he referred it to the Lords, his first reply to the Commons was unanimously declared to be a good and gracious answer. The cabinet at first counselled resistance to the encroachment of the Commons, and Charles was bent on standing by the course he had taken, despite all hazards. But at this crisis Louis, who dreaded the effect of troubles in England on his schemes of continental aggression, urgently advised Charles to give way and make sure of his supplies, promising at a future time to aid him with a military force in reasserting the rights which it seemed necessary to surrender in the circumstances. The Cabal, too, soon ceased to be unanimous in counsels of resistance to the demands of the Commons. Shaftesbury, with his accustomed keen insight, saw that affairs were drifting into a position similar to that which followed in 1640 the violent reaction against the overstrained rights of the crown. With a wholesome dread of the fate of Strafford, he advised concession to the demand of the Commons. Thereupon the king cancelled his declaration, and sent a message to both Houses that what had been done with respect to the suspension of the penal laws should never be drawn into a precedent. This triumph of law over prerogative was celebrated with bonfires and other expressions of popular rejoicing. Even the dissenters, who had benefited by the indulgence, expressed satisfaction with the result of the parliamentary struggle against it, so firm was their belief that it was intended but as a prelude to the introduction of popery, absolute power, and persecution. Elated with the success of their onslaught on the dispensing power of the crown, the Commons immediately adopted a measure for the exclusion from employments in the civil, military, and naval service of the country, of all persons who would not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, renounce the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and give proof of their orthodoxy by taking the sacrament in the form laid down in the Prayer Book. The bill passed quickly and without opposition through both Houses, and received the royal assent without a protest, a result which was due to the known determination of the Commons to withhold the supplies if the king proved obstinate. This Test Act, as it is called, was aimed expressly at the duke of York and other suspected Catholics filling high offices in the state. The duke quickly resigned his command of the fleet and all the other functions of lord high admiral, and Clifford gave up his post of lord treasurer. With the Test Act, which became law, was introduced a bill for softening the rigour of existing penal or disabling laws against dissenters, but this was still incomplete when the House adjourned for the Easter recess. Prorogation followed, by which the relief bill was annulled, and thus the nonconformists, who had assisted in passing the Test Act on the understanding that their own grievances were to receive special and separate treatment, were now brought more than ever under ban of the law and shut out from offices of trust. A long lapse of years followed before it became practicable to purge the statute book of its intolerant enactments, and to wipe off the severe stigma which was affixed in the eyes of the law and the constitution on the various forms of Protestant dissent.

It is matter of surprise that no voice of protest was raised in parliament against either the war, or the several disreputable measures which had preceded it, such as the proclamation for closing the exchequer, and the attack on the Dutch convoy off the Isle of Wight, before the formal declaration of hostilities. Historians are not slack in surmises that extensive bribery was employed by the cabinet as a means of warding off the expected attacks by the leaders of the country party on the policy and practices of the king's advisers during the long recess. Subsequent events support the opinion that it was by a preconcerted arrangement that all the force of opposition was concentrated at the outset against the dispensing power, under the persuasion that other evils and abuses would be more successfully assailed when the aims of the court and the cabinet in the direction of arbitrary rule, and in favour of the Church of Rome, had been signally rebuked and effectually curbed. The Cabal was shattered by these shrewd tactics of the opposition. Clifford was driven out of office by the Test Act. Arlington had fallen off from his devotion to the court, and had taken a most active part in passing the Test Act. Shaftesbury's zeal for his master slackened rapidly in his forecast of an imminent political hurricane. The duke of York increased the popular apprehensions on the score of popery by the contract of marriage into which he now entered with a young Catholic princess, Maria of Este, sister of the duke of Modena.

The war went on in a languid fashion during the rest of the year, both by land and sea. Maestricht was taken in June, after a vigorous attack of three weeks' duration, in which Monmouth and his English contingent bore a leading part. A combined fleet of ninety sail put to sea early in the season under the command of Prince Rupert, but did next to nothing in the way of fighting. The Dutch, under De Ruyter, observed the same tactics as on previous occasions, often showing an imposing front, but avoiding any general engagement, and trying to allure their opponents into the dangerous shallows by which their shores are protected. Three indecisive actions were fought on the coast of Holland (28 May, 4 June, and 11 August), in which each side is accused of exhibiting more discretion than daring. Rupert failed in an attempt to land a second English army in Holland, quarrelled with Schomberg, the general in command, and brought back the armament to Yarmouth.

Parliament reassembled in October. There was quite a ferment at the time about the duke of York's marriage with the Italian Catholic princess. The House of Commons at once adopted an address to the king, praying that "the intended marriage of his royal highness with the princess of Modena might not be consummated, and that he might not be married to any person not of the Protestant religion." The king replied that he could not in honour break a marriage that had already been celebrated by proxy; that the princess had already arrived at Paris on her way to England. The Commons presented a second address, urging the king to stop the arrival of the princess in England until she should change her religion. They resolved to grant no supply unless it should appear that the obstinacy of the Dutch in refusing reasonable terms of peace should render it necessary, "nor before this kingdom be effectually secured from the danger of popery and popish counsels and counsellors, and the other present grievances be redressed." Their objection to the marriage was frankly stated as founded on the warrant of sad experience, from which it had appeared that such marriages afforded the excuse for harbouring Jesuits and priests, and tended to increase the number of their adherents. They argued, further, that marriage by proxy was not a binding contract, and that it was therefore not yet too late to hinder the union. The king undertook to consider the address and reply to it. The Commons then petitioned him to appoint a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, that the danger to which the nation was exposed might be averted. They passed a further resolution against the grievance of the standing army which the king had raised to serve with the French in Holland. To escape from the alarming energy of the Commons, Charles suddenly dissolved parliament; but even while the usher from the upper house was claiming admittance in the king's name to the Commons, the Speaker was held in his chair until brief resolutions were carried by acclamation in quick succession—"That our alliance with France is a grievance: that the evil counsellors about the king are a grievance: that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance." The fervour, excitement, and fierce energy of the Commons recalled the memory of the ominous closing of the house in 1629. The usher of the black rod with his train of attendants, after long knocking at the guarded door, gained admittance; the Speaker sprang from his chair, and the house broke up in confusion. The prorogation took place on the 4th of November; five days later the king dismissed Shaftesbury, who had held the great seal not quite twelve months, and Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, succeeded to the office of lord-keeper. It is commonly stated that Shaftesbury was already in league with the leaders of opposition before his dismissal, and that he suggested the several addresses and resolutions in the Commons which frightened the king into a sudden prorogation six weeks before the date anticipated. Immediately after surrendering the great seal he took his place among the very foremost leaders of the country party in opposition to the court. He gained great popularity in the city, where his zealous advocacy of liberty and his incessant tirades against arbitrary power, to which he attributed all the miseries of the nation and the stagnation of commerce, gained for him the applause due to a persecuted patriot. Meanwhile, despite the advice of Arlington, who entertained a wholesome dread of the vengeance of the Commons, the Italian princess was brought over from Paris to Dover, where the duke of York and a small retinue awaited her arrival. The bishop of Oxford, who accompanied the duke, received the declaration from the earl of Peterborough and the princess that the earl had married the lady as proxy of the duke; "which they both affirming, the bishop then declared it was a lawful marriage." Then, uncheered by the customary loyal greetings and rejoicings, this royal wedding party faced the sullen frowns of a disappointed people, returned to the capital, and occupied St. James's Palace.

Parliament met on the 7th of January, 1674, and soon gave proof that, if it was too late to hinder the dreaded marriage of the heir presumptive with a Roman Catholic, the antipathy to such an alliance had nowise cooled down or abated. Charles made some attempts before the session began to allay the storm that he foresaw would burst over the heads of the Catholics in requital of the failure of the efforts of the Commons to hinder the duke's marriage. The innocent cause of all this angry explosion, the young and beautiful duchess, was not permitted to have the use of a public chapel for the display of the pompous ceremonials of her religion. This indulgence had been promised beforehand, but the king, in his alarm at the anger of parliament, refused the concession at the moment when it was to have taken effect. He forbad all Catholics to enter the palace, or to come into the royal presence, and issued an order in council prohibiting popish recusants from entering the park. He gave orders also for the stringent enforcement of all the penal statutes against Catholics, held ostentatious consultations with the judges and the law officers of the crown on the subject, and caused reports of these active proceedings to appear in the gazette. In his speech at the opening of parliament, which was distinguished by its ease, candour, and affability, he took credit for these precautions and promised further measures for the security of the religion and liberties of the country. He urged the need of large supplies for carrying on the war, or to hasten an honourable peace by the vigour of his preparations. With reference to what he called the malicious rumours that had long been afloat, respecting the engagements between himself and the French king, he offered to lay before a select committee of both Houses all the treaty stipulations into which he had entered, and to give them liberty to report the substance of them to parliament. The new lord-keeper followed with a laboured and eloquent defence of the policy of the government, and dwelt on the king's firm attachment to the Established Church. All these blandishments however were wasted on the wary leaders of the opposition, who skilfully introduced into the several addresses to his majesty such topics as kept in full play the feelings of misgiving and resentment that had been aroused in the public mind, and which they soon brought to bear against the shattered Cabal. The king was again asked to appoint a fast day, on which the whole nation might solemnly implore the compassion of the Almighty on a land suffering at the same time "from foreign war, intestine differences and divisions, and the undermining contrivances of popish recusants." Another address asked that papists who were not householders should be required to remove not less than ten miles from London while parliament was sitting. A third, and entirely superfluous address on the same head, urged that the militia should be put in readiness to suppress any tumultuous meetings of papists. The king appointed the 4th of February for the proposed fast and humiliation, and returned conciliatory answers to all the requests of the Commons. Resolutions were next passed for redress of grievances, for securing the Protestant religion, liberty, and property, and "to remove persons and councillors popishly affected, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous." The debates on these resolutions indicated clearly that the aim of the country party was to disgrace and punish those advisers of the crown on whom could be fixed the blame of the Declaration of Indulgence, the rupture of the Triple Alliance, the treaty with Louis, the stoppage of exchequer payments, the levying of an army without the advice of parliament, the placing that army under command of Schomberg, a foreigner, the marriage of the duke of York, and the sudden prorogation in the preceding November.

Lauderdale was the first object of attack as an evil councillor. His declaration in the council, that the king's edicts had a more binding force than Acts of Parliament ("your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place"), had got abroad, and increased the odium in which he was held as the head of a large military force in Scotland, the main purpose of which was believed to be to overawe England. An address was voted, praying the king to remove Lauderdale from all his employments, and from the royal presence and councils for ever. Similar shafts were launched against Buckingham, who offered some plausible excuses in extenuation of the faults charged against him, and shifted the chief odium of recent proceedings on Clifford, who was now dead, and on Arlington, with whom he had always been on bad terms. He claimed credit for his fearless opposition on former occasions to the court, for the share he had taken in displacing Clarendon from power, and for his patriotism in devoting a princely fortune to the public service. His submission gained for him the favour of being allowed to sell such appointments as he held by patent, but with this exception it was voted that he should be excluded for ever from access to the king's presence and from all public employments. Arlington was impeached on the charge of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours, in support of which it was alleged that he had betrayed his trust as a privy councillor, as a sworn defender of the Protestant religion, and as guardian of the public treasure, which had been misappropriated with his sanction. He made a better defence than was expected, and the impeachment was not sustained by adequate evidence. Charles answered the addresses against the implicated ministers with a brief message that he would take them into consideration. After some months Buckingham was dismissed, and at once allied himself with his former colleague, Shaftesbury, in persevering attacks on the government. Arlington was permitted to sell his office of secretary of state to Williamson, the under secretary, for 6000*l.*, and was at once installed into the dignity of lord chamberlain of the household. Lauderdale was retained in his high offices, on the ground that his service under the crown in Scotland, which had its own parliament, exempted him from the control of the English parliament.

Charles meanwhile grew weary of the war, which had proved fruitful only in vexations at home and difficulties abroad. Faint indications of a desire to come to terms had been exhibited by the government of the Hague for more than a year. Explicit overtures now came from them, and Charles, with the concurrence of parliament, entered into negotiations for a separate peace. He sent word to Louis, in answer to offers of money to equip his fleet, that he was no longer able to help France as an ally, but that he hoped yet to prove serviceable as a mediator between him and the continental league which was now rendering efficient help to the Dutch. The conditions of the peace with the Dutch were almost identical with those which they had rejected in the time of their greatest humiliation, eighteen months earlier; but the Spanish government declined helping them unless they would first come to terms with the English. Under this pressure they consented to pay Charles 800,000*l.* towards his war expenses, to pay the required honours to the English flag—as a matter of right and not of mere voluntary compliment—and to refer the disputes between the East India Companies of the respective nations to arbitration. A treaty, embodying these provisions, and stipulating the restitution of conquests made on either side during the war, with an adjustment of the Surinam disputes, was concluded at Westminster on the 9th of February, and on the 11th Charles informed parliament that he had concluded an honourable, and, he hoped, a lasting peace. Temple, who negotiated this peace, states in his works that a secret article was added, under which each side engaged not to help the enemies of the other; but Charles expressly reserved the right of keeping still in the French service the English troops then on the Continent, though he pledged himself to send no more recruits out to add to their force. The peace gave great satisfaction to parliament and the nation. The prorogation followed in a few days (the 24th of February), and as the last days of the session had furnished indications of a settled purpose in both

Houses to stop short of no measure of security against the succession of a Catholic heir to the throne, the duke of York found means to induce his brother to dispense with the services of parliament until April in the following year.* Charles fell in the more readily with this proposal from a fear that parliament would call upon him to return to the policy of the Triple Alliance. But money was indispensable; parliament had voted no supplies. An autumnal session, or a dissolution and a new parliament, or subsidies from Louis, were the alternatives anxiously debated between the king and his brother. Charles was afraid to try the experiment of another election; his brother dreaded an early meeting of the parliament in which he had very few friends and many resolute enemies. In this dilemma the duke undertook a visit to Louis, and represented the hazard that Charles might be forced to side with the Dutch, unless such sums were placed at his disposal as would enable him to dispense with a meeting of parliament at the usual time. It was of the utmost importance to Louis that the English should be kept out of the league against him. After some haggling on each side, Louis furnished five hundred thousand crowns to his needy brother monarch, who, in requital of the disgraceful favour, issued a proclamation by which parliament, that was to meet on the 10th of November, was further prorogued to the 13th of April. Thus the neutrality of England was assured at least till the following spring, and the duke of York obtained his much-desired respite from the attacks of the persevering foes of popery in both houses.

Schemes for passing over the claims of the "popish successor" to the throne were at this time eagerly, though warily, discussed. James had substantial reasons to fear the king's partiality for the duke of Monmouth, whose illegitimacy would have been held by many to be a less serious blot than the papistical leanings of the rightful heir. He had a yet more formidable rival in his and Charles's nephew, the prince of Orange, who was next in succession to the throne if the duke and his family should be set aside. The great part sustained by this young prince in the rapid expulsion of the French from Holland, his Protestantism, his eminent abilities, and his near relationship to Charles, conspired to secure for him the hearty good will of a large party in England. His popularity suggested to Arlington a scheme by which to advance his own declining credit with the king, to promote the prince's prospect of succession to the English crown, and at the same time to leave intact the duke of York's prior title. This was a project of marriage between the young Princess Mary, the duke of York's eldest daughter, and her cousin, the prince of Orange. Charles was readily brought into the proposal, from its obvious advantages in quieting the wide-spread misgivings of the nation, and of gaining the co-operation of his nephew, whose interests would thus be closely interwoven with his own. The duke of York gave no encouragement to the scheme, which he feared might result in a total eclipse of his own chance of becoming king. But Charles overruled his scruples, and commissioned Arlington and Ossory to go with their families to the Hague, under pretence of visiting some relatives of their wives, who were sisters, and Dutch by birth. The prince of Orange had already received accurate information of the real object of the mission of the two earls to his country, and had learned at the same time that the duchess of York was likely soon to become a mother. His partisans in England had warned him, too, that he would destroy his popularity by acceding to the overtures for the marriage, as such a step would lead to the belief that he was leagued with his two uncles against the liberties of their country. He promptly rejected the proposal, adding, that in the circumstances which then occupied and would long engage all his thoughts, he had no intention to take to himself a wife. Charles had entered warmly into the project, and on its signal failure he vented his disappointment on its originator. Arlington's credit had long been declining, and was now utterly extinguished. Osborne, who had taken the post of lord-treasurer, vacated by Clifford, now became Lord Danby, and attained the position of acknowledged head of the cabinet.

Since the dismissal of Shaftesbury, no one member of the administration had attained such an ascendancy in the direction of affairs as to be entitled to the name of premier. Assisted by the force of events, Danby had at length gathered bit by bit the shattered fragments of a chief minister's authority. His administration, however, is usually dated from his first accession to office as treasurer in 1673, and covers a period of five momentous years in the chronicles of England. He was honourably distinguished from the members of the Cabal cabinet by an honest solicitude for the character of his country, and the interests of religion as established by law. While bent on exalting the power of the crown, he aimed to do this by the agency of native forces alone, and not by the intervention of foreign aid. He felt keenly the shame and degradation in which the crown and the kingdom were involved by the king's greed for French gold, and his subserviency to the policy of Louis. He sought to consolidate the power and the splendour of the throne by rallying round it the social influence and loyal adhesion of the classes that had shared all the troubles of the subverted monarchy in the preceding generation, and that in recent years had witnessed with sorrow and disgust the abiding shame inflicted on their country by the follies and wickedness of the court and its advisers. He was far indeed from being an upright or incorrupt minister, according to the standard of better times, as will abundantly appear in the narrative of his administration. His avarice was insatiable, but the bribes he accepted were commonly in furtherance of objects not adverse to his country's interests or honour. He systematized the art of purchasing votes in parliament, and adopted a sort of sliding scale of bribery, giving to each venal member a price varying with the weight of his influence in the house. But on the whole he was as fit a man as any in the long list of debased politicians of his day to guide the councils of a court which certainly would not have tolerated a minister of inflexible integrity. He was frequently opposed to the king and the duke of York, and his opposition to them was always in the interest of his country.

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* On the day of the prorogation the earl of Carlisle moved a resolution in the House of Lords, that to a prince of the blood the penalty of marrying a Catholic should be the forfeiture of his right to the succession. See Lords' Journals, Vol. xii., pp. 618—649.

Throughout the winter preceding the session of 1675, Danby was incessantly occupied in framing a scheme of tactics by which to meet the formidable attacks of the well-organized opposition, which was now strengthened by quite a phalanx of discarded placemen. He paid court especially to the bishops and clergy, and in the ranks of the old Cavalier party was never tired of expatiating on the services by which they had established a title to the gratitude of the crown. He held out to them the hope that their order and its supporters might soon gain the exclusive possession of all offices of honour, emolument, or trust, in every department of the state, and the monopoly of political power both in national and local affairs, if only they would rally round the king's advisers, and enable them to carry the measures about to be submitted to parliament. He convened a meeting at Lambeth Palace, between some of the bishops and all the members of the cabinet; stated the aims of the government, and asked the cordial co-operation of the church in measures that would for ever shut out all dissenters and papists from parliament, the magistracy, the army, navy, and every description of public trust. In pursuance of the agreement between church and state in this Lambeth council, a proclamation was soon issued, reviving in all their severity the penal statutes against papists and conventicles. Charles was brought to assent to these measures under the persuasion that if they were not carried by the administration, the opposition would introduce measures yet more truculent. The opponents of the court party were not inactive: as the session drew near they held frequent consultations, and arranged a scheme of tactics. They decided to demand the recall of the English forces serving under the French flag; to insist that England should take part with the allies in resisting French encroachments beyond her old frontiers; to impeach Danby, and to withhold supplies while he remained in power. Shaftesbury was the mainspring of these devices, and the director under whose skilful guidance they were unfolded. His principal coadjutors in the Upper House were Buckingham, Wharton, Salisbury, Hollis, and occasionally Arlington. In the Commons were able leaders working in the same direction, though not all under his management. Sir William Coventry often employed with great effect against the administration the intimate knowledge of public affairs which he had acquired when in office. His cool self-possession, his calm and quiet dignity of manner, and his official experience in a succession of high employments, gave him great weight in the House. Lee and Garroway took a leading part against the advisers of the crown; but they are held to have been ever ready to temper their patriotic zeal with a most unpatriotic discretion under the subduing influence of substantial bribes. Sacheverel, Vaughan, Powle, and Littleton, were also conspicuous men in the opposition ranks. Birch, on the same side, was a very effective popular orator, though wanting in polish and refinement. He had risen from the humble position of a carrier, and had subsequently been a colonel in the army of the Commonwealth. At the Restoration, his qualifications for collecting the new branch of revenue under the name of excise brought him under notice of the Government, and he eventually gained a seat in the House. His rough, bold, plain speaking on one occasion provoked the courtly Sir Edward Seymour to speak contemptuously of the meanness of his extraction, and of his humble calling in early life. Birch retorted smartly upon his high-born opponent;—"It is true I was once a carrier, and it is well for the gentleman that he was not one too; for if he had, he would never have been anything else." Cavendish and Russell brought the influence of high family connection to the aid of high talents in the part they played in the ranks of opposition in the Commons.

At the opening of the session of 1675 (April 13), Charles dwelt on his anxious care for the Established Church, and expressed his aversion to the design which had been imputed to him by hundred-tongued rumour to dissolve parliament. He had no intention, he added, to part with his friends in order to oblige his enemies. He appealed to his faithful Commons to furnish without delay the means of putting the navy in an effective state, and promised that the short session to be held in the spring should be followed by a longer one in the autumn and winter. The lord-keeper defended the proclamation against popery and schismatics, and bills were at once brought into the Commons to give the force of law to its extravagant intolerance. The leaders in the Lower House had now however cooled down from the fever heat of bigotry in religion, and gave so little encouragement to these persecuting enactments, that they never passed to the Upper House. Other aims now animated the country party. They renewed the attempts which had failed in the previous session to procure the dismissal of Lauderdale, adding to the charges before brought against him others bearing on his abuse of power in having collected a military force in Scotland, by which the liberties of that country were curtailed and those of England greatly imperilled. But the charges were vague and ill-supported, and so afforded Charles the welcome opportunity of still shielding the obnoxious minister. Danby was next impeached in a series of articles which were brought forward by Lord Russell. In these the lord-treasurer was accused of squandering the public money in wasteful extravagance, practising deception on the king, and enriching his own family at the public expense. A liberal largess of bribes purchased so many silent votes for the threatened minister, that the charges against him fell to the ground.

Quite a copious stream of cash gladdened the greedy herd of venal members in this session. The Dutch and Spanish governments placed large sums at the disposal of their respective ambassadors at the court of England, to be distributed in support of the motion that was to be brought forward by the popular leaders in the Commons for the recall of the English troops then serving in the armies of Louis. The debates on this motion were of the most animated and even fierce character, and the subject was one which needed no corrupt stimulus from without to ensure a hearty and extensive support. An address was voted, praying the king to recall the troops. He replied that the number was inconsiderable, and would not be recruited; that the treaty with Holland left him unfettered in that respect; that an understanding existed between both sides at the date of the treaty that he was free to keep Monmouth's auxiliaries in the service of France, and that his honour would be compromised by the withdrawal. Thereupon ensued a long and eager debate in a committee of the whole House. On the question being put, "whether a further address should be made to the king for the recall of his subjects in the service of the French king," the tellers differed in their reckoning, which led at once to angry charges of fraud. Then followed a tumultuous rush of members from both parties to the table of the House. Shouts of "Tell again," on one side, "Report, report," on the other, were launched forth with loud and angry vehemence; defiant and insulting expressions, with drawing of swords and threats of vengeance, were freely interchanged; and the fierce hubbub raged for half an hour, when it was quelled by the ceremonious advance of the Speaker from his seat as a member of the committee to the chair, and the formal placing of the mace on the table, according to the practice of ordinary sittings as distinguished from committees. Rebuked by these significant reminders, the disorder was at once hushed; a motion was carried by which the excited members mutually agreed to take no notice out of the House of the insults and threats they had hurled at each other within. The question was resumed several times afterwards; the cabinet obtained on one occasion a majority of one against the motion, and in another division the numbers were equal, but the casting vote of the Speaker gave the victory to the opposition. The subject then seems to have dropped, for the intended second address was not presented.

The debates in the Lords were hardly less protracted and fierce than in the Commons, though on a different subject. Danby launched in the Upper House his great scheme for concentrating every description of civil and military authority in the hands of the old Cavaliers and their followers. His measure for this purpose was called "A bill to prevent the danger which may arise from persons disaffected to the government." It proposed to exact from all members of parliament, privy councillors, magistrates, and all other functionaries holding office under the crown, a test compounded from the various declarations and oaths that were already in force in corporations, the universities, or the army. Danby had resisted a measure of the same description when Clarendon attempted a similar piece of class legislation. It was the height of temerity in him to expect success for such a project in a time when fervid and unreasoning loyalty had cooled down under the teachings of a painful experience, and was succeeded by an increasing dread of arbitrary rule. Clarendon's attempt however had begun in the Commons, and had been defeated by a majority of three only, and that too at a time when only orators of mark were sought out for the favours of the court. The hope of a majority in the Lords was still good, and if the measure could be got through the Upper House, the lord-treasurer trusted to the softening influence of gold for carrying it safely through the Commons. But the Lords on this occasion gave evidence of fully as much patriotism and care for freedom as of submissive loyalty. The debates drew full Houses, and occupied seventeen long days, the king frequently animating by his presence the champions of the non-resistance test, and aiming by the same means to put a restraint on the tongues of the opposition. Never before had the Upper House resounded with such continuous bursts of eloquence as were heard in this protracted debate. Finch defended the bill in speeches of great ability, labouring to show that it was only a moderate and reasonable measure of security for the church and crown; and urging that only those could be averse to it who were enemies to kingly government; that such persons were not fit to have seats in parliament, and would well merit the exclusion contemplated by the proposed test. Bishops Morley and Ward argued for the bill from a Churchman's point of view; Danby and Lindsey bore a vigorous share in the advocacy of the measure; but the weight of ability was by many degrees on the other side. Shaftesbury took a conspicuous part throughout the debate. In one of his speeches, while the king was present, in the course of a brilliant argument against the oath of non-resistance in all conceivable cases, he asked whether parliament would bind itself tamely to submit if an English king should make his country a province of, or tributary to France; or if by the help of a foreign army he should aim to subvert the constitution, and subdue the nation to his will; or by similar agencies should attempt to bring it under papal authority:—were these cases in which any man would pretend that it would be unlawful to resist? The keen incisive force of such allusions to the terms of the treaty of Dover was not lost on Charles, who eagerly watched the chance of sending the ex-premier to a lodging in the Tower, if any warrant for the step could be extracted from his eloquent and able attacks. But Shaftesbury's tact and caution were fully equal to his boldness of speech in the hearing of Charles and the courtiers, who failed in their eager quest for an occasion of revenging his stinging provocations. Buckingham, Hollis, Halifax, and several Catholic peers bore a distinguished part on the same side. The arguments for the test were to the effect that it had already been sanctioned by both Houses in the successive acts in recent years for corporations, the church, the universities, and the militia; that to extend the operation of the same principles would be to extend the benefit of measures already passed by parliament; that the makers of the laws, and those charged with administering them, were the persons who should give proof, such as the test would furnish, of their devotion to the laws; and that only those who cherished feelings hostile to the institutions of their country could object to the obligations of the proposed oath. The main argument on the other side was that the oath, which was to lay on members of parliament the obligation "not to endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state," could have no other effect than to destroy the independence of parliament, and undo the whole birthright of England.

In the end all argument proved of little avail, beyond securing for the Lords the standing order, which was due to the suggestion of the duke of York, that "no oath should ever be imposed, by bill or otherwise, the refusal of which should deprive any peer of his place or vote in parliament, or of liberty of debate therein." After sundry small modifications, the declaration and oath were passed in the following form: "I, A. B., do declare that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; and I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him according to law, in time of rebellion and war; and acting in pursuance of such commission, I, A. B., do swear that I will not endeavour any alteration of the Protestant religion now established by law in the Church of England, nor will I endeavour any alteration in the government in church or state, as it is by law established." The penalty of refusal to take the test was fixed at 500*l.*, with disability to fill any office in the state. The bill passed in committee, but its further progress was adroitly defeated by a concerted plan of action between Shaftesbury and his associates in the Lower House. An appeal case was at that time before the Lords, in which the defendant was Sir John Fagg, a member of the Lower House. The Lords issued an order for his appearance at their bar. This was no new stretch of privilege on the part of the Upper House. From early times, appeals on writs of error lay from the superior courts to the House of Lords, as the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and from the time of James I., appeals from decrees in chancery were also brought to the same ultimate decision. The House of Commons had never before questioned the right of the Lords to issue orders on their members in proceedings connected with the appellate jurisdiction of the Upper House. But Fagg's case came on at a time when the opponents of the new test in both Houses were eager to clutch at every waif and stray that could be turned to account to stay the progress of the obnoxious non-resistance to church and state test. The order for Fagg's attendance at the bar of the Lords was at once turned to good account. It was resented as a breach of privilege for the Lords to meddle with a member of the other House. The Lords replied that they were bound to do even justice for all; that they only sat while the Commons were sitting also; and that failure of justice must follow if members of the Lower House could evade the jurisdiction to which every subject of the king was amenable in appeal cases. There was the less reason, they added, to plead privilege of the House in appeals, inasmuch as the like privilege had never been claimed against the issue of writs of error from the courts below on which appeals were based: on these grounds they resolved to go on with the cause. To this exhaustive argument the Commons could bring no substantial rejoinder; but they insisted, nevertheless, on the maintenance of the privilege, urging that at the worst this would involve only a delay, and not a failure of justice, as the cause could be heard during the recess, when the parties ceased to carry privilege of parliament. Two of the appellants were committed to the Tower on an order of the Commons, who at the same time passed a vote against any lawyer who should plead in the House of Lords against their privilege, and ordered into custody of the serjeant-at-arms the four barristers who had already pleaded in the cause.

This vigorous action of the Commons led to an immediate clash and contention. The Lords sent the usher of the black rod to the serjeant-at-arms with an order for the liberation of his prisoners. The timid functionary, in dread of the wrath of the Upper House, obeyed the order, and decamped forthwith, to escape the displeasure of the Commons. Pemberton, one of the delinquent barristers, was arrested two days afterwards by the Speaker in person, in Westminster Hall, and recommitted to custody; the new serjeant-at-arms recovered the other three from the Court of King's Bench, and all four were then lodged in the Tower. The Lords came quickly to the rescue. They sent an order to the governor of the prison for the release of the captive lawyers, and on his excusing himself, in dread of the Commons, the lord-keeper sent writs of habeas corpus, demanding in the king's name that the prisoners should be brought at once into his high court of parliament. The Commons ordered the governor to disregard the writs. In sad perplexity how to obey so many masters, his discretion suggested that the Commons were most to be dreaded, and in this conviction he kept the barristers in durance. Charles made energetic efforts to soothe the irritation of both Houses, telling them they were playing the ignoble part of dupes to parties who cared nothing for privilege, but who were fanning the flame of their angry passions to impede his business and theirs. He urged them to hold a dispassionate conference, in order to agree upon conditions of adjustment of the dispute, in which he offered to arbitrate between them. The strife continued, reciprocal defiances were freely interchanged, and notwithstanding that the much-needed supplies were not yet voted, Charles saw no better alternative than a prorogation, which he accordingly declared on the 9th of June. Another session commenced on the 13th of October, the first business of which was to deal with the king's claims for money to wipe off debts contracted, under the name of "anticipations," on the security of future taxes. These amounted to 800,000*l.*, in addition to which, supplies were asked to refit the navy, which had relapsed into a condition of weakness too common in this reign. Strong objections were raised to the system of mortgages on revenue, on the ground that if anticipations were once sanctioned as the reason for supply, the court would never fail in drawing largely on such an irregular source of income, and would soon evade the control of the Commons on expenditure.

The government failed to obtain a majority on the question of anticipations, but specific votes were obtained for building ships and the maintenance of the navy. Votes were carried also for the recall of the military force from the Continent, for excluding Catholics from seats in parliament, and for preventing bribery at elections. Shaftesbury induced the appellant in the suit that had raised the fierce contention on privilege to renew his petition to the Lords. Debates ensued, scarcely less animated than in the spring session; the quarrel between the two Houses was revived, but the court obtained such majorities in the Commons as prevented the complete obstruction of other business. A dissolution was now advocated by the opposition in the House of Lords, on the ground that the existing parliament, which had been elected in 1661, no longer represented the wishes of the nation; and that frequent parliaments were in accordance with the usage of centuries, while parliaments of indefinite duration were an innovation on the constitution. The court was strongly averse to parting with a House of Commons which had been elected in a fever heat of loyalty, and which was pretty certain to be succeeded by another in which the opposition would be largely reinforced. The motion for an address to dissolve parliament was lost on a division in the Upper House, but only by two votes, and Danby became convinced that he could not stem the tide of opposition, nor soothe the angry dissensions between the two Houses; but rather than face a new House of Commons, he advised a prorogation of fifteen months, which took effect accordingly from the 22nd of November.

The war between the French and the powerful confederacy which the prince of Orange had drawn to the support of Holland was still raging, and both sides courted the alliance of England. Charles had proffered his services as mediator between the belligerents when he withdrew from the contest, and a whole year had been spent in tedious discussions between the several governments concerned on the preliminaries of the proposed general pacification of Europe. Charles recommended the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle as the groundwork of peace. Spain, Austria, and Holland, insisted that Louis should give up not only his recent acquisitions, but also all the places in Flanders which were ceded to him by that treaty, and that France should be limited to her old frontiers as laid down in the treaty of the Pyrenees. But Louis was not yet prepared to listen to terms which would strip him of all his recent conquests, though he professed a willingness to treat on the basis of having ceded to him such equivalents for his actual gains as might be agreed upon between the parties. All the belligerents nevertheless fell into Charles's proposals for a congress at Nimeguen, in which he was the accepted mediator.

At this juncture England held in her hands the destinies of Europe, but her king had none of the high qualities befitting an arbiter. Instead of urging on the several governments the acceptance of reasonable terms of compromise between their jarring claims—a suggestion that must have been listened to with respect, had both sides been impressed with a sense of the peril of incurring the hostility of England in case of refusal—Charles permitted both sides to besiege him with offers of money as the price of his help against the other.

Spain and Holland offered large subsidies for the active help of the naval and military forces of England, which must at once have turned the evenly-balanced scale in the contest. France, on the other hand, was content to give as much to Charles for his mere neutrality as he formerly received for his active help. Charles had not abandoned the idea of using the arms of France in any time of need against his own subjects. He therefore gave the preference to the friendship of Louis and a French pension; and as his ministers held back, under a wholesome dread of future impeachment, or from feelings of shame, to share in so disgraceful a transaction, he drew up with his own hand, signed, sealed, and delivered to the French ambassador, the secret treaty between himself and Louis, under which he bartered for French gold the voice and conscience of his country. The Catholic historian, Lingard, who treats with all possible tenderness the failings and the vices of Charles and the duke of York, mingles as much of excuse and extenuation as he can bring to bear on this transaction; but his condemnation of it, as set forth in the following passage, is sufficiently severe: "By this secret proceeding both princes obtained their object—Charles, the money which had been refused by parliament; Louis, security that Charles, for some time at least, would not make common cause with his enemies. But the English king, if he possessed the spirit of a man, must have keenly felt the degradation. He was become the yearly pensioner of another monarch; he was no longer the arbiter of his own conduct; he had bound himself to consult, with respect to foreign powers, the master whose money he received. Perhaps he might console himself with the notion that it was less disgraceful to depend on a powerful monarch, from whose alliance he could disengage himself at pleasure, than on a party among his own subjects which constantly opposed him in parliament; perhaps he felt a malicious pleasure in defeating the machinations of his adversaries, whom he knew to be, in pecuniary transactions, not more immaculate than himself; for it is a fact, that several among those who claimed the praise of patriotism for their opposition to the court were accustomed to sell their services for money. It seemed as if the votes of the members of parliament were exposed for sale to all the powers of Europe. Some received bribes from the lord-treasurer on account of the king; some from the Dutch, Spanish, and imperial ambassadors in favour of the confederates; some even from Louis, at the very time when they loudly declaimed against Louis as the great enemy of their religion and liberties; for that prince, notwithstanding the recent treaty, did not implicitly rely on the faith of Charles; he sought in addition to secure the good-will of those who, by their influence in parliament, might have it in their power to withdraw the king from his promise of neutrality."

Scotland had for many years groaned under the heavy hand of oppression, exercised in the king's name by Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp. The severities which goaded the Covenanters into rebellion were mitigated in 1667, under the advice of Charles, who was personally averse to persecution; but it was impossible to uphold a church which was hated by the people, except at the price of frequent conflicts between the military and the earnest adherents of the cherished Covenant. Sharp's hot-headed zeal was checked by the severe rebuke of a royal command to confine his attention to the spiritual duties of his office. The troops were withdrawn from their Sunday work of dispersing religious meetings by discharges of musketry. Rothes was displaced from his post of royal commissioner, and was limited to the duties of chancellor; a reform which Sharp commended, on the score that "It was a great happiness to have to deal with sober and serious men; for Lord Rothes and his crew were perpetually drunk." The earl of Tweeddale succeeded to the vacated post of royal commissioner. He and the secretary of state, Lauderdale, were Presbyterians at heart; and between their desire to carry out the government scheme for the establishment of episcopacy, and their own secret leaning to the religion which they were called upon to supersede, they were brought to favour a policy of mutual compromise and concession between the new and the old forms of worship. Instead of enforcing a renunciation of the Covenant, these official buttresses of a church for which they entertained but scant affection, issued a document bearing the name of the Indulgence, under which the ejected Presbyterian ministers were permitted to resume their duties in their own way, and enjoy the statutory emoluments of their office, on condition that they would so far acknowledge episcopal authority as to accept from the bishops a license to officiate in lieu of the customary call from a parish. Past offences among the rebellious Covenanters of the west were at the same time condoned in respect to all who would give a bond to keep the peace, under the penalty of forfeiting a year's rental of their estates. These measures of conciliation were only partially successful. The ministers who accepted the Indulgence incurred great odium among the people, and their churches were all but deserted. About this time a heated enthusiast, named James Mitchell, who had fought in the ranks of the Covenanters at Rullion Green, cherished the belief that he would be serving the cause of God by killing Archbishop Sharp, the persecutor of his brethren. Watching his opportunity, and armed with a loaded pistol, he fired into the carriage of the primate in the High Street, Edinburgh, in the middle of the day. The ball took effect on the wrist of Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, who was at that moment following Sharp into the carriage. A cry of murder was raised, whereupon a bystander called out, "It is only a bishop." No attempt was made by any of the crowd to arrest the assassin, who coolly crossed over to a neighbouring house, where he shifted his wig, which he was not accustomed to wear, changed his coat, and came back with a sense of complete security into the crowd which the event had drawn together. So bitter was the popular feeling against Sharp, that the offer of a large reward failed to bring Mitchell to justice. But the obnoxious primate, who had scanned the assassin very closely while he was taking aim, recognized him six years afterwards, and brought him to account.

The Scottish parliament of 1668 was occupied in the consideration of a project for a union of the two kingdoms; but the difficulties arising out of national jealousies, as in the reign of James I., when the same question was first mooted, proved insurmountable. Lauderdale, who now filled the post of royal commissioner, was more successful in handling his obsequious parliament in other vital matters affecting the liberties of his country. He procured an Act by which the whole government of the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom was removed entirely from the control of parliament, and vested in the king. Some of the Scottish bishops objected to the measure, as one that would make the king a sort of pope over the church of his northern kingdom; but even those who objected were servile, timid time-servers, who basely voted against their consciences, and in the face of their own protests. Another Act of the same session vested in the privy council, on behalf of the crown, the power of ordering the militia on any service in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness, should be concerned in any part of his dominions. Lauderdale was in a high state of exultation at these easy triumphs in the craven assembly which disgraced the name of a parliament. Heedless of Strafford's achievements in the same direction, and of the bitter fruit yielded by his victory over the Irish parliament and people, the Scottish secretary of state valued himself upon these acts as if he had conquered kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the king upon the occasion, in which he said that "all Scotland was now in his power. The Church of Scotland was now more subject to him than the Church of England was. The militia was now an army ready upon call, and that every man in Scotland was ready to march wheresoever he should order it." The fierce fanatical spirit that was nourished in the conventicles was now becoming a source of alarm to the government. Conciliation, so far as hitherto practised, had brought in its train an evil almost as serious as the one it was designed to cure. Those Presbyterian ministers who accepted the Indulgence incurred, by their submission, the hatred and even the persecution of their brethren and of their own congregations. This provoked the government to fresh attempts to put down unauthorized meetings, especially in the open air, for religious worship. In 1670, Lauderdale earned the undying hatred of the Presbyterian church by the enactment he caused to be carried through the Scottish parliament, by which any minister, who in the three following years officiated at a field conventicle or other unauthorized place of worship, incurred the loss of his property and the penalty of death. Further concessions were at the same time offered, with the view to bring within the pale of the establishment the bulk of the ministers who had hitherto refused to submit to any innovation on the Kirk. Very few however accepted the bait, and religious dissensions continued, with fines and imprisonments for breaches of the oppressive law.

Lauderdale was now raised to the rank of a duke, and, on the death of his wife, married Lady Dysart, who had long been his reputed mistress. In her new dignity she made herself conspicuous by her arrogance, love of power, avarice, and venality. She exerted unbounded influence over her husband, and too often to the detriment of justice. She sold places and dignities, indulged in unbounded profusion, and led the duke into tyrannical and despotic courses, which were in marked contrast with the comparative mildness of his earlier administration. The obsequious nobles sought the favour of these representatives of the royal dignity in Charles's northern kingdom, and seemed to have lost all notion of their duty in parliament, beyond giving effect to the wishes of the sovereign, as expressed by the high-handed and arbitrary royal commissioner. All offices of trust and emolument were filled by dependants and family connections of the commissioner. Monopolies in salt, tobacco, brandy, and numerous other commodities were conceded to his friends and adherents. The coinage was adulterated by his brother, the master of the mint. So glaring were the abuses of the almost absolute rule of Lauderdale and his minions, that they at length provoked resistance in that parliament which had long seemed to have no voice or will of its own. At the opening of the session of 1673, the royal commissioner demanded with an air of easy assurance a liberal award of money towards the war with Holland. But an opposition suddenly declared itself, and startled the too confident minister. The duke of Hamilton called attention to the many grievances of the nation, the perversion of justice in the courts of law, and the monopolies by which prices were increased. Others followed in the same strain, and a loud demand was raised for a redress of the evils of maladministration before the settlement of supply. Lauderdale was astounded at such unlooked-for boldness, and tried to frighten the outspoken opposition. He prorogued parliament; but this only provoked his opponents to more decided measures. Hamilton and Tweeddale were deputed by their party to seek an audience with Charles in London. The king listened patiently to their complaints, and gave some delusive hopes of concession to their demands; but he had his own reasons for retaining his unscrupulous satrap in the uncontrolled exercise of his high office. The English parliament had resounded with ominous threats of impeachment against Lauderdale, with the other members of the Cabal; but the king had in mind an evil day, that might be close at hand, in which his chief dependence would be on the Scottish army and Lauderdale. The obnoxious minister was therefore retained in his post, and the parliament, which he could no longer master, was punished with dissolution.

Ireland, during this period, was suffering under the discouragement of prohibitory laws against the importation of its agricultural produce into England and Scotland. Free trade was not then dreamt of, and the landed interests of Great Britain were banded together to keep intrusive cattle and dairy produce from the sister kingdom out of competition with the industry of the English and Scotch agricultural classes. Ireland, meanwhile, was indulged in free trade with all foreign nations that were disposed to entertain an unrestricted commerce.

English affairs now claim attention. In the interval of the long prorogation between November, 1675, and February, 1677, the king gave himself up to a life of voluptuous ease at Windsor. The country enjoyed a high measure of prosperity during its exemption from the war which engrossed the energies of most of the nations of Europe. Commerce flourished beyond all previous experience under a profitable neutrality which gave England the carrying trade of the world. The progress of the war was keenly watched, and every success of the French became the theme of regretful gossip by the opponents of the ministry in all places of public resort. This party held the triumph of Louis to be fraught with danger to Protestantism and liberty, abroad and at home. The coffee-houses of the period filled the place of the clubs of a later time. Pamphlets, broad-sheets, and political squibs, in prose and verse, scattered the speculations of politicians through the ranks of the limited reading public; while rumour and gossip on all foreign and domestic topics of public interest were almost the only substitutes for the teeming pages of newspapers of a more advanced era. The free gossip of the frequenters of coffee-houses, their bold comments on the vices of the court and the un-English character of its foreign policy, attracted the resentful notice of the administration. Suddenly the government issued a proclamation for closing the coffee-houses; "because in such houses, and by the meeting of disaffected persons in them, divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised and spread abroad, to the defamation of his majesty's government, and the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm." Spirited remonstrances at once poured in upon the government, and so general was the discontent with this ill-timed interference with the right of Englishmen to meet and talk over public and political questions, that the obnoxious proclamation was withdrawn, and the licenses restored to the coffee-houses, with the condition that the keepers of such places of entertainment were to prevent the use of seditious language on the part of their customers, or the reading of libellous publications against the king or his advisers.

The government at this date was accused of supineness, and some of its agents of gross corruption, in dealing with the claims of merchants whose ships were captured by French cruisers on suspicion that the vessels or their cargoes were Dutch property. But Louis seems to have been sufficiently anxious to do ample justice, and avoid any ground of quarrel with England. Of the fifty-three vessels captured in 1675-6, it is more than probable a considerable proportion had only the slenderest title to the nationality which they attempted to cover with the English flag, and by the employment of British seamen in navigating them.

Parliament reassembled on the 15th of February, 1677, amid unusual demonstrations of excitement and curiosity. The first subject of discussion was the long prorogation, which, it was contended, had virtually brought about a dissolution. Under two statutes of Edward III. it was enacted that parliament should be held "once a year, or oftener if need be." The opposition leaders in the Upper House contended that under this statute their present meeting was not a parliament in the sense required by law; and that consequently its enactments could not be binding on the king's subjects. After a debate of five hours their motion was defeated by an overwhelming majority, the strong point in the ministerial defence being that the statute of 1641, "for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments," expressly laid down that parliament must meet at least once in three years; and that the plain inference arising out of that section of the enactment was that parliament could be prorogued for any less term without infringement of the law, and without involving as a necessary consequence its dissolution *ipso facto*.

That Act, it is true, had been repealed, but the new Act, which took its place in the current reign, adopted the same term of three years as the limit to which prorogation could be extended without requiring a new election. Danby was not content with a barren victory. He carried a motion by which Buckingham and the principal speakers who had supported him in the debate were censured for their ill-advised attempt to bring the legality of parliament into dispute. Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, were ordered to beg pardon of the king and the House, and on their refusal were committed prisoners to the Tower during the king's pleasure. This arbitrary procedure violated the well-known right of freedom of speech on the part of members of both branches of the legislature in their places in parliament. Lord Halifax and others argued against the humiliation and punishment of the offenders, on the ground that such repression was destructive to the freedom of public councils, and tended to the conclusion that no man could speak with safety on any motion unless he knew beforehand on what side the majority would be. Future large majorities might claim to put in force against a small minority the precedent established in the present case. The protest was unavailing. The four delinquents refused to ask pardon. Shaftesbury and Salisbury, on their commitment, asked the peers for leave to have their own servants, especially their own cooks, to wait upon them in prison; a request which annoyed the king not a little, "as carrying in it an insinuation of the worst sort." Three of them remained in durance some months, when, on petitioning the king and making due submission, they were liberated. Shaftesbury remained a year in confinement, attempting meanwhile to have the legality of his imprisonment tried in the Court of King's Bench; but failing in this, he also tendered the required submission, and was discharged from custody in February, 1678.

Danby had made a liberal distribution of the king's French pension among members of the House of Commons just before the opening of the session. This timely donative, and the fate of the leaders of opposition in the Upper House, moderated the zeal of numbers who were otherwise favourable to a dissolution. The motion in the Commons for an address, similar to that in the Lords, was accordingly easily defeated by the court party. Two bills were brought into the House of Lords to provide for the contingency of a Catholic prince succeeding to the throne. By one of these it was arranged that the patronage of all church preferment in the gift of the crown should fall to the disposal of the archbishops; and that the guardianship and education of the royal children should be vested in the two primates and the bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester. The other mitigated somewhat the old penalties against papists, but only with the view of rendering the application of the law more certain. The first of these measures passed the Upper House, but met with less favour in the Commons. The country party was not willing to recognize as a likely event the accession of a popish king, and was quite as strongly opposed to placing the sovereign power in the hands of the bishops. It was bent on the absolute exclusion of the duke of York, a project which would have the less chance of success if the safeguards devised for the security of the church had been permitted to acquire the force of law, and thus to lull the suspicions and disarm the fears of the nation. The bill was permitted to drop after the second reading. The second bill met with a still more indignant reception. It was rejected on the ground that the title of the bill meant one thing, and the body of it another; for whereas it was called "An Act for the more effectual conviction and prosecution of popish recusants," its penalties and restraints were easier by many degrees than those of the old laws.

Besides rejecting with contempt the bill from the Upper House, the Commons passed a severe bill of their own to prevent the growth of popery; but the Lords retaliated the indignity bestowed on their own bill, by declining to take into consideration the one sent to them by the Commons. Both Houses, however, concurred in wiping off from the statute book the cruel but obsolete law for the burning of heretics.

On the question of supplies the Commons proved unusually tractable. The excise, that had been granted for nine years from 1668, and was now about to come to an end, was renewed for a term of three more years, and a sum of 600,000*l*. was set apart under securities for its exclusive appropriation to the navy. At this juncture the news of French successes in the Netherlands gave new vigour to the dormant feeling in favour of Holland. The traditional jealousy of France was fostered by the persuasive influence of bribes, distributed by Spanish agents among the host of trading politicians in the veteran ranks of the Pension Parliament. An address was voted, urging the king to take a more active part than that of mediator in preserving the Netherlands from the domination of Louis, and in sustaining the allies in the struggle to preserve the balance of power in Europe. Charles returned an evasive reply. The arms of France obtained further successes; the prince of Orange suffered a severe defeat at Cassel; Cambray and St. Omer surrendered to Louis. Increasing alarm and excitement spread throughout England, and remonstrances were everywhere raised against the inaction of the government. A second address was voted by the Commons, with promises of fresh supplies to meet the emergency. Charles responded, that "before he could speak or act those things that would be expected of him," a specific sum of not less than 600,000*l*. must be placed at his disposal. Knowing the distrust with which this message would be received, the king convened a meeting of numerous members of both Houses at Whitehall, where he solemnly assured them that the money would be scrupulously applied in furtherance of the intentions of parliament, but that he would not commit himself to the hazards of war until adequate means were placed at his command. The Commons, however, had not yet forgotten their own too easy compliance, on former occasions, with the king's demand for funds, under plea of needful warlike equipments, and of the misuse made of such funds as were placed at the uncontrolled disposal of government. It was not possible for them to blot out the misgivings that grew out of the fact that, at the very time when, as events proved, Charles was secretly plotting with Louis to side with him against the Dutch, he drew large supplies from parliament, under pretence of maintaining the Triple League and thwarting the designs of France. They all well knew the king's disinclination to break with Louis, and had ample ground to fear that some ulterior design—adverse to the liberties of England—was at the bottom of the friendship so sedulously cultivated with the French court. A recess of five weeks followed, when the subject was resumed by a message from the king, containing another solemn pledge that parliament "should never repent any trust which they might repose in him for the safety of his kingdom." French agents had meanwhile been liberal with their largesses in inspiring Danby's opponents with a resolve to oppose any grant of money to the king; and the Spanish and Austrian ambassadors displayed equal zeal and generosity in bidding for parliamentary support to their side of the question. Another address was voted in the Commons, tinctured with the political hues of the two opposite foreign influences then so well represented in the English House of Commons. Supplies were withheld till war should be declared, and the king on the other hand was urged to enter into alliance with the confederate powers for the preservation of the Netherlands. Charles was greatly mortified at the continued distrust which his repeated and most solemn assurances had failed to shake. He said little on that section of the address which was concerned with supplies, though in reality this must have vexed him most; but he vented his royal indignation against the intrusive impertinence of the advice about the alliances proper for him to form. Peace and war he held to be questions within his own royal prerogative; he refused to listen to the long list of precedents that were brought forward to prove that even the most arbitrary English kings had been guided by the general and special advice of parliament in entering into war, and in the mode of carrying it on. He resented the address as an invasion of the rights of the crown and an insult to himself, and adjourned the Houses from the 28th of May till the 16th of July. His lofty assertion of the rights of his kingly office on this occasion was but a cloak under which he disguised his deep mortification at the disgrace of being held forth to the world as unworthy of the confidence of parliament. The French government had as little reliance as the House of Commons on the royal word of his English majesty. Its policy, while parliament was sitting, was to encourage opposition to any grant of supply to the king; and in the recess, Courtin, the envoy from the court of Versailles, urged Charles either to dissolve the present parliament, or to prorogue it for a lengthened term. By either of these alternatives Louis promised himself the advantage of keeping England out of the theatre of war. Charles agreed to put off the meeting of parliament till the following year on condition of having his pension increased. This was done after much chaffering on both sides, the amount being finally fixed at 200,000*l.*, the augmented rate dating back from the first day of the year. Under this compact the voice of parliament was stifled until the following January.

Charles was now anxious to see the war ended, for it was quite evident that he must either break that good understanding and those secret treaties which had bound him to Louis, or a yet more serious breach between himself and his subjects must be encountered. Danby, too, saw danger to himself if the king could not be detached from France. He now consulted his own safety, at the risk of the serious displeasure of the king, by openly giving vent, on public occasions, to his antipathy to French interests, and his desire that the arms of England should at once take the side of the confederacy against Louis. He urged Charles to come at once to a hearty concurrence with parliament. Charles was punctilious beyond his habit in insisting that he could not change his foreign policy until he had first brought about the peace which was still under negotiation at Nimeguen. He had bartered away the neutrality of his kingdom during the current war; he was prepared to redeem the error by joining in an alliance against France as soon as he had brought the belligerents to terms of accommodation. He held it quite consistent with his honour to turn against France so soon as peace should be declared on the terms he had concerted with Louis.

In this posture of affairs Danby exerted himself more and more to commit the administration, of which he was the head, to a policy which might intimidate Louis into more reasonable terms of peace than he had hitherto insisted on. At a public dinner given on the consecration of Archbishop Sancroft, Danby proposed a toast to the confusion of all that were not for war with France. He persuaded the prince of Orange to make some compliances towards that reconciliation which would assure to him the alliance of England, and would pave the way to his becoming its future sovereign. He had long favoured the project of marriage between the prince and his cousin, the eldest daughter of the duke of York. Three years earlier, when Arlington had made cautious overtures in the same direction, William had met the proposal with a cool rebuff that savoured of contempt. The events of the war had taught him that without the aid of England he could hardly expect to bring the contest to a close that would be either advantageous or honourable to his country. He had also come to the conclusion, that on public, no less than on private considerations, the proposed matrimonial alliance was the very best that he could hope for. He now asked to be allowed to visit his royal uncles and the princess. Charles gave the desired permission, but coupled it with the condition that the contemplated marriage should be deferred till the conclusion of peace. The purpose of this was to make William more compliant in the terms on behalf of Holland which he was then urging at the congress of Nimeguen. The prince at once exhibited strong scruples at this suggested complication of his own personal affairs with the general politics of Europe, and the king thereupon gave unconditional leave for the visit. Early in October, William joined his uncles at Newmarket, where they were diverting themselves with the customary sports of the place.

With him came Temple, the English envoy at the Hague, and his best friend in the delicate negotiations that were now to take place. The reception was cordial, but as both his uncles were bent on eliciting his views on public affairs, while the discreet young prince was determined to keep his own counsel until the marriage was finally decided, the intercourse between them was at first not a little constrained. Temple was interrogated by the king as to the prince's reserve on public topics, and told him, as he had been charged to do, that the prince desired at once to be introduced to his cousin the Princess Mary, that they might become mutually acquainted before committing themselves to a marriage alliance, and that he wished to defer all conference on public affairs till this domestic question had been settled. The king was not a little amused at the novelty of the notion that a prince should hesitate to settle a marriage treaty until he had first seen his intended wife. But he gratified his nephew's humour by the early return of the court to town. William's preconceived impressions in favour of his future wife were fully confirmed by his own observation of her personal endowments and accomplishments. His affections were soon engaged, and he thereupon sought the formal consent of the king and the duke of York. The duke had long been averse to the match, but was persuaded by the king to make a concession that would soften the apprehensions and misgivings prevalent in the public mind on account of his being a papist. He was told that the marriage of his daughter with the head of the Protestant interest would go far to prove that his religion was a matter personal to himself alone, and not to be perpetuated in his family in defiance of national antipathies. A council was summoned, at which the king announced, that by the marriage between his nephew the prince of Orange and his niece the Princess Mary, he sought to prove the devotion of his family to the Protestant interest, and to quiet the jealous fears of the nation by giving this fresh security for the maintenance of the established religion. The duke of York added, "And I, as father of the bride, have given my consent—a consent which will prove the falsehood of the charges so often made against me, that I meditate changes in the church and state. The only change which I seek is to secure men from molestation in civil concerns on account of their opinion in matters of religion."

The wedding took place on the 4th November, and was celebrated with festivities and rejoicings throughout the kingdom. Nor was the satisfaction and delight with which it was greeted confined to Charles's subjects. Holland and the Protestant interest throughout Europe shared in the rejoicings. The French court was much disconcerted by an event which cemented a cordial understanding between the royal family of England and the government of the Hague, and increased the yearning of the English people for giving active help to the Dutch. Louis expressed his contempt for the duke of York, "in giving his daughter to the greatest enemy he had in the world;" and the English ambassador at the French court told Danby that Louis was as much chagrined by receipt of the news of the marriage as he would have been by the loss of one of his armies.

After the marriage Charles and the prince held many conferences on the terms of peace to be proposed to the flagging and well nigh dormant congress. Danby and Temple shared in the discussions. The chief aim of Charles was to soften the rigour of the terms demanded by the allies; or, as he told Louis, to engage the prince to be more tractable in the treaty then going forward. William, on the other hand, was bent on requiring Louis to give up, not alone his gains in the present war, but also his acquisitions in the previous war that ended in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In the end, they agreed to a joint proposal to Louis, under which France was to restore the bulk of her recent conquests, but to be confirmed in the possession of portions of the Spanish Netherlands. Temple was at first designated for the mission to break this scheme to Louis, but just as he was on the eve of starting, Charles thought it unadvisable to send as his envoy a diplomatist so well known for his opposition to the pretensions of France. Lord Faversham, a Protestant French nobleman who was naturalised in England, and held the post of captain of the duke of York's guard, was intrusted with the unpalatable duty; his instructions binding him to abstain from any semblance of negotiation, but simply to submit the project, and to request the decision of the French king, within two days, on the single question of his willingness to treat on the terms named. One part of Faversham's instructions required him to tell Louis that the king of England would never be able to live at ease among his people if he refused to go with them in their earnest longing to prevent at all hazards the annexation of Flanders to the French crown; and that Louis's acquiescence in counsels of moderation "would remove all accidents that might obstruct the existing friendship between the two crowns." Louis dissembled his anger at seeing Charles take the place of an arbiter, and on sundry pretexts delayed his reply a couple of weeks. He had decided to enter on a winter campaign, and to surprise the allies by a vigorous and unforeseen onslaught, so that on the strength of fresh successes he might extort better terms from his enemies before the English parliament could meet, and hurry Charles into the ranks of the allies.

Before Faversham's return with the tardy reply, William received such intelligence of ominous activity in the French camps, that he hastened forthwith, before the end of his honeymoon, to place himself at the head of his forces in Flanders. Seeing that he was not to be deterred from his purpose, Charles on his part now took some decided steps. The adjournment of parliament was shortened by proclamation from the 4th of April to the 15th of January; and Montague, the English ambassador to the French court, who at the time was on a visit to London, was hurried back to his post, with orders to urge on Louis that the sacrifices he was asked to submit to were trivial in comparison with the difficulties Charles must encounter through the discontent of the English people, if he lent himself any longer to a neutrality in the interests of France. Instructions were at the same time sent to Hyde, Charles's envoy at the Hague, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance, after the model of the Triple League, under which hostilities were to be declared by England against

France, and by Holland against Spain, unless both France and Spain would accept the conditions of peace that had lately been jointly agreed upon by Charles and his nephew. The Spanish government was secretly a consenting party to this treaty, so that in reality Louis alone was menaced by it.

Charles's new-born zeal for the cause of the allies was sharpened by the sudden stoppage of his French pension. Before the close of the year he sent orders of recall to the English auxiliaries serving under Louis. Commissions were issued for the raising of new regiments, and filling up the old ones to their full strength. The fleet in the Mediterranean under Sir John Narborough was strongly reinforced. An arrangement was made with Spain for placing Ostend at the service of the English, as the basis of their military operations in Flanders. Louis on his side made some precautionary movements against the threatened war with England. He recalled his forces from Sicily, and concentrated his scattered ships of war within the defences of his fortified harbours. He sent secret instructions to Barillon, his ambassador at London, to tempt Charles and his ministers with magnificent bribes as the price of their making easier terms for him, and to inflame the old jealousy of the House of Commons against placing a standing army at the disposal of the crown. Louis gained some venal partizans in Holland too, who clamoured for a separate peace with France, and accused the prince of Orange of caring more for his personal interests, which were best served by his being at the head of a large military force, than for the welfare of his country. They sought to raise a prejudice against the English alliance, by suggesting that their own republican institutions ran the risk of being subverted, and the liberties of England overthrown, by the united naval and military forces of their stadtholder and the king of England.

At the opening of parliament in January, 1678, Charles announced the conclusion of a treaty with Holland, and dwelt on the need of immediate and extensive preparations, both naval and military, for the war which was now about to be forced upon them by the obstinacy and ambition of Louis. He added that he had exhausted all friendly means of bringing about a peace, and that it now only remained to enforce one, or submit to the unlimited encroachments of France. He held that, for a vigorous and effective part in the war, England ought to put to sea a fleet of not less than ninety ships, and that its land forces should be increased to forty thousand men. In the debate that ensued on this speech, the opposition exhibited its old distrust of the intentions of the court; and Sir W. Coventry argued forcibly in favour of restricting to naval operations the share to be taken by England in the war against France. But Danby obtained a majority, and funds were voted for putting thirty thousand men and ninety ships on a war footing.

The French, meanwhile, displayed extraordinary vigour, and confounded the allies by the rapidity and extent of their movements. Towards the end of January, Louis visited his encampments on the Rhine, and by demonstrations in that quarter, occupied the attention of his enemies while his generals in Flanders were organizing an overwhelming attack on some of the towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood of Brussels. Within a month, Mons and Namur were invested, and Ypres and Ghent taken by the French. On the capitulation of Ghent, renewed demands for an early declaration of war were raised in both houses of parliament. Charles sent three thousand men to Ostend, as the advanced guard of a larger force then being levied; but the embarrassing attitude of the opposition caused him still to delay the issue of a declaration of hostilities. Parliament was distracted by vacillating and contradictory purposes. Opposition to Louis, and the desire to give a hearty support to the Protestant cause, led them in one direction; distrust of the king, and a traditional jealousy of standing armies, the engines of arbitrary power, scared them into another. The agents of Louis were not slow to avail themselves of these jarring inclinations. Barillon, the ambassador, and Ruvigny, a special envoy employed on several secret missions to London at this crisis, were in constant communication with the country party, fomenting their jealousies, arousing their fears, and in very numerous instances stimulating their opposition to the court by a liberal distribution of gold. Even patriots of stainless and incorruptible honour, so far as pecuniary inducements were in question, lent themselves to these intrigues with a foreign court to embarrass the action of their own government. Lord William Russell, whose name is cherished as that of one of the most virtuous and fearless champions of constitutional freedom of whom England is proud, was undoubtedly mixed up in these intrigues. Ruvigny asked him to name the members of his party to whom a share of the gold sent from Paris should be offered. He indignantly declined to soil his honour by being made the medium of any communication with men who were to be bought and sold for money. Lord Holles entertained as lofty a contempt for any sordid transaction, but many of the same side did not scruple to receive French pay for doing work on which they were bent independently of such an inducement. Even Algernon Sydney, the sturdy and consistent upholder of his country's liberties, descended to the baseness then too prevalent among members of the House of Commons in the days of the corrupt Pension Parliament. They believed that all Charles's opposition to Louis, and his apparent anxiety for war, were but the disguises under which he concealed his long-cherished purpose of raising an army, and freeing himself from the restraints of parliament and the trammels of constitutional government. Louis had long paralyzed the power of England by sustaining the throne in its aspirations against the parliament; he now sought the same end by the opposite tactics of encouraging the parliament to curb the power of the throne. No sooner was the resolution taken to raise an army, than loud outcries were raised of danger to the liberties of the nation. Lord Russell was vehement in his protests and warnings against the danger of standing armies, yet he took a leading part in favour of the address praying the king to declare war without delay. The Lords refused to join in this address until the aims of the allies were more exactly declared; for at that juncture it seemed extremely likely the Dutch, on whose behalf England was arming, would make a separate peace with Louis, and leave their allies to shift for themselves. For a brief space, indeed, there were hopes of a general peace; but the grounds of such an expectation were hardly likely to be known except by the king and his ministers.

The ambassadors of Spain, Austria, and Holland, within a few days of the fall of Ypres and Ghent, communicated to Charles the willingness of their respective governments to make peace on terms more favourable to France than those lately offered. Charles snatched eagerly at the prospect which these simultaneous overtures presented for extricating himself from a position of great difficulty, and of making a handsome profit by the transaction. He caused Danby to write the memorable letter, which afterwards became his ruin, in which Charles undertook to use his good offices with the allies in procuring favourable terms for Louis, if that monarch would assure him a substantial pension for the three ensuing years. The terms he engaged to obtain by his good offices were simply those confidentially communicated to him by the representatives of the allies, and which in fact were wrung from them by the alarming progress of the French arms. The concession came too late. Elated by his recent easy conquests, Louis raised his terms, of which his representative in the congress was already apprised.

Vexed at the prompt rebuff of Louis, Charles again resumed his warlike mood, and proposed a quadruple alliance between England, Austria, Spain, and Holland. The Dutch government found pretexts for delay, during which they were secretly negotiating a separate peace with Louis. Charles meanwhile communicated to both Houses the past and present state of the negotiations at Nimeguen, and asked the advice of parliament whether the posture of affairs seemed to them to demand active and immediate hostilities on the part of England. The reply to this message was strongly tinctured by the obstructive policy of the opposition. A committee of the House had recently reported on connivances of the authorities, by which the severe penalties against Catholics were frequently evaded. The resolution on the king's message expressed the unwillingness of the House to lay any fresh burdens upon the people until the kingdom was secured, "and the dangers were prevented which might arise from the countenance given to the popish party." An address followed in a few days, urging the king to dismiss Lauderdale and the other evil counsellor who had advised him to set at naught their addresses in the previous session. In this entanglement Charles prorogued parliament for ten days, and devoted the interval to another secret treaty, which was then proposed to him by Louis. By this compact Louis engaged to pay Charles six millions of livres if he would keep out of the war, remove his troops from Flanders, except the garrison at Ostend, use his influence in bringing to a speedy conclusion the treaty then pending between Louis and the States-General, prorogue and subsequently dissolve parliament, and disband the army he had just raised.

When parliament reassembled an address was voted, urging the king at once to disband the army, or declare war and send it to the Continent. An angry altercation followed, the conclusion of which was a vote of 200,000*l.*, to pay off the new regiments within three weeks, with an extension of time for the forces then serving in the Netherlands. A like sum was voted for the navy, coupled with a resolution to vote no further supplies that session. On Danby's advice, Charles asked an additional revenue of 300,000*l.* during his life; but the Commons refused to entertain this proposal, being apprehensive that compliance would render the court too independent of parliament, and furnish the means of keeping up a military force till the nation should be brought under an absolute government. Failing in his attempt to cajole the Commons, Charles prorogued parliament on the 15th of July. Meanwhile the congress at Nimeguen came to an agreement on the terms offered by Louis; but on the discovery, at the last moment of their deliberation, that the French purposed retaining their garrisons in the fortresses to be surrendered to the Spaniards until the allies had indemnified Sweden for conquests made at its expense, the negotiation was suddenly suspended. Charles sent Temple to the Hague, with powers to conclude a treaty in opposition to the demands in favour of Sweden. He had just before this despatched four thousand men under Lord Ossory, to join his other forces still in Flanders, and additional regiments were held in readiness for the same destination. Louis was then informed that England and Holland would unite their forces to compel him to recede from his new pretensions, and that the events of fresh hostilities would be made the basis of the altered treaty that must result from his obstinacy. Louis thereupon revoked his secret engagement with Charles, and redoubled his efforts to detach the Dutch from their new alliance with England. Failing in this, he gave up his stipulations in behalf of the Swedes, and made peace with the States-General, to the deep chagrin of the prince of Orange, who steadfastly held out for a peace that should embrace the interests of Spain and the Emperor.

No formal notification of the peace between France and Holland was sent to the stadtholder until too late to avert a sanguinary engagement, in which five thousand lives were uselessly squandered. The duke of Luxemburgh was besieging Mons, and barring the road to Brussels. While negotiations were just culminating in peace, William could not resist the temptation of striking a blow on the French—an enterprise in which the timely arrival of Ossory's contingent of English troops afforded him the certain prospect of success. The French camp was skirted by the abbey of St. Denis on one side, and by the old fortress of Casteau on the other. Both these positions were occupied by a strong force of French troops. On the 4th of August William led the attack on St. Denis, which he carried after a desperate resistance, while the Spaniards, under command of the duke of Villa Hermosa, were equally successful in their assault on Casteau, which they made simultaneously with the other attack. The contest raged fiercely through the day, with varying success; the French dislodged the Spaniards from their position, and William thereupon commenced a retrograde movement. The French made a strenuous and well-nigh successful attempt to cut off his retreat from St. Denis, in which however they were frustrated by the stubborn courage of Ossory's English, whose repeated and desperate charges on Luxemburgh's regiments saved the fortunes of the day. Darkness parted the combatants; and on the morrow, at a conference between the generals, Luxemburgh acquainted the prince with the fact that peace was actually concluded between France and Holland, whereupon the hostile armies withdrew, the one towards France and the other to Nivelles.

Charles now again sought to make his friendship a marketable commodity with Louis. He busied himself in behalf of Spain, and endeavoured to secure the co-operation of the prince of Orange in his attempts, claiming the help of the States in pursuance of the recent treaty between England and Holland. Temple tells the tale of these shifting and uncertain aims of his royal master, and of the fruit they bore in undermining all confidence in England under its existing government. "Was ever anything so hot and so cold as this court of yours?" said Charles's nephew: "will the king never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage to England, when, in a great storm, the captain was all night crying out to the man at the helm—STEADY; steady; steady. If this despatch had come twenty days ago, it had changed the face of affairs in Christendom, and the war might have been carried on till France had yielded to the treaty of the Pyrenees, and left the world in quiet for the rest of our lives; as it comes now, it will have no effect at all."

The pending questions between France and Spain were soon adjusted under the mediation of the States-General; the confederacy was thus broken up, and all the members of it came at length within the terms of the peace of Nimeguen, which was concluded in October, though not formally ratified by all the parties till the following January. Spain was the principal loser under this treaty. France gained Tournay, Valenciennes, Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Ypres, Cassel, and other places of less note, and was again confirmed in the possession of her former conquests in the southern quarter of the Spanish Netherlands. Holland came out of the struggle without any loss of territory, and with very great credit for the success with which it withstood the power of Louis. An advantageous commercial treaty was concluded between France and Holland at the same time with their treaty of peace. Sweden recovered what had been wrested from her by the allies. France filled a greater position than ever among the nations of Europe, while England was distrusted and despised for the fast-and-loose policy of its government, and the passive attitude by which Charles had played into the hands of Louis. The king and his advisers, however, were not the only parties culpable for the degradation of their country in the period of this six years' war. Lingard very justly distributes the odium of that result in the following words: "That the result so glorious to Louis, so alarming to the other princes of Europe, was in a great measure owing to the indecisive, vacillating, and contradictory conduct of the English cabinet cannot be denied. But the blame must not be laid exclusively on the king; it ought to be shared with him by the leaders of the country party. If his poverty, his love of ease, his fear of the opposition in parliament, taught him to shrink from the cares and embarrassments consequent on a declaration of war, their desire of popularity, combined with party spirit, perhaps with more mercenary motives, led them to act in opposition to their professions, to urge the king to take part in the quarrel, and at the same time to prevent him from following their advice by refusing the necessary supplies. In truth, the jealousy of the two parties was so deeply rooted, their strength in the House of Commons so nearly balanced, that the powers of government became paralyzed, and the crown of England lost its legitimate influence in the counsels of Europe."

While couriers were still rushing between the courts and capitals of Europe, conveying missives pregnant with the fate of nations, England became convulsed with a domestic disturbance of unparalleled intensity. Profound suspicion, distrust, and general disaffection were the evil firstfruits of national humiliation and disgrace. The public mind was in that sore and excitable condition which prepared it for the greedy reception and rapid spread of any extravagant rumour of evil designs against the liberties or the religion of the country. Fuel was quickly forthcoming to feed the flame of its anger, and to stimulate it to mad paroxysms of resentment.

On the 13th of August, as the king was walking in St. James's Park, he was suddenly accosted by a man named Kirkby, who was known to him as an occasional assistant in his laboratory, with a mysterious warning to have a care how he exposed himself in public places, as his life was in danger. His majesty appointed a meeting in the evening, when Kirkby attended in company with Dr. Tonge, a city clergyman of some notoriety as a great alarmist and ultra-Protestant. Tonge brought with him a lot of papers, which he stated had been thrust under the crevice of his door, and in which were set forth many alarming details, under forty-three heads, of a plot to take the king's life, and to set up popery on the ruins of the Established Church. Charles at once suspected the credulous parson had been made the victim of a hoax, but passed him and his documents on to Danby for examination.

In his first interview with the lord-treasurer, Tonge professed to have a strong suspicion, but no assurance, as to the party who had brought the papers to his house. In another interview he added that his previous guess had been confirmed, and that he had been spoken to in the street by the man in question, and had gleaned from him additional particulars of the diabolical conspiracy, but that his informant urgently entreated his name might not be divulged, lest his life should be sacrificed by the conspirators. Danby thereupon proposed to the king the instant arrest of all the parties named in the papers. Charles felt convinced the whole affair was a mischievous hoax, and with the view to avoid public alarm, tried to hush up the imposture, and charged Danby to keep the matter secret even from the duke of York. But the deluded doctor came again, freighted with alarming news, and warning the lord-treasurer that a packet was at that moment on its way through the post office to Bedingfield, the duke's confessor, then staying with the court at Windsor. Danby hastened to intercept the packet, but when he reached Windsor it had been already handed to the king. Bedingfield, in alarm at the contents of the papers, had instantly brought them under the duke of York's notice, and James straightway carried them to his brother. The king, the duke, and the confessor, eagerly scrutinized the papers; and his majesty was quite convinced they were clumsy forgeries, and that Tonge's knowledge of their transmission by post must have been given to him for the express purpose of affording a clue to the discovery and seizure of the ominous documents. The king laid the affair before his council; and most of the members agreed with him that the affair was a gross imposture, in which Kirkby and the parson were simple dupes in the hands of designing mischief-makers in the background. Charles again urged that no notice should be taken of the affair, lest the story of a plot involving his life should put into the head of some fanatic, who would not else have thought of it, a resolve to kill him. But the opponents of the court were not slow to convert the story into a political capital of prodigious proportions. They gave out that the letters handed to the king were mere blinds and counterfeits, and that the duke's confessor had destroyed the genuine documents. Rumours implicating the Jesuits in the business were rapidly and widely circulated. The duke of York insisted on an investigation, in order to clear his household of suspected complicity.

And now that the vulgar appetite for tales of awe and mystery was fairly aroused, the shadowy personage who had set Tonge and Kirkby at the king suddenly emerged from his obscurity. TITUS OATES came before Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a Westminster magistrate, and made an affidavit to the truth of the documents which had been discredited by the king and his council. Oates was originally a weaver, and in the early days of the Commonwealth had forsaken his loom to become an Anabaptist preacher. At the Restoration he changed his religion, conformed to the Established Church, went to Cambridge, and subsequently found occupation in a succession of curacies, and as chaplain in a ship of war. Dismissed in disgrace from all these employments, he pretended to be a convert to Romanism, and found an asylum, first in the English College at Valladolid, and afterwards at St. Omers. He was expelled from both refuges on the discovery of his hypocrisy and irreligion; but he had acquired within their walls some knowledge of the organization of the Romanists in England, with the names of many concealed priests, and other particulars relating to Catholic families, and the means by which their oppressed communion conducted its religious affairs. Arriving in London in a destitute condition, he sought relief from the zealous anti-Catholic Tonge, repaying his patron's bounty with abundant revelations of his zeal and pretended discoveries, made while sojourning in Spain and France as a sham convert to popery

Some accounts represent Tonge as the accomplice, or rather the prime mover in the huge delusion, making it seem that in his fiery zeal against popery he arranged with Oates the feigned conversion to Romanism, as the means of gaining an insight into the secret counsels and conspiracies with which his heated imagination was continually haunted. The more commonly received opinion carries with it greater probability, that Tonge was the weak and credulous dupe of the arch-hypocrite and impostor Oates. The letters to the duke of York's Jesuit confessor had been sent on the last day of August; and immediately after this Oates was in frequent conference with Kirkby, priming him with more combustible matter, with which to feed the decaying fire that was well nigh going out at court. But Kirkby's efforts to attract notice proved unavailing; he placed himself frequently in the path of the king, who, in his daily saunterings in the park, was not unobservant of the intrusive attempts to catch his eye, but passed the anxiously expectant informer without the slightest notice. Tonge, too, found that the authorities with whom he had been confronted showed no signs of belief in the genuineness of the plot, and his efforts to obtain further audience were repulsed with studied neglect. Tonge and Oates were resolved not to permit their great disclosures to be lost to the public, and to this end affidavits were made before Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, in attestation of the truth of eighty-one articles of information, set forth in great detail in a massive roll of papers. Godfrey found among the long list of implicated persons the name of his friend Coleman, secretary to the duchess of York, to whom he conveyed a timely intimation of his danger. Coleman revealed the secret to the duke, who again besought the king to sift the affair to the bottom. Charles reluctantly complied; Tonge was summoned before the privy council, and ordered to bring forward his informant. Titus Oates came before the board on the 28th of September, dressed in a clerical gown and a new suit of black; and with the utmost self-possession and great fluency astonished his hearers with a tale of monstrous wickedness about to be perpetrated against the government and religion of the realm.

His revelations embraced the following, among other alarming points:—That the pope was about to reclaim his authority in these kingdoms, and had confided to the Jesuits the needful power for giving effect to his intentions. 2. That numerous emissaries of this society were actively at work in various disguises throughout the three kingdoms and in Holland. An insurrection and massacre were being organized in Ireland; Scotland was kept in ferment by Jesuits in the guise of Covenanters; in England the conspirators were to kill the king, and his brother too, if he failed in ready adhesion to the scheme of subversion; while in Holland, the promoters of the French alliance were to rise against the prince of Orange. 3. That the Jesuits had a revenue of 60,000*l.* per annum, and a sum in hand of not less than 100,000*l.*, with promises of large pecuniary help from the confessor of Louis XIV., and an ecclesiastic of high rank in Spain. 4. That Pickering, a lay brother of the order, and a man named honest William, had been ordered to shoot the king, and had already suffered reprimands and chastisement for their delay.

5. That a grand consult of the Jesuits had been held at the White Horse Tavern in the Strand, in the spring of the year, to settle the fittest way of killing the king; that besides the assassins named above two monks, named Coniers and Anderton, and four Irishmen, under the direction of Fogarty, were pledged to do the bidding of the Jesuits. On the same occasion it was decided, the informer added, to offer 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* to the queen's physician, Wakeman, as the price of his services in poisoning the king. Oates professed not to know what reply Wakeman had given, but added that he had, since the date of the proposal, often seen him in company with members of the bloody conference. 6. That his knowledge of the conspiracy had been acquired by his feigned conversion, which had gained for him the confidence of the superiors of the order, and that he had been the trusted agent of the society, and carried their letters between England and the principal retreats of English Catholics resident in Spain and France. He further stated that he had opened and perused some of the letters which he carried. 7. That the great fire of London was the work of the Jesuits, who had used seven hundred fireballs in feeding the conflagration, and in the confusion had indemnified themselves for their outlay, and reaped an immense profit by the valuable booty on which they laid hands; that their success in 1666 had encouraged them to a similar attempt in Southwark ten years later, and that they were now making arrangements to burn Westminster, Wapping, and the shipping in the port of London. 8. That the pope had named in a secret bull new bishops and other dignitaries to fill the places that would be vacated in the church when the plot worked its way. Many Catholic laymen were named in the same bull for high office in the state.

The prevailing feeling of the council was that of amazement and incredulity. The duke of York at once pronounced the whole story an impudent imposture; but other members of the council, while they discredited the main portions of the narrative, were yet of opinion that parts of it rested on some groundwork of reality, which it was incumbent on them, as advisers of the crown, to investigate. The impostor was nowise abashed by the unbelief of the council, or by the scorn of those who could not repress their indignation at his baseness. When called upon to produce evidence, he undertook with the utmost audacity to bring forward testimony in abundance, if the council would furnish him with warrants and officers to arrest the persons and impound the papers of the individuals implicated by his portentous tale. The required authority was given, and the proposed seizures effected forthwith, the persons being imprisoned, and their papers sealed up to await official scrutiny. On the following day the examination of Oates was resumed, the king attending from curiosity, and for the purpose, as appeared in the sequel, of exposing the shameless and utter disregard of veracity by which the impostor so readily deceived others. In the previous day's examination he had stated, that when at Madrid he was introduced to Don John, who promised help in furtherance of the Jesuit plot. Charles knew Don John well, and caused a question to be put to Oates respecting his personal appearance. The immediate reply was that Don John was a tall, spare, and swarthy man. This was the opposite of the fact in all particulars, for he was a short, stout, and fair man, exhibiting more of his Austrian than his Spanish descent. The king exchanged with his brother, who also knew Don John, a glance and a smile as expressive as words of the confirmation thus given to their entire disbelief in Oates's story. Charles then required him to state where he had seen the confessor of the king of France pay over the 10,000*l.* The prompt response was, "In the Jesuits' house, just by the king's house." This was too much for the king, for he knew Paris well, and rebuked the effrontery of the informer by the exclamation, "Man, the Jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre."

The time for the races at Newmarket was now close at hand, and Charles, who never omitted attending, went off for his customary pastime, intending as usual to stay several weeks. He charged Danby to expedite the examination of the persons and papers that had been seized; but that high personage had substantial reasons of his own for preferring delay. An impeachment was hanging over his head, on the reassembling of parliament; and the hubbub of Oates's plot offered a tempting diversion by which to draw off attention from less exciting topics. A masterly delay in the investigation of the case would protract the public ferment till the meeting of parliament, when the conspiracy would become the all-absorbing business of the session. The duke of York and some members of the cabinet urged Charles to remain in town while the plot was being sifted; Danby, on the contrary, encouraged the pleasure-seeking king to take his customary diversion. The following passage from James's memoirs affords a life-like picture of the lord-treasurer's policy at this juncture, and of its ultimate failure:—"He fancyed by the helpe of his pretended conspiracie, and crying out against popery, he should pass for a pillar of the church, and ward the blow which he foresaw was falling on his shoulders; but my Lord Shaftesbury, who soon found out his drift, sayd, let the treasurer cry as lowd as he pleases against popery, and think to put himself at the head of the plot, I will cry a note lowder, and soone take his place; which he failed not to make good."

Coleman, secretary to the duchess of York, absconded on the hint furnished by Godfrey the magistrate, taking with him many of his papers, but leaving others in his hurry. Had he left all, or taken all, his case would have been improved. The disjointed correspondence which he overlooked contained passages that, in the absence of a context, were full of suspicion, and led to the inference, in the excitement of the time, that the more inculpatory portions of his papers were those which he withdrew from search. He gave himself up after a concealment of one day only; but that single day of absence, and the break in the continuity of his letters, were held to be strong evidences of his guilt. Among the copies of his letters was a proposal, of a date earlier than the alleged plot, addressed to La Chaise, who made a prominent figure in Oates's revelations, to the effect that the king of France should supply Coleman and his friends with 20,000*l.*, to be spent on purposes favourable to French interests, and the advancement of the Catholic cause. One passage in that letter admitted of a construction that fully bore out Oates's accusation of Coleman and La Chaise. It ran thus:—"Success would give the greatest blow to the Protestant religion that it had received since its birth. . . . We have a mighty work on our hands—no less than the conversion of three kingdoms—and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has so long domineered over great part of the northern world."

In the midst of the alarm and popular excitement that followed the arrests and successive examinations by the privy council, Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who had taken the depositions of Oates, suddenly disappeared. He left his residence near Whitehall on the 12th of October, and was seen alive for the last time near St. Clement's church, in the Strand. He had been apprehensive and reserved from the day of Coleman's committal to custody; and on meeting Bishop Burnet in the street had expressed a belief that he himself was marked out as the victim of secret violence. Five days elapsed before his disappearance was explained, and all sorts of wild rumours were circulated to account for the mystery. The general belief was that he had been murdered by the papists in revenge for the official part he had performed in taking Oates's affidavit. Others gave out that he had probably contracted an indecorous marriage, and concealed himself to hide his shame. At length his body was found in a dry ditch on Primrose Hill. His own sword was thrust through him; but his clothes were free of blood stains, his shoes were clean, his gloves were thrown on the grass, and his cane thrust in the ground and standing upright; his money remained in his pocket, his rings on his fingers, his neck was bare, and around it was a dark broad mark, such as would result from strangulation. Burnet says, "His breast was likewise all over marked with bruises, and his neck was broken. All this I saw; for Dr. Lloyd and I went to view his body. There were many drops of white wax-lights on his breeches, which he never used himself. And since only persons of quality, or priests, use those lights, this made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been. And it was visible he was first strangled, and then carried to that place, where his sword was run through his dead body. For a while it was given out that he was a hypochondriacal man, and had killed himself. Of this the king was possessed till Dr. Lloyd went and told him what he had seen." At the inquest the jury gave a verdict that Godfrey had been first strangled, and afterwards stabbed through the body by his murderers, to lead to the belief that he perished by his own act. The ghastly corpse was conveyed to the house of the deceased, and exhibited to the gaze of all comers for a space of two days. The funeral procession was headed by seventy-two Protestant divines in full canonicals, and immense crowds gathered to do honour to "the Protestant Martyr." The murder has remained an unsolved mystery to this day; for it seems incredible that the papists could have been guilty of a deed of wickedness which served, not their own cause, but the cause of their enemies. The event sent the nation into a frenzy of rage and fear. Ridiculous precautions were adopted against the secret enemy whose stroke was everywhere expected. The city trainbands were under arms, in relays, day and night. Private citizens carried concealed weapons, with which to beat off the attacks of prowling assassins. Such was the mood of the nation when parliament met on the 21st of October.

The king would gladly have prorogued the meeting till the popular excitement had cooled down, and the plot had been sifted to the bottom, but his necessities forbade delay. The military force kept up in Flanders had not been without its weight in procuring easier terms than Louis was otherwise bent on exacting from the Spaniards. But the cost had been heavy, and the regiments could not be disbanded without settling their arrears of pay. Charles addressed himself principally to this question in his speech at the opening, making but a slight reference to the plot, which he said was under investigation, and would be dealt with in due course of law. Such dispassionate language, on a topic which had put the nation in a fever-heat, was nowise palatable either to the ministers or to the opposition. Oates was summoned to the bar of the Commons, and repeated his tale of the conspiracy, adding new and more startling particulars. He said the pope had sent over commissions for filling the great offices in the state as well as the church; that Lord Arundel was to be chancellor; Lord Powis, treasurer; Sir William Godolphin, privy seal; Coleman, secretary of state; Bellasis, general in chief of the forces; Lord Petre, lieutenant-general; Langhorn, an eminent Catholic lawyer, advocate-general; and so on for numerous other offices, which were put down to the names of well-known Romanists of the time. He now swore to a personal knowledge of Coleman's and Wakeman's complicity in the whole plot, and of the proposals for shooting, stabbing, or poisoning the king. All the parties named in the information, and many others, were at once arrested. The Tower and other prisons were filled with papists. The court and country parties vied with each other in zealous service for the safety of the nation. Committees were appointed to undertake the investigation of the conspiracy by quicker methods than the orderly but slow proceedings of the courts of law. The panic passed equally over both branches of the legislature. They appointed guards over the vaults of the houses of parliament, as security against a second gunpowder plot. Detachments of military and volunteers occupied posts about the capital. Patrols traversed the streets night and day. Batteries were established about Whitehall. The houses of Catholics were searched for arms. The king was urged to dismiss all Catholics from his service, and to issue a proclamation for the immediate expulsion from London of all members of the Church of Rome who were not householders. A rigorous exclusion bill was passed through all its stages in the Lower House within the first week of the session, by which Catholics were rendered incapable of sitting in either House. Three days afterwards a resolution was passed by both Houses that "there hath been and still was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by the popish recusants for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion." The exclusion bill passed the House of Peers, but with a proviso exempting the duke of York from its operation.

This exception in favour of the king's brother was secured with the greatest difficulty. James felt that his exclusion from the throne would follow; and that indeed was the main object of the promoters of the bill. He had already resigned his seat as a member of the privy council, in order to weaken the force of the impending storm, which threatened to overwhelm him. He now made a most urgent appeal to the peers, casting himself on their favour, which he claimed on the ground of his services to the state, his zeal for the good of the nation, and his unswerving duty to the king. He shed tears as he spoke, and solemnly assured their lordships that his religion would ever be a private and personal affair, and would nowise affect the government of the nation.

The king exerted himself to the utmost in bespeaking support among the Lords for the proviso, and assured both Houses that he would assent to any measures for the security of the Protestant religion, provided they did not trench on the right of succession to the throne, nor on his own lawful authority. Even when the bill with the proviso had passed the Lords, its rejection in the Commons appeared quite certain; but after a fierce debate, in which most of the speakers contended for the exclusion of the duke, the proviso was at length carried by a majority of two votes in a full House.

The king reluctantly gave his assent, explaining that he did so only in consideration of the alarm and excitement prevalent throughout the nation. This act remained in force through the long lapse of a century and a half, during which all Catholic peers were debarred from the exercise of their hereditary right to sit and vote in parliament. The Emancipation Act of 1829 reversed the injustice into which parliament was deluded by the gross imposture of Titus Oates.

A reward of five hundred pounds was offered by the king for the discovery of the murderers of Godfrey. By the terms of the proclamation, even an accomplice in the deed might claim this reward, with free pardon and protection. This tempting offer brought forward a rival impostor, named William Bedloe, a thorough jail-bird, who had just come out of Newgate, at the expiry of one out of many terms of imprisonment which he had suffered as a convicted swindler and thief. He had begun life as a stable-boy, and had subsequently served as a courier in several families of distinction, by which means he gained a knowledge of the names and residences of persons of eminence, which he now turned to account. On the 7th November, he made a deposition before the king and the two secretaries of state, denying any knowledge of the plot, but declaring that he had seen the dead body of Godfrey at Somerset House, where the queen resided, and that the assassins were two Jesuits, Walsh and Lefevre, a waiter in the queen's chapel, and a gentleman of Lord Bellasis' household. These four, he said, had smothered the magistrate between two pillows; his informant was Lefevre, who offered him two thousand guineas to dispose of the corpse; and that three retainers at Somerset House had carried away the body under cover of darkness.

His story next day before the House of Lords contradicted his professed ignorance of the plot; he now declared that the two Jesuits had told him about the commissions given by the pope to several Catholics of eminence. A few days later he advanced largely in his revelations, substituting strangulation by a linen band in the place of his previous tale about smothering, to account for the discoloration round the neck, and adding circumstances in the plot, of which he before professed to know nothing. In his travels abroad he had learned from English monks that ten thousand invaders were to land on the Yorkshire coast, and twice as many at Milford Haven. London was to be the scene of a huge massacre of Protestants; and the leading Catholics of England were all sworn on the sacrament to participate in the wide-spread devastation, by which all obstinate Protestants were to be utterly extinguished.

Oates was now fearful of being eclipsed by this rival candidate for fame and popularity, and came forward with yet more astounding ingredients in the tale of horrors. He charged the queen with complicity in the plot, swore to having gone with several Jesuits to Somerset House, and that while they were in her apartment he listened at the door, which stood ajar. A female voice within exclaimed, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed! I am content to join in procuring his death, and the propagation of the Catholic faith." As the Jesuits withdrew he looked into the room, where there then remained the queen alone. Bedloe now joined his testimony to that of Oates. He, too, had witnessed a conference between the queen and two French priests, in the presence of Coleman, Lord Bellasis, and some Jesuits; that he was too far off to hear the conversation, but that Coleman had told him of the queen's consent to the murder of her husband.

Charles saw in these vile charges against his neglected consort the subtle guidance of those high political intriguers who had formerly suggested a divorce, and were now again attempting to pave the way for a new marriage, with its alluring prospect of legitimate issue. But he repelled the bait with becoming indignation; and, considering his faultiness towards the queen in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her now. He told Burnet, in the course of a conversation at the time of Oates's accusation of the queen, that he was fully conscious of having led a bad life, but that he would never do so base and wicked a thing as to expose the queen to perish by false swearing. But Charles was powerless to prevent the attendance of Oates at the bar of the House of Commons, where, on the 28th of November, the audacious impostor astounded all except his secret abettors with the startling declaration, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, queen of England, of high treason." An address to the crown for proceedings against the queen was forthwith passed in the Commons, but the Lords declined their concurrence until further evidence could be brought forward, and so the project dropped. They however compensated for their slackness in this single item in the mass of gross delusions which drowned the voice of reason in both Houses, as well as in the nation at large, by voting an address for the immediate arrest of all papists throughout the kingdom, and another for impeaching on the charge of high treason the five Catholic peers named in Oates's first depositions.

And now came the trials of the unfortunate men to whom leading parts in the pretended plot were assigned by the informer and his ally. The popular frenzy was at its height. Oates was hailed as the saver of the nation; his services were rewarded with a pension of 1,200*l.* a year. It was not safe for any man to express doubts of the truth of his statements. "He thought that he had the whole nation in his hands, and was swelled up in a high pitch of vanity and insolence." The juries at the trials shared in all the panic and excitement; Scroggs, the chief justice, who presided at the trials, behaved more as a prosecutor than a judge. He rebuked all attempts to discredit the evidence of the informers, made large allowance for their contradictions, treated them with marked courtesy and kindness, but was stern and severe towards witnesses for the defence. The patriot would fain draw a veil over this disgraceful page in the history of his country. Stayley, a banker, was the first to suffer. He was not among those denounced by Oates and Bedloe, but in a conversation with a Frenchman, in a tavern in Covent Garden, on the all-pervading topic of the day, he had used some expressions which were overheard by Carstairs, a needy and profligate Scotch adventurer. Carstairs waited next day on Stayley, and accused him of treason, hinting that the charge would not be pressed if the banker would pay him a suitable price for keeping his own counsel.

Stayley rejected the proposal, little dreaming of the fate which hung on his decision. Carstairs forthwith laid an information against him, charging him with declaring, in French, that he would kill the king with his own hands. A warrant was issued the same day for his arrest, and five days later he was arraigned on the capital charge of treason, despite a well-meant warning given to the authorities by Burnet with reference to the disreputable character Carstairs bore in his own country. Stayley was promptly sentenced to death, and suffered at Tyburn.

The worst evidence against Coleman was furnished by his own papers. From these there could be no question of his having carried on a correspondence with agents of the French government and with the pope's nuncio, having for its object the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith at all hazards. In one of his letters he says, "There never was such hope of success since the death of Queen Mary as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid we can." In the letter to the nuncio he said: "We have no doubt but to succeed; and it may be the utter ruin of the Protestant party, if you join with us in good earnest, and cordially second our interest." In a letter to the French king's confessor, already quoted, he had solicited money to forward a project that "would give the greatest blow to the Protestant religion it had ever received." His explanation of these and similar expressions was that he intended nothing but the king's service and the duke's; and that his applications for foreign aid were directed only to the procuring of interposition with the English government for bringing about toleration for the Catholic faith. He admitted the receipt of 2,500*l.* from the French ambassador, "to distribute among members of the House of Commons, to prevent a rupture between the two crowns;" and that he "had applied the money to his own use, because he thought he was as much out of purse upon the French account in his way of living; though he told Barillon that he had given to some members according to his promise." These acts were highly criminal, and merited condign punishment; but the death penalty to which he was condemned was awarded more on account of the testimony of Oates and Bedloe, of transactions which they swore to have had with him in the business of the plot, all of which he most solemnly repudiated. He suffered the doom of a traitor, denying with his latest breath all the evidence of the two infamous informers.

Ireland, Grove, and Pickering were the next victims. The charge against them was that of conspiring to kill the king. They suffered the same penalty as Coleman, and like him protested their innocence to the last. Prance, a silversmith, who often worked about the queen's chapel at Somerset House, was now charged by Bedloe with being one of the men he had seen about Godfrey's body on the night of the murder. The accused man at first denied all knowledge of the affair, but upon being loaded with irons, and kept some days in a dungeon at Newgate, he altered his story, and charged Hill, Green, and Berry, men in menial employments at Somerset House, with the murder. His story had much consistency and likelihood in its structure, but in some most material points it was disproved by good evidence. In effect it was as follows:—"1. The papists, because Sir Edmondbury seemed an enemy to the queen's servants, and would not consent to discharge one Girald from parish duties (as another justice did), resolved and contrived to take away his life. 2. Pursuant to which design, they hired (for what reward the deponent doth not know) Hill, Green, Kelly, the deponent, Girald, and Berry, to do the fact. 3. Accordingly the above-named persons trepanned Sir Edmondbury into Somerset House, about eight or nine o'clock at night, but the deponent doth not well remember the day. 4. This trepan was effected thus: Green gave the deponent notice that he and Girald had set Sir Edmondbury in St. Clement's, and Hill decoyed him down to the water-gate, under a pretence of parting a fray between two fellows quarrelling in the yard. 5. When they had him near the rails by the queen's stables, Green strangled him with a twisted handkerchief; then finding him still alive, wrung his neck quite round, and punched him with his knee in the open yard; which done, they dragged him into Dr. Godwin's lodgings. 6. On the Monday following, precisely between nine and ten o'clock at night, the body was shown to the deponent by Hill, Green, and Girald, in a room in the back square court below stairs, next the garden: there it was (by the help of a dark lanthorn) that he, deponent, saw the body in the company of the said Hill, Green, and Girald, who were only present. 7. On the next Wednesday after, about twelve o'clock at night, the dead body was put into a sedan, and carried out by the deponent and Girald into Covent Garden, where Green and Kelly took him up, and carried him to Long Acre. There deponent and Girald resumed their burden, and carried him to Soho. From thence he was conveyed astride on horseback, before Hill, into the fields, where they thrust his sword through his body, and cast him into a ditch."

A few days after making this deposition Prance retracted the whole of his statement, but on being sent back to Newgate, he called for the governor, and again affirmed that it was true. Then a second time he declared it was all a fiction. The king sent Dr. Lloyd to see him, and urge him to a true confession. Fright at his probable fate had so disordered his mind, that he was pretty well bereaved of his reason. But being reassured by the humane treatment which the doctor's visit brought about in his behalf, he returned to his former confession, in such a manner as convinced Lloyd of his sincerity. Thereupon Green, Hill, and Berry were brought to trial, and on the evidence of Bedloe and Prance received sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn, protesting their innocence with the greatest earnestness. All who ventured to throw doubt on evidence of the plot incurred the peril of being regarded as favourers of the foul conspiracy. It was almost a crime to disparage the king's evidences. In the language of the judicious and acute historian, Ralph: "Strong faith in the plot was the test of all political merit. Not to believe was to be a political renegade; and according to the zeal so was the cruelty of the times. The terror excited by the plot had produced such a thirst of revenge as nothing but blood could satiate. Every supposed criminal was pre-condemned, and no sooner did the victim appear than the people called aloud for sacrifice. Pity was looked on as not only impertinent, but almost criminal; and even the great prerogative of mercy, lodged in the crown, was of no use."

The projected impeachment of Danby, though delayed by the all-absorbing interest of Oates's plot and the fate of its victims, was not lost sight of by the opposition. Montague, the ambassador to the French court, who had been the medium of Charles's most recent money bargains with Louis, came over to England without leave and without notice in the autumn of 1678, and got himself returned as member for Northampton. He had quarrelled with Danby before his return; he now became the intimate associate of Shaftesbury and the other leaders of the country party. Danby knew that Montague had in his keeping the letter which he had written in the spring of the year, demanding from Louis a large pecuniary bribe as the price of Charles's good offices in the negotiations at Nimeguen. By concert between Charles and his minister, a pretext was readily found for seizing Montague's papers. That step, however, had been anticipated, and the important despatches, fraught with mischief and confusion to their authors, were brought under the notice of parliament. Danby had been a most reluctant agent in the proposed sale of the king's services; the letter that compromised him most had appended to it a postscript in Charles's own hand: "This letter is writ by my order. C. R." But even if the lord-treasurer had been disposed to screen himself by laying the blame on the king, his opponents were in no humour to accept the plea. The reading of the inculpatory despatches electrified the house, or, in the words of a contemporary, "served as a lighted match to the train which had long been lain to blow up the treasurer." Some members held that Danby's letters in this business were as traitorous as the correspondence which had brought Coleman to the scaffold.

A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, charging Danby with high treason. Next day the impeachment was carried to the Lords, where Danby made an able defence, bringing forward some of Montague's own letters to prove that he was hated by the French court for his open opposition to Louis. No one questioned his zeal against the Catholics. The worst offences with which he was charged amounted at the most, he successfully argued, to misdemeanour. A long debate ensued as to the sufficiency of the grounds alleged by the Commons for a committal to the Tower on the charge of treason. Questions of privilege between the two houses raised their lowering front, and Charles gladly availed himself of the Christmas season for a timely prorogation, which was followed in a few weeks later by a dissolution.

This parliament had sat nearly eighteen years, during which it had passed through all the shades of political temperature, from the glowing heat of fervent loyalty to the coldest distrust of every purpose which animated the court. In its early years it had cherished the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance to the crown as the surest foundation of sound political life. Disabused of its error by the king's faithless perversion of his office, it at length exchanged the attitude of submissive devotion for vigorous self-assertion and habitual contradiction. Had Charles's zeal for the Established Church equalled in steadfastness the early loyalty of his parliament towards his person and his regal office, he might have attained, without foreign aid, a large measure of that absolute power on which he had set his heart. But his leaning towards popery ruined his credit with the party that alone could have gratified his aspirations towards absolutism. They systematically curbed his partiality for Rome; he chafed under their restraints, and sought relief in the fatal remedy of dependence on the sword and purse of the traditional enemy of his country. "Having felt the curb, he grew out of humour with the bridle, and called upon France to set him free. France promised fair. The king believed, and threw off all restraint, in the presumption that he was now the master; but necessity opened his eyes, and compelled him once more to court the assistance of those he had disobliged, who, having now got the better of their fondness, took advantage of that necessity, and now resolved to make a sale of their favours. Henceforward their intercourse was mutually mercenary. The king chaffered for a supply, and the party leaders set their prices; but though willing to be bought, they were afraid to trust him with the purchase-money. Hence the very means of corruption failed, and they began to dread the power they had bestowed. Hence all their subsequent endeavours were to undo their own work, and reduce their monarch once more to be the servant of the commonwealth; not, however, from honest motives, or by honest means, but by any means indiscriminately. . . . . Good often rises out of evil: had not the king slighted this parliament, and had not they shown a proper resentment, the constitution had been long ago at an end. Though their own opposition was in many instances extravagant, and always partook of the leaven of faction, it served to awe the throne and keep the flame of liberty alive among the people." (Ralph.)

The bill for disbanding and paying off the military was left incomplete at the prorogation in December. The pressing need of funds for this purpose obliged the king to call a new parliament at the earliest date. When therefore he issued a proclamation on the 24th of January, 1679, dissolving the Long Parliament, he in the same instrument summoned its successor to meet within forty days. The elections went as much against the court as they had eighteen years earlier been in its favour. The cry of "No popery" formed the watchword at every hustings. Securities for the Protestant succession held the foremost place in every candidate's election speech. The administration, equally with the court, was suspected of designs adverse to the yearnings of the nation. Danby's supporters everywhere lost their seats. Warned by these significant signs, the lord-treasurer sought to break the force of the storm which threatened to overwhelm alike the heir to the throne and himself. He advised the king to remove the duke of York from the kingdom before the opening of parliament, as a means of quieting the fears and regaining the affections of his subjects. The duke readily yielded to his brother's request, on the following conditions, which were as promptly conceded by the king. First, a declaration of the duke of Monmouth's illegitimacy; secondly, that Charles would refuse his consent to any bill for the exclusion of his brother from the throne; and thirdly, that the withdrawal from the kingdom should rest on the authority of an order under the king's own signature, so as to shield the duke from the appearance of cowardly flight from his foes in parliament.

James left for Brussels on the 4th of March, and two days later the new parliament began its first session. The Commons chose Seymour for their Speaker. He had filled the same position in the previous parliament; but Danby was on ill terms with him, and in an evil hour persuaded Charles to withhold his sanction to the appointment. Dissensions ensued on the respective rights of the crown and the House, and for a space of nine days interrupted all business, and engendered so strong a feeling against Danby, that Charles saw no hope of safety for the obnoxious minister short of his removal from office. This decision was hastened by a resolution passed in the Upper House, that "the dissolution of the last parliament did not alter the state of the impeachments brought up by the Commons in that parliament." In succeeding times this resolution has been adopted as a precedent, and remains a principle of the constitution. Charles summoned both Houses to Whitehall, and told them that he had dismissed the lord-treasurer from his service. He however took upon himself the blame of most of the acts on which the impeachment was based, and on that ground felt bound in honour to shield the fallen minister. A full pardon under the Great Seal had accordingly been given to Danby, and Charles told both Houses he would renew that pardon a dozen times over, if by further proceedings on their part such renewal should become necessary. He had urgent private reasons for this decision, unpalatable as he knew it to be, and much as he desired to cultivate amicable relations with parliament. If Danby had been put upon his defence, he must for his own safety have divulged some of those secret proceedings with the French court which Charles had the deepest interest in keeping back from the light of publicity. The Commons were not disposed to be baffled by this royal pardon in bar of the impeachment. They voted an address to the king, calling in question his right to issue a pardon before trial, and sent a message to the Upper House, demanding that usual action be taken on the impeachment. The Lords anticipated this message by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Danby, who thereupon absconded. The Lords then passed a bill of banishment against him, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was summarily rejected, and a bill of attainder adopted in lieu of it, to take effect from an early date unless the disgraced minister should in the mean time come forward and take his trial. The Lords concurred in this measure, and Danby came from his hiding-place, gave himself into custody of the black rod, and was forthwith committed to the Tower.

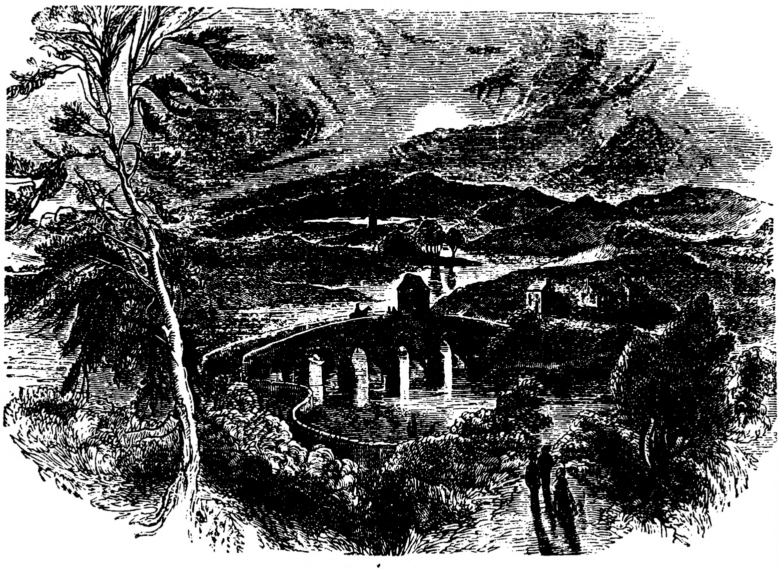
A sweeping change was now made in the machinery of government. Hitherto the crown had chosen its advisers without reference to the following which they could secure in parliament. Under the advice of Temple, Charles now chose an administration on a system somewhat approximating to the modern practice, which the gradual growth of the constitution was now developing. The design was to have thirty members in this council, half of whom would take their places by virtue of the offices they filled in the state, and the other half were to be taken from the wealthiest and most influential members of either House. Temple's plan included the discontinuance of the inner council or cabinet, and he even recommended that there should be no prime minister, but that the whole council of thirty members should discuss every question of state policy, and that every act of government should be guided by their decisions. So large a body of ministers of equal voice in guiding the affairs of government, would, it was supposed, be so slightly under the control of the crown, that parliament would on that ground have greater confidence in the acts of the administration. Conflicts between the legislative and the executive forces in the state would thus cease to hinder the progress of public business. It was however soon found in practice that such a council was too large and unwieldy for the purposes of a working administration; and that the *ex-officio* members, numbering half the total, were too closely dependent on the crown to act as a check on it. Shaftesbury, to the surprise alike of his friends and opponents, was nominated by the king as president of the new council. Lord Essex became first commissioner of the treasury, and Sunderland secretary of state; leading men of both parties filled up the rank and file of the council of thirty, among whom were Lords Russell, Holles, Cavendish, Halifax, several peers of the higher grades, Seymour, the late Speaker, and Temple. The change was hailed throughout England with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction, and was welcomed in Holland and Flanders as the token of a reconciliation between Charles and his estranged subjects, which would bear fruit in checking the ambition of France. The appointment of Shaftesbury to the post of lord-president was made with the view of disarming his hostility to the court. It is thought the duke of Monmouth prevailed on the king to give Shaftesbury this token of good-will.

Shaftesbury lost no time in proving that the responsibilities of office and the blandishments of the court were alike powerless to divert him from the project of excluding the duke of York from the throne. Rumours of fresh plots, and of a scheme for bringing over a body of French troops under the command of the king's brother, were artfully dispersed; and Shaftesbury's party in the Lower House vigorously resumed the movement for securing a Protestant succession. Just before his recent elevation, he had given utterance to a pithy sentence, that now became a favourite text with his political adherents; viz., that "Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand in hand; sometimes one goes first and sometimes the other; but wheresoever the one enters, the other is always following close behind." A strong drift of sentiment in the same direction, both in the council and in parliament, again manifested itself. Shaftesbury urged that nothing short of the absolute exclusion of the duke of York would quiet the fears of the nation. Essex and Halifax opposed this extreme measure on the ground of its danger as a precedent. Other reasons as well as religion would come to be regarded as valid grounds of disinheriting the next in succession, until in the end the crown would cease to be hereditary, and the kingdom would be afflicted with all the evils of an elective monarchy. In the Commons a unanimous vote declared, "That the duke of York being a papist, and the hopes of his coming, as such, to the crown, have given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present designs and conspiracies of the papists against the king and the Protestant religion." Charles now joined heartily with the great majority of his council in a less sweeping project of securing church and state from any of the threatened consequences of having a papist king. He announced to both Houses that while he would never consent to alter the descent of the crown in the right line, he was in favour of limiting the powers of a popish successor. He would give his consent to measures for placing all church patronage in the hands of a Protestant commission, and for making the consent of parliament a condition of all appointments under the crown. But the Commons had no reliance on the binding power of any such shackles, and saw no safety except in barring the succession against a papist. They at once resumed the scheme of exclusion by a bill which provided that the king's brother "should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England and Ireland; that on the demise of his majesty without heirs of his body, his dominions should devolve, as if the duke of York were also dead, on that person next in succession who had always professed the Protestant religion established by law." Further clauses provided for the perpetual banishment of the obnoxious prince. The bill passed the second reading in the Commons by a large majority. This circumstance, and the continued altercations between the two Houses on questions arising out of the impeachment of Danby and the five Catholic lords, together with disclosures about the disposal of secret service money under the name of king's bounty, determined Charles on a prorogation of ten weeks. This important step was taken without any previous statement of his intention to the new council which he had engaged to consult on all public business.

Meanwhile, amid the turmoil of angry debate on questions of the day, a measure was carried through both Houses, in which after ages and all the kindred nations which have issued from these shores have an abiding interest. This was the famous Habeas Corpus Act, by which the personal liberty of the subject was secured from the vindictive or arbitrary action of the executive by a series of stringent formal rules of procedure. It abolished the right, previously exercised by the government, of sending arrested persons to prisons beyond the jurisdiction of the courts of law, and subjected any servant of the crown to severe penalties who should thenceforward become a party to such illegal imprisonment; and it obliged the judges to grant writs under which persons imprisoned can claim an early trial or be admitted to bail. Any custodian of a prisoner to whom the writ of *habeas corpus* is addressed, is compelled to bring his prisoner within three days before the judge who issues the writ. Many attempts had been made in previous sessions to carry a measure of this kind through parliament; the merit of final success is chiefly due to the energy of Shaftesbury. The king's unwilling assent, on the day of prorogation, was wrung from him only by the fear that a refusal would operate to his serious disadvantage in the new parliament, which he had decided should be called with express reference to the question of the succession to the throne.

Other victims of Oates's and Bedloe's perjury now met their fate. These were the five Jesuits, Harcourt, Fenwick, Whitbread, Turner, and Gavan, besides Langhorne the lawyer. Eight priests in various parts of the country shared the like doom, for infringement of the sanguinary penal statutes against the exercise of the duties of their calling, that had long been in abeyance.

Scotland continued to be the scene of fierce dissensions and occasionally of deeds of blood on the score of religion. The Covenanters, encouraged by several of the Scottish lords who opposed the arbitrary government of Lauderdale, set the authorities at defiance, and thereby provoked fresh severities. Commissioners were sent into the western districts with a large force of military to enforce their awards against delinquents. They disarmed all persons below the rank of landed gentry, and imposed bonds under which heads of families were made responsible for the obedience of their households to the laws against conventicles. The troops lived at free quarters in the houses of all who would not enter into these bonds. Two thousand regulars and five or six thousand Highlanders were in this manner dispersed over the western lowlands, converting hundreds of dwellings into small garrisons, and living by forced contribution at the cost of the surrounding districts. Complaints by persons of rank against the Highland plunderers procured the removal of those semi-barbarous supporters of orthodoxy, but their place was forthwith filled by militia. At this time Mitchell, who in 1668 had attempted the life of Archbishop Sharp, and who for nearly four years had been imprisoned after a confession extorted by the promise of his life, was tried and executed for his crime. If his fate was intended as a warning to other fanatics, it failed of its purpose so far as the obnoxious primate was concerned. Sharp was bitterly detested by the Covenanters at large, and especially by those of his own neighbourhood, in Fife. In May, 1679, four months after Mitchell's execution, and when meetings for worship in glens and on moors or hill-sides were frequently ending in death struggles between the worshippers and the troops sent to disperse them, a band of religious enthusiasts, who were on the look-out for another of their oppressors, unexpectedly met the archbishop in his carriage of state, a few miles from St. Andrews. They dragged him from the arms of his daughter, who vainly attempted to shield him from their violence, and killed him by repeated sword strokes. The nine assassins, under Balfour of Kinloch, made their way to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and joined a band of fierce enthusiasts who were then organizing a revenge on their oppressors. On the 27th of May, about sixty of them galloped into Rutherglen, extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the Restoration anniversary, burnt the intolerant acts of parliament under which the country was groaning, and set up on the market cross a declaration of defiance against the authorities. The next Sunday they were beset while at an open-air preaching by a large party of dragoons under Claverhouse. They were so well prepared for the encounter, that they routed the horsemen, after killing thirty of them in a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. Lauderdale now concentrated the military, in expectation of a general rising, and Monmouth was sent by the king to take the command-in-chief. The insurgents thronged in thousands into Glasgow, put forth a proclamation of their intention to fight to the death against prelacy, popery, and the enemies of the Covenant, and put to flight all the supporters of episcopacy. Their triumph was of brief duration. On the approach of Monmouth, at the head of five thousand men, they took up a position at Bothwell Bridge, on the Clyde. On the 22nd of June, as they were just about to be attacked by the military, they solicited a parley, in which they stated their grievances, and asked the merciful interposition of the duke with the king in abatement of the wrongs which had driven them into rebellion. Monmouth replied that the immediate submission of the whole insurgent force was the only condition on which he could hold out to them any hope of leniency at the hands of the government. The deputation was dismissed, and after a very brief interval the attack was commenced by Monmouth's artillery, which quickly cleared the approaches to the bridge. The military swarmed over the bridge, and pressed onward to the attack. The insurgents showed a bold front while their powder lasted, but were easily dispersed by the first regular charge of the troops. Four hundred of them perished on the field, twelve hundred gave themselves up as prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Monmouth made the mildest use of his easy victory that his instructions permitted. The bulk of his prisoners were released, on promising to return peaceably to their homes and abstain from further acts of rebellion. Those who stubbornly refused the promise were transported to the plantations in America. There were no vindictive executions, such as certainly would have marked the quelling of an outbreak if Lauderdale had been allowed to have his way. This unexpected clemency gained no little popularity for the commander of the king's forces, which was soon augmented by measures of indulgence adopted in behalf of the Covenanters, on Monmouth's advice to the king.


BOTHWELL BRIDGE.

Strenuous efforts were made by

delegates from the nobility of Scotland to prevail on the king to remove Lauderdale from the trust which he had so long abused. Halifax and Essex, although studiously cautious to avoid any measure that would favour the pretensions of Monmouth, lent their aid towards the dismissal of Lauderdale; but the king answered all representations against his representative in the northern kingdom, by declaring that whereas it was manifest Lauderdale had done many things against the people under his rule, he had even in his most obnoxious acts been zealously seeking to promote the service of his sovereign. In the end Lauderdale was so little weakened by the attempts to oust him, that he made many of his opponents smart for their outspoken opposition to his tyrannical government.

In the month of August, Charles fell dangerously ill of a fever, and gave leave for the duke of York to be sent for, but under such precautions as would keep the visit from the knowledge of the public. The duke hastened over to Windsor in disguise, and arrived just as the crisis in the fever had passed away. But he found, that if the king was no longer in danger, his own hopes of succession were more than ever compromised by the increased favour and influence to which Monmouth had attained in the absence of his uncle from England. He made an urgent appeal to Charles's brotherly affection and sense of justice. Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex assisted in these representations, and the result was that Monmouth was removed from the command of the army and sent to live in Holland, while the king's brother was soon after recalled from Brussels, and allowed to take up his residence in Edinburgh. Shaftesbury advised Monmouth to accept his temporary exile with a good grace, in the persuasion that parliament would press for his recall, and the people would come to regard him as a victim to the malicious spite of his Roman Catholic uncle.

The king now made a fresh attempt to secure pecuniary help from France, and, in the confident anticipation of success in that quarter, he again prorogued parliament, and talked of dispensing with its services for a full year. But Louis had ceased to attach much weight to a friendship which was not to be counted upon even after the stipulated price had been paid for it. The money treaty failed, and Charles again began to make up his mind to a fresh appeal to parliament. He however was advised by those members of the council who were opposed to a departure from the settled order of succession to the throne that he had better take the chances of a dissolution and new elections, rather than face again a House of Commons which was strongly committed to the exclusion bill and the trial of Danby. Parliament was accordingly dissolved, and a new one called for December. But the elections again resulted in the return of a very large majority pledged to a new bill of exclusion; and the king thereupon resolved to postpone as long as possible the disquietudes of the stormy session then looming in the early future. He decided, against the advice of the council, to dispense with parliament until the autumn of the following year. This resolution drove a large batch of his new advisers from their posts, among whom were Temple, and Lords Essex, Russell, and Halifax. Shaftesbury now aimed at the full powers of premier, but his hopes were nipped in the bud by his sudden dismissal from the post of president of the council. He then sought to strengthen his hold on the good-will of the people by lending himself to the duke of Monmouth's daring scheme of coming over from his exile without leave, and in defiance of the king's refusal of permission. The king declined to see Monmouth, and ordered him to return to Holland; but the aspiring duke had so little dread of his royal parent's anger, that he betook himself to a round of visits through the country, and was received with acclamations and honours as if he were the rightful heir to the throne, and the champion of the endangered liberties and religion of the nation. His arrival in London was welcomed with bonfires, the ringing of merry peals of bells, an illumination, and civic festivities. Guards of honour, composed of the gentry and their tenants, escorted him from one country mansion to another; many towns received him with all the ceremony, and more than the usual heartiness, accorded to an heir presumptive. He artfully ingratiated himself on all possible occasions with the populace, and on the suggestion of those politicians who favoured his pretensions, petitions to the king were sent up from many localities, urging an early meeting of parliament, and the adoption of securities for the Protestant succession.

Counter-addresses followed, urging the king to disregard the demonstrations of the petitioners for the immediate meeting of parliament, and expressing confidence in the exercise of his majesty's discretion as to the time most suitable for holding a session. Reassured by these marks of returning loyalty, Charles recalled his brother to the capital, and marked his strong displeasure against Monmouth by depriving him successively of all the offices of trust and emolument which he had been permitted to hold up to that time, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. Monmouth, however, still held so firm a hold on the affections of the vulgar, and the support of the powerful political party which followed the leadership of Shaftesbury, that he ventured to set at naught the commands of his father, on the plea of filial duty, which he said obliged him to be near enough to take his part in the defence of the king against the traitorous plot of the papists. His partisans revived the fable of his legitimacy, and circulated fresh stories of the proofs said to exist of the secret marriage of his mother, Lucy Walters, with the king. Persons of repute and station were declared to have seen the contract of marriage, which was said to be preserved in a black box, in the keeping of Sir Gilbert Gerard, son-in-law of the bishop of Durham, to whose custody the important document, according to the wide-spread delusion, had been originally consigned.

The romantic story had strong charms for the ignorant, who eagerly swallow idle tales of mystery in which the fate of exalted personages is involved. To counteract these mischievous rumours, Charles caused every person whose name was in any way mixed up in the black-box mystery to be summoned before his council and examined. Their depositions flatly contradicted every part of the idle tale. A statement was inserted in the Gazette, setting forth this evidence; and to it was appended a solemn declaration by the king that he had never married Lucy Walters or any other woman, except the queen.

The time was fruitful in mysteries, of which the Meal-tub Plot affords a further illustration. A lady named Cellier, a Roman Catholic, who often visited the prisons of the metropolis on missions of mercy, found in Newgate, among other objects of her accustomed bounty, a debtor called Dangerfield, a young man of villainous character, but of prepossessing exterior, who played upon her credulity with tales of a Presbyterian plot to overturn the government. On his release, she brought him into communication with some of the leading Catholics, by whom he was introduced to the duke of York. James had long led an uneasy life on account of papist plots, and was therefore by no means reluctant to entertain a story which promised to implicate his uncompromising opponents. He rewarded the informer's first disclosures with twenty guineas, and took him to the king, who gave forty more. Dangerfield stated that the papers confirmatory of his tale could be found hidden in the lodgings of Mansel, one of the principal conspirators. Search was made accordingly, and the papers in question were readily found; but they turned out to be clumsy forgeries, which Dangerfield had deposited behind Mansel's bed. For this imposture the wretch was sent back to Newgate, where he forthwith made a fresh revelation, to the effect that the persons of rank who had taken him to the duke of York were engaged in a real Catholic plot, and that the papers which had brought him into trouble were mere blinds, contrived by them to occupy public attention. He added that a certain meal-tub in Mrs. Cellier's house contained the documents which would prove the truth of his new story. The papers were found, and on the strength of their disclosures Mrs. Cellier and Lady Powis were imprisoned and brought to trial, but promptly acquitted. It is thought that Dangerfield acted under the promptings of Oates, and that the aim of the meal-tub mystery was to draw the Catholics into active retaliatory charges, which could readily be proved groundless, and thus to revive the fading credit of the main plot.

At the close of 1679 the country party gained the nickname of *Addressers*, and the court party that of *Abhorrers*. The former were so called for their zealous manufacture of *addresses* to the king in favour of an early meeting of parliament, and they retorted on their opponents by bestowing on them a sobriquet drawn from the loyalist addresses, in which *abhorrence* of Shaftesbury's party was very freely and frequently expressed.

The year which elapsed before the new parliament was allowed to meet was distinguished by intense animation in the political controversy which divided society into two great parties. The press and the pulpit fed the flame with endless arguments, on the one side against a popish king, and on the other in defence of the regular order of succession irrespective of the religion of the sovereign. Colleges, schools, and families were sundered into rival factions, the one side holding by *exclusion* as the only safeguard for Protestantism and the constitution; and the other contending with equal earnestness that the duke of York's title was derived from God, and could not be annulled by any act of man. Pageants in the streets, performances in the theatres, and demonstrations in the courts of justice, lent their aid to strengthen the all-pervading antagonism between Exclusionists and the favourers of regular succession to the throne. New names of reproach and insult were heaped by each side on the other. Most of these were quickly forgotten, but Whig and Tory remain to this day as monuments of the animosities of the rival parties. The name Whig was originally applied as a term of contempt to the wild Covenanters of the western lowlands of Scotland, who opposed with a fiery zeal the efforts of government to bring them to conformity with the state church. The adherents of the court fixed this name on the politicians who were opposed to them; and the *Whigs* retaliated by calling the other side *Tories*, a name vulgarly applied in Ireland to the desperate outlaws who lived by rapine. These epithets, at first bestowed in insult and derision, soon acquired a character of their own of which their possessors were far from being ashamed.

The king of France again exhibited a keen interest in English politics. He was prompted to this by the treaty with Spain into which Charles entered in the summer of 1680, under the advice of Temple, Sunderland, and Godolphin, the aim of which was to check fresh aggressions on the part of France. He returned to his old policy of fomenting the animosities of rival factions, with the view of neutralizing English influence in continental affairs. Barillon was instructed to offer a pension to Charles, in order to render him independent of parliament, if he betrayed any symptoms of yielding to the popular party. To James he was to offer the means of withstanding by force of arms the operation of any parliamentary measures which might be adopted with the view of shutting him out from his inheritance. To such leaders of opposition as were accessible to the old argument of bribes, he made his customary distribution of guineas, and assured them of the sympathy of his master in the cause they were about to advocate. The duke of York, much against his wish, was sent back to Scotland just before the meeting of parliament in October. The reception of Dangerfield's new revelations formed the earliest business in the Commons. Unabashed by the load of infamy which clung to him after sixteen convictions in the criminal courts, or by the ignominious rejection of his recent evidence against the ladies who had befriended him, Dangerfield now accused the duke of York of having employed and paid him for the sham Presbyterian plot. The House at once took up the question of the dangers which threatened the nation in prospect of a popish successor to the throne. The Exclusion Bill was again brought in, and passed rapidly through all its stages. Lord Russell and a large phalanx of his party carried the bill up to the Lords, where the announcement of its title, "To disable James, duke of York, from succeeding to the crown," was received by Shaftesbury and his supporters with loud cheers of welcome. Monmouth spoke in favour of the bill, and voted with the minority. Halifax made a most brilliant speech against the Exclusionists, dwelling with cutting sarcasm on the hypocrisy of Monmouth, and the arts and intrigues of Shaftesbury. Charles attended the debate, and in behalf of his brother personally solicited many of the votes by which the bill was thrown out on its first reading by a majority of sixty-three against thirty. In revenge for this defeat, immediate steps were taken to bring to trial another victim of Oates's plot.

The aged Lord Stafford, one of the five lords committed to the Tower two years before, was now brought before his peers, and on the evidence of Oates and two other wretches, who had taken up the lucrative trade of perjurers, was condemned to the penalty of treason on the charge of conspiring to assassinate the king. Charles was present at the trial, and was firmly convinced of the innocence of Stafford; but he had not the courage to withhold his signature to the death-warrant, though he ventured, in the face of some bigoted opposition, to substitute simple beheading in lieu of the usual horrors of a traitor's sentence.

Supplies were withheld, and the king was assailed with arguments by his ministers, the duchess of Portsmouth, and the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Holland, all in succession submitting fresh reasons for concession to the demands of the Commons for securities against a popish successor. Charles expressed his readiness to assent to any measure of security consistent with the legal descent of the crown; but no compromise was acceptable to the opposition short of the absolute exclusion of the duke of York.

On the 9th of January, 1681, the Commons voted, that unless the Exclusion Bill were passed there could be no safety for the government, the life of the king, or the religion of the nation as by law established; and that until his majesty offered satisfaction on these heads, no supply would be granted. A sudden dissolution was now resolved upon; but the following morning (January 10th), before it could be effected, some hasty resolutions were tumultuously passed in the Lower House, threatening the advisers of this untimely step with impeachment as traitors to the king, the country, and the Protestant religion, and charging them with selling their services to the interests of France. In the midst of these excited discussions the Black Rod came with a summons to the members to meet the king in the House of Lords. They sullenly obeyed, and the lord chancellor, in the name of the king, announced a prorogation of ten days. A proclamation followed in a few days, dissolving the existing parliament, and calling a new one to assemble at Oxford on March 21st. In the interval Charles bargained to withdraw from the Spanish treaty, on condition of receiving pecuniary subsidies from Louis. The popular leaders vented their vexation at the choice of Oxford instead of the capital for the meeting of the new parliament, by sending to the king a petition in bold and passionate language, urging that he should disregard the evil counsels under which Oxford had been chosen, and that the meeting should be in the usual place at Westminster. Charles rejected the petition, and on the day of meeting each side ostentatiously displayed its real or pretended misgivings of the good faith of the other. The king had about him a large force of military, and the Exclusionists, besides being escorted by numerous armed adherents, were themselves armed, and each wore a ribbon round his hat, bearing the motto, "No popery; no slavery." Charles addressed the two Houses in a tone and temper almost defiant, offering his assent, however, to a bill for such limitations on the powers of a popish occupant of the throne as would secure the civil and religious liberties of his subjects from molestation, but resolutely declining to entertain any measure for passing over his brother's birthright. Halifax brought forward in the Lords a Regency Bill, under which it was provided that on the decease of Charles his brother James should succeed to the title of king, but should be required to live abroad, and during his life the powers of government should be vested in the princess of Orange, the duke's eldest daughter, and after her to the Lady Anne. If the titular king should have a legitimate son, brought up as a Protestant, the crown was to pass to such son, the regency being continued during his minority as in the case of James himself. The Commons again insisted on absolute exclusion; and in this hopeless dead-lock, when the fifth and last parliament of his reign had been only a single week in session, Charles abruptly announced a dissolution. This unexpected stroke astounded the Whigs, who were thoroughly persuaded that the king's want of money would oblige him to prolong the session, and that in the end he would submit to the Exclusion Bill. The dissolution was perhaps the wisest course open for saving the nation from the evils of a widespread insurrection, for James would not have held himself bound by his brother's assent to an Exclusion Bill, and a powerful minority was prepared to stand by him in the vindication of his claims. Charles published a declaration of the grounds on which he had felt obliged to dissolve two parliaments, one in January and the other in March. In this document, which was read in all the churches, he dwelt on the arbitrary orders under which the usual course of law had been set aside by the Commons, and on their obstinate rejection of every proposal for securing the national liberties, short of the extreme and revolutionary expedient of disinheriting his brother. Addresses of condolence and congratulation swarmed in from all parts of the kingdom; the king's generous devotion to his brother and the principle of hereditary right was loudly applauded; his numerous concessions to the Whigs in the previous four or five years were descanted on in proof of his moderation; and the violence of the Whigs was held up to execration as the fruitful source of present disquietude, and the probable forerunner of widespread civil strife.

Shaftesbury and his party attempted to counteract the influence of the royal declaration by a defence of their practices and policy, bearing the title of "A just and moderate vindication of the proceedings of the two last parliaments." This was a document displaying marvellous ability in the force and eloquence of its replies to each section of the royal declaration. But it made large use of the evidence of Oates, Bedloe, and other members of the same vile tribe; and these oracles no longer held sway over the public mind. The nation began to be ashamed of its credulity, and to wonder how it had surrendered its faith to the shams which had been palmed upon it by the most despicable scum of society. The patrons of the astounding plots shared the discredit and contempt which now began to attach to the informers themselves. A tide of loyal feeling towards the throne drowned the former widespread distrust, and the palace was inundated with deputations and addresses expressing confidence in the government and attachment to the royal family. The court was not slow to take advantage of this reaction in public sentiment.

Fitzharris, an informer, who had fabricated a series of accusations against the duke of York and many persons of station, all bearing on the same inexhaustible plot which had raised Oates to sudden eminence, was brought to trial, and suffered death. Stephen College, called "the Protestant joiner," one of Shaftesbury's most unscrupulous tools, and well known for his influence among the lower order of Londoners, was charged with bearing arms against the king, and conspiring to seize his person at the time of the Oxford parliament, in which he played a conspicuous part as one of Shaftesbury's armed retainers. The grand jury in London threw out the bill of indictment; but the court was not to be easily balked of its vengeance against the obnoxious demagogue. He was sent down to the assizes at Oxford, where his alleged treasons had been committed, and where there was no risk that jurymen of any rank would be prejudiced against the crown. He was condemned and executed. Oates gave some evidence contradictory of the charges against College, and lost his pension for his pains.

Not content with tripping up the most mischievous myrmidons in the service of the Whig leader, the court party next arrested Shaftesbury himself, and consigned him to a second lodging in the Tower, on a charge of treasonable practices. The principal witnesses against him were three Irish informers, whom he had cherished on their visit to London a few months earlier to swear to a plot in that kingdom. Their villainous perjury had brought about the trial and execution of the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, and now that their trade was again in request, they came forward and swore that Shaftesbury had suborned them to give false testimony against the duke of York and others. The grand jury, however, ignored the bill, and Shaftesbury escaped. But his papers abounded in matter which was turned to account against his adherents in all quarters. Shoals of them, chiefly dissenters, suffered fines or imprisonment for breach of laws that had long fallen into desuetude. Thus, the laws passed in the time of Elizabeth and James I., to enforce attendance at the parish churches, and prevent attendance at conventicles, were suddenly revived on the express order of the king, and warrants of distress were issued against multitudes of poor nonconformists who could not pay the fines. Archdeacon Echard, whose testimony is fully borne out by contemporary records, says: "The dissenters this year, and much longer, met with cruel and unchristian usage, greater than any subject had felt since the Reformation." The failure of the charge against Shaftesbury was imputed to the political bias of the sheriffs and grand jury of London in favour of a leader of their own side in politics, for the citizens generally were Whigs. By their votes staunch Whigs were elected as sheriffs, and these sheriffs named the Whig grand jury before whom the indictment was brought. The escape of Shaftesbury was a sore disappointment to the court party, who now turned their attention to the means by which the popular voice in all corporate towns might be nullified. As London was the chief offender, so it was the first to feel the royal wrath. Legal proceedings were taken in the Court of King's Bench against the civic authorities, on the charge of having exceeded the powers of their charter. The charter was a grant from the crown; if its conditions could be proved to have been violated, it might be revoked. The specific acts on which forfeiture was claimed by the crown were, first, that the corporation had imposed duties on merchandise carried into the city for which their charter contained no warrant; and secondly, that they had libelled the king and his government in the petition addressed to his majesty, and afterwards circulated in a printed form, in which they called in question the conduct of the king in having interrupted the progress of needful public measures by an unseasonable prorogation.

The proceedings in this case covered a period of eighteen months. They are too voluminous for recital in this work, but it is convenient to anticipate the result, which properly belongs to a later year. The judgment of the Court of King's Bench was delivered on the 12th of June, 1683: "That the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." The government made no secret of its motives in this prosecution. The new lord-keeper, North, in reply to a submissive petition of the common council for a renewal of its privileges, and for his majesty's compassion and pardon to the offenders, stated that the king had no wish to deprive the citizens of their accustomed franchises, but was determined to prevent the failure of justice which resulted from the uncontrolled election of civic functionaries by a constituency the majority of which was always hostile to the crown. He claimed a veto on the appointment of lord mayor, sheriffs, recorder, and some other civic functionaries, as the indispensable conditions on which the forfeited charter could be restored. Toryism was now so thoroughly in the ascendant in the middle and upper ranks of society, that the inferior grades of liverymen were outnumbered, and their leaders among the wealthy dissenters silenced by the vigorous enforcement of the fines and disabilities laid down in the old penal statutes. The corporation yielded; a large proportion of its members retired at once from office, and their places were filled by men approved by the government. Elated by this grand triumph over the securest stronghold of the people's rights, the government lost no time in following up its victory by a similar movement against all the corporate towns which returned Whig members to parliament. Many of them declined the hopeless contest by a voluntary surrender of their charters, and by following the precedent of the subdued London corporation.

While the duke of York resided in Scotland he filled Lauderdale's old post of king's commissioner. He took all pains to gain the good-will of the nation over whom he exercised viceregal authority, and achieved a very fair measure of success in the attempt. He checked the too officious zeal of men in office, whether in church or state, in dealing with the Covenanters; and by his conciliatory manners, forbearing temper, and rigid impartiality, won golden opinions among all classes. Some of the fierce zealots of the Covenant, however, refused to be subdued by blandishments. While the mass of their co-religionists took advantage of the connivance of the government in the quiet celebration of their worship in houses, or at the churches where licensed Presbyterian ministers officiated, these uncompromising enthusiasts, although insignificant in number, suddenly hurled defiance at the government. About a score of them, under their preacher and leader, Cameron, went armed into the small town of Sanquhar, and affixed to the market cross a mad sort of manifesto, disowning all allegiance to King Charles and his papist brother. On the 20th of June, 1680, their force, of about five and twenty horse and twice as many foot, was suddenly encountered by three troops of dragoons. Cameron and about ten of his party fell, killed; others were wounded and taken prisoners. Some escaped under Cargill, and continued the same bold denunciation of the ruling powers; whereupon several of the Cameronians, as they were now called, were brought to trial, and suffered death with all the ecstatic confidence of martyrs. To more than one of them, while on the gallows and with the rope round their necks, the duke of York offered pardon, if they would only call out "God save the king!" but they rejected the boon, and preferred death "for the good old cause."

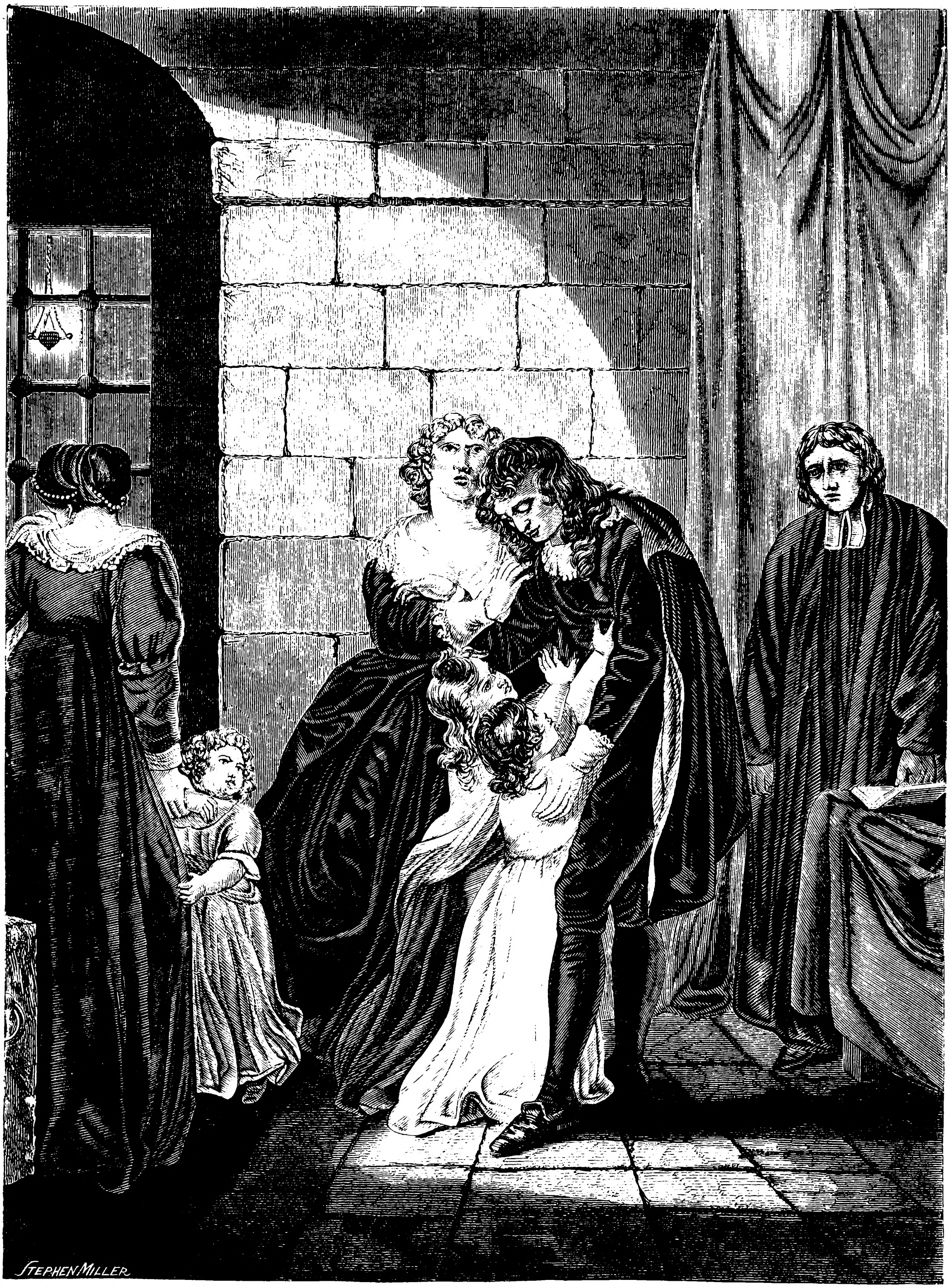
In the summer of 1681, James obtained leave of his brother to introduce into the Scottish parliament an Act declaring it to be treason to suspend the next heir to the throne from the administration of the government according to the laws of the kingdom; that the kings of Scotland derived their royal power from God alone, and that no difference of religion could alter or divert the lineal succession. This Act passed without a dissentient voice. Its chief purpose seems to have been to intimidate the Exclusionists in England by the prospect of civil war. A new Test Act was passed in the same session, under which all officials in church and state were required to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and pledge themselves to adhere to the true Protestant religion contained in the confession of faith recorded in the first parliament of James I., and to renounce the Covenant. Although James himself was expressly exempted from the obligation of this test, one part of it must have been sufficiently distasteful to him. The earl of Argyle, in taking the test, added some words explanatory of the sense in which he accepted it. He reserved to himself the right, in a lawful way, and according to his station, to endeavour to make such changes in church or state as he might deem beneficial. The council took strong exception to these qualifying expressions; and the duke of York, on their representation, confined Argyle in Edinburgh Castle, pending a reference to the king. With the view of intimidating the offender, and all who might be inclined to follow his example, the harshest construction was placed on his explanatory addition to the test. Out of it was drawn a charge of treason, leasing making, and perjury, on which the unfortunate nobleman was tried and condemned to death; but he escaped from his cell in disguise, and found an asylum in Holland. After his flight the Scotch judges drew up a sentence declaring him liable, as a traitor convict, to all the penalties of treason; that on his apprehension he should be put to death at what time and in what place and manner his majesty should ordain; that his name, memory, and honours should be extinct; that his posterity should be incapable of honour, place, or office; and that his estates, goods, and hereditary offices and jurisdictions should be forfeited to the crown. This atrocious sentence fixes a black stain on the lords justiciary of the period, on the duke of York, who guided the prosecution, and on the king, who authorized it. Apologists for the crown maintain that there was no intention to carry out the sentence, except so far as it applied to the deprivation of the Argyle family of hereditary jurisdictions which had proved incompatible with the royal authority. And it must be conceded that such was the actual limit to which the sweeping judgment was confined, so far as the earl's family were concerned, for his eldest son, Lord Lorn, soon received from Charles the forfeited estates, subject to reasonable burdens in favour of the banished earl's creditors and the younger members of his family. In May, 1682, the king recalled his brother to London, where his enemies, the Whigs, humiliated and silenced, were not now in a condition to molest him; for the court had obtained a complete ascendancy in the city, and none but Tories filled the municipal offices, from that of lord mayor, downwards. As a counterpoise to the reaction in favour of Toryism, the duke of Monmouth, under the advice of the Whig leaders, made a progress through the country, with much pomp and ceremonial, with the view to give new heart to his dispirited partisans. He was welcomed by the Whig gentry at the head of their tenantry, and at fairs and races he was sometimes greeted by the populace with all the loyal demonstrations due to a prince of Wales. He ingratiated himself with the vulgar by taking part in their sports, such as foot-races, in which his unusual agility enabled him to appear to advantage. His presence was honoured in many places with bonfires, discharges of firearms, and ringing of bells, as in his progress through the country in 1679-80.

The government became alarmed, and a warrant was served upon him at Stafford, charging him with "passing through the kingdom with multitudes of riotous persons, to the disturbance of the peace and the terror of the king's subjects." He was taken to London in custody of the serjeant-at-arms, but was admitted to bail.

The duke of York prosecuted Pilkington, one of the discarded Whig sheriffs of the city of London, for free expressions used in an after-dinner speech. The unlucky ex-sheriff was convicted of a libel against the duke, and damages to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds were decreed against him. So exorbitant a fine was equivalent to imprisonment during the plaintiff's pleasure. Shaftesbury now began to feel that his retreat in the City afforded but slender chance of safety. He had been for some time past busily plotting an insurrection, which embraced some half-dozen centres in England and Scotland. Monmouth, Russell, Essex, Hampden, Howard, and Sidney were mixed up in the discussions on Shaftesbury's hot-headed and crude project of a rising, but they had all by this time learned to distrust his judgment. While the City was in the height of excitement about the choice of sheriffs, Shaftesbury vehemently insisted on the hopefulness of a rising and an attempt to seize the Tower; but the duke of Monmouth, whose military experience gave weight to his opinion, ridiculed the mad suggestion, and he and all the Whig leaders turned a deaf ear to the half-crazed intrigues of the bewildered opposition chief. The loss of credit among his friends, and his increasing apprehensions of the vengeance of the court, now that packed juries were at the service of the triumphant Tories, led Shaftesbury to seek safety in exile. He escaped in disguise to Amsterdam, in December, 1682, broken down with chagrin at the utter ruin of his party, and in the following month his restless spirit ceased from troubling, as much to the satisfaction of his friends as of his opponents.

And now came a real Whig plot, the germs of which are traceable to Shaftesbury, though he is nowise responsible for the shape which they assumed in the hands of those less distinguished satellites whom he left without a leader when he exchanged his lurking-place in the City for an asylum beyond sea. These were Walcot, who had served in Cromwell's army in Ireland; Rumsey, who had been distinguished by his bravery in the English contingent in Portugal; Rumbold, another Cromwellian soldier, and subsequently an innkeeper and maltster; Burton, a cheesemonger; Ferguson, a fiery Independent minister, always unquiet, and setting others on to some mischief; Thompson, a carver; Barber, an instrument-maker; Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London; Shepherd, a wine-merchant, and West, a practitioner in the law, whose chambers in the Temple were the frequent rendezvous of the party. Amid much wild talk about getting up an insurrection in the City, these worthies, or some of them, entertained the project of assassinating both the king and his brother. Rumbold had a farmhouse at Hoddesden, called the Rye House, on the road usually traversed by the king in his journeys between London and Newmarket. He offered the conspirators the use of this house as an ambuscade, where they might await the return of the royal brothers from the April meeting. An accident disconcerted this scheme. The town of Newmarket suffered from a fire while the races were on, and the royal party returned in consequence some days earlier than usual. Rumbold reported to his confederates that the king's carriage was escorted by only five guards as it passed the Rye House, and that they had lost such an opportunity as might never occur again. The scheme of assassination was not given up, however; other places, especially the playhouse frequented by his majesty, were suggested for the daring deed. But it went no further than idle talk. Keeling, who was engaged by Goodenough to take account of the men in one quarter of the City who might be relied on to join the contemplated insurrection, and who learned from the same source the particulars of the plot against the life of the king, went to Legge, a privy councillor, and just then created Lord Dartmouth, and communicated all he knew. Another of the party, on watch at Whitehall, reported Keeling's movements to his associates, who immediately dispersed, and whispers of the discovery spread like lightning through the town. A proclamation was issued by the government (June 18), offering a reward of a hundred pounds for the arrest of each of the nine conspirators named therein. West and Rumsey gave themselves up, and offered to turn king's evidence. Shepherd followed their example, and gave the names of the Whig leaders who had from time to time held meetings at his house. Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, the earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and Wildman, were arrested on Shepherd's information, and consigned to the Tower. The duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, and others, absconded. Other minor conspirators were soon after apprehended. The Whig leaders were nowise implicated in the Rye House plot, but they had unquestionably held communications with the authors of it on the projected rising in the City. Their scheme included a rising in Scotland, to be headed by the banished earl of Argyle, with simultaneous insurrections in Cheshire, Bristol, Newcastle, and London. But the Tory party took advantage of the intercourse which had passed between one or two of the distinguished men who proposed an open rebellion against an oppressive government, and some few of the minor conspirators, who alone were concerned in the plot for killing the king and the heir apparent, to involve all who were concerned in either scheme in the infamy of the intended assassination. Three of the obscure conspirators, Walcot, Rouse, and Hone, were the first to be put on trial. They suffered the doom of traitors, the first two protesting to the last their entire ignorance of the Rye House plot.

Lord William Russell was next arraigned on the charge of treason, for conspiring the death of the king, and consulting with others to levy war against him. Rumsey and Shepherd gave evidence of his attending meetings at the house of the latter, at which some arrangements for the intended rising were discussed. The next witness called was Lord Howard, who had scarcely commenced his evidence when a whisper ran through the court that Essex had laid violent hands upon himself that morning, in the Tower. The king and the duke of York had gone at an early hour to visit the Tower, with the view, as alleged by some contemporary writers, of noting the appearance of Lord Russell as he passed out to his trial. Just as the royal party were getting


STEPHEN MILLER

LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL PARTING WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN

into their barge to return, a hurried messenger rushed down to them with intelligence that Essex had committed suicide. The crown lawyers adroitly turned to account this untoward event. Jeffreys told the court that conscious guilt had led the earl to the desperate step, to avoid that untimely end by the methods of public justice which awaited him for his share in the crime with which the prisoner at the bar stood charged. Sawyer, the attorney-general, added, "My Lord Russell was one of the council for carrying on the plot with the earl of Essex, who had this morning prevented the hand of justice upon himself." Howard swore to Lord Russell's attendance at conferences at the house of Mr. Hampden, and elsewhere, at which Shaftesbury and the other Whig leaders discussed the scheme of insurrection. The defence turned chiefly on that provision of the statute of treason of the 25th of Edward III., on which the trial was founded, which pronounced an overt act of war, and not the mere intention to levy war, to be the capital offence against which the statute was levelled. No such overt act was alleged against the prisoner, and even the evidence of intention on his part was utterly unreliable, because the three witnesses who swore against him gave their evidence to save their own lives. To this plea the usual rejoinder followed; that, to prepare forces to fight against the king, or to raise his subjects against him, was, by the statute, a design to kill. A verdict of guilty followed. Every effort was made to procure a commutation of the penalty, but in vain. The execution took place in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the 21st of July, 1683, amid demonstrations of deep sorrow on the part of a large assemblage of citizens. Within an hour of his death a paper, which had been drawn up by him for that purpose, was circulated through every corner of the town, giving utterance to the religious and political convictions which had guided his public conduct in relation to the Exclusion Bill, the popish plot, and other affairs of recent occurrence. The address wound up with a denial of the justice of his sentence:—"As for the sentence of death passed upon me, I cannot but think it a hard one; for nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false I will not now examine) but some discourses about making some stirs. And this is not levying war against the king." . . . "But by a strange fetch the design of seizing the guards was construed a design of killing the king, and so I was in that cast." The first parliament after the Revolution reversed the attainder against Lord Russell, on the ground that he was not convicted of any offence falling within the law of treason.

Algernon Sidney's turn came next. The evidence was similar to that tendered against Russell, but with the addition of a manuscript found among his papers, written several years before, in which the sturdy republican, for such he was at heart, refuted the slavish doctrines of Filmer's Treatise on Government. Sidney's manuscript was characterized in the summing-up of Chief Justice Jeffreys, who presided at the trial, as a document equal in weight to the testimony of two and twenty oral witnesses. Jeffreys had been suddenly elevated from the rank of serjeant to that of chief justice, on account of his utter contempt for public opinion, his arrogant bearing in court, and his hatred to the Whigs, who had displaced him from the recordership of the City. Such were the qualifications which commended him to the favour of the rampant Tories, as the fittest tool for exacting vengeance at the hands of their prostrate enemies. His conduct in the trial of Sidney justified the expectation of his patrons. A verdict of guilty was recorded, and Sidney was beheaded on Tower Hill, on December 8th.

While the public mind was occupied with the incidents of the state trials, a domestic event in the royal family afforded much satisfaction to the nation. This was the marriage of the duke of York's second daughter, the Lady Anne, to a Protestant prince, George, brother of the king of Denmark. The marriage was interpreted by the public as an additional pledge of the respect entertained by the king and the heir apparent for the national susceptibilities in behalf of the Protestant religion.

To ease the strain on his finances, and at the same time to augment the military force available for any contingency at home, Charles now despatched a squadron to bring away the garrison and other English residents at Tangier, and that costly and troublesome possession of the crown was for ever abandoned.

Monmouth meanwhile had made his peace with the king and the duke of York. This was brought about by Halifax, who began to feel the need of some counterpoise to the rapid growth of the duke of York's influence and authority. Halifax penned several submissive and penitential letters, which Monmouth copied, signed, and forwarded to the king. An interview followed, in which Monmouth, on his knees, expressed his contrition to his father for the share he had taken in the disloyal intrigues and practices of the opposition, and solemnly protested his ignorance of any design against his majesty's life. To his uncle, who was present, he made a similar humble submission, begged forgiveness of the many offences against his royal highness of which he was conscious, and added that he would ever be among the foremost in allegiance and devoted service to James, should that prince survive to enjoy the royal dignity in succession to the king. He revealed the names of many of the parties implicated in the intended rising in Cheshire, Somerset, Yorkshire, and Scotland. His submission and confession were promptly published in the Gazette, and exhibited him in the abject character of an informer who consults his own safety by betraying his friends. As soon as his pardon was passed under the great seal, he busied himself in attempts to explain away his confession. This excited the just displeasure of his father, who demanded from him a written confirmation of the confession issued to the world. Overwhelmed with shame, he reluctantly complied; but his statement proved so unsatisfactory that the king rejected it, and exacted from him a declaration, that "in consequence of reports that he had gone about to discredit the evidence in the late trials, that the king and the duke knew how ingenuously he had owned the conspiracy, and that though he was not conscious of any design against his majesty's life, yet he lamented the great share which he had in the other part of the conspiracy." When this paper had passed from his hands, he quailed under the dread of further infamy in which it would involve him, if it also should be inserted in the Gazette, or produced in evidence in the trials yet to come off. He besought the king to restore it to him, and was in consequence banished from court. Shortly after he was summoned to give evidence against Hampden, and only evaded the humiliation of appearing against his friend by withdrawing to Holland, where he found a goodly company of his exiled countrymen, and was kindly entertained by William, prince of Orange.

Hampden was brought to trial early in 1684. Lord Howard proved his attendance at the meetings of the Whig leaders, and he was one of the council of six chiefs. In his case there was too little evidence to sustain a charge of treason, but he was convicted of misdemeanour, and fined 40,000*l.* Of the less distinguished conspirators, Halloway and Armstrong fell into the hands of government a few months later, and suffered death in pursuance of the sentence of outlawry which had been passed against them. Armstrong claimed a trial under the statute of 6th Edward VI., which gave an outlaw that privilege if he surrendered within the year following his outlawry. But he had not voluntarily given himself up, a point of which Jeffreys availed himself, by a brutal reply to the repeated claim to the benefit of the law: "The benefit of the law you shall have, by the grace of God. See that execution be done by Friday next, according to law."

The Scottish associates in the plot were sent down to Edinburgh for trial. Baillie of Jerviswood, already sinking under his sufferings, was executed on the day of his conviction, in the fear that a natural death would speedily rob the law of its victim. Others quickly shared his fate, and many only escaped it by flight to Holland, where there was now assembled quite a considerable body of English and Scottish exiles.

Danby and the Catholic peers, who were incarcerated on the information given by Oates, were now discharged from the Tower, under heavy recognizances to appear at the bar of the House of Lords in the next session of parliament. The Test Act was waived in favour of the duke of York on his readmission to his old post of a member of the king's council, and at about the same date he recovered the direction of all the business of the Admiralty. More than three years had now passed since the meeting of parliament. Halifax urged the king, but without success, to issue new writs, as provided in the Triennial Act.

Charles had now attained almost absolute power. The restraints and humiliations endured in long years of successful opposition to his high pretensions were now followed by unbounded subserviency to his will, the abasement of the party that sought to curb prerogative, and the exaltation of the most cherished dogma of the Stuart race—the divine right of kings to exercise an uncontrolled sovereignty, and the duty of passive obedience on the part of their subjects. On the same day that Russell perished in defence of the lawfulness of resistance to princes who trample on the rights of their subjects, the University of Oxford issued its memorable decree, anathematizing the leading political tenets of the Whigs as "pernicious, damnable, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society." Not content with reprobating the notion that civil authority is in its origin derived from the people, and that kings may lawfully be opposed when they set the restraints of law at defiance, Oxford expressed its fervent loyalty and orthodoxy in a sweeping condemnation of the political teachings contained in the writings of Buchanan, Milton, Goodwin, Baxter, Owen, Knox, Hobbes, and others, and condemned their works to the flames. Liberal principles of government were everywhere held up to scorn; the bar, the bench, the pulpit, and the press, vied with each other in upholding the duty of passive obedience. Addresses expressive of entire submission to the royal will, and firm attachment to the king's person and government, poured in from all sides. More and more corporate charters were surrendered to the revision of government, and restored in a form which secured the full ascendancy of the Tory party in local as in the national councils. Still further to intimidate the vanquished Whigs, prosecutions were instituted against several adherents of the party for libellous or defamatory expressions. Barnardiston, foreman of the jury that acquitted Shaftesbury, was condemned on a charge of libel, and fined 10,000*l.*; others, as Braddon, Speke, Dutton, and Colt, were tried for seditious or slanderous words. Nor was Dr. Titus Oates forgotten or forgiven. The duke of York caused him to be brought before Jeffreys, on a charge of *scandalum magnatum* against his royal highness, the words alleged to have been used by the arch-plotter being, that "The duke of York, before the succession should come to him, should be banished or hanged, but hanging was fittest." Damages were awarded, as in the case of the ex-sheriff who had sinned against the duke in a similar way, at such an enormous sum as in effect condemned Oates to imprisonment for life.

Charles's life was now drawing to a close. The last year of it was one of greater tranquillity than he was accustomed to, but it was not free from disquietudes. His constitutional gaiety forsook him at times, and gave place to moods of dejection and gloom. His leading ministers were mutually jealous of each other, and were constantly intriguing for the foremost place in the confidence of the king. Halifax had incurred the implacable resentment of the duke of York by his advocacy of limitations on the sovereign rights of that prince when he should come to the throne, and by more recent efforts to bring Monmouth into favour. A succession of fierce quarrels disturbed the official intercourse between Halifax and Rochester, the first commissioner of the Treasury. The duke of York sided with Rochester, who was a brother of his first wife, Ann Hyde; but the king lent at best an unwilling ear to advice that would have deprived him of his ablest minister. Halifax accused Rochester of malversations, and even of peculation, in the management of the Treasury, and furnished such substantial proofs of the charge that Rochester was displaced from his trust. But instead of being cashiered and disgraced, he was advanced, on the persuasions of his brother-in-law the duke of York, to the higher dignity of president of the council, and it was intended to put him in Ormond's place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Halifax now occupied himself in fresh attempts to reconcile the king with his banished son, as the surest means of propping up his own declining influence. He so far succeeded that Monmouth was permitted to come over in November, for a private interview and reconciliation with the king. It is even alleged that Charles promised to recall Monmouth early in the following year, and to send his brother again into Flanders or Scotland. James was aware of this intrigue, and took all pains to thwart it. He and Sunderland and the duchess of Portsmouth constantly plied the king with representations to the prejudice of Halifax. They dwelt on his antipathy to the French alliance; his disapproval of the long intermission of parliaments; his sympathy for the condemned Whig leaders, in whose behalf he had vainly interceded with the king; and finally, on the energetic language in which he expressed his preference for constitutional as opposed to arbitrary government, when the granting of a new charter to the colony of Massachusetts was discussed at the council board in presence of the king and his brother. While Charles was still in a state of indecision whether to break with his brother or his minister, his reign and his life came suddenly to a close.

The evening of Sunday, the 1st of February, was marked by more than usual gaiety and revelry at Whitehall. Gamblers thronged the card tables; a page warbled love-songs, to regale the ears of the king and a party of his sultanas; feasting and merriment pervaded the palace. But Charles was already ailing of an illness that proved his last. He had no appetite for the banquet; he rose at an early hour next morning, after a restless night. His attendants remarked an unusual gloom in his countenance, and a thickness and incoherence in his speech, betokening some serious disorder of mind or body. On attempting to walk to a chair he fell prostrate and speechless, with his face black and distorted, and his eyes rolling. Dr. King, who was present, pronounced the attack an apoplectic fit, and promptly bled the patient, and administered restoratives with such effect that consciousness and some power of utterance gradually returned. The case progressed hopefully until the third day, when a relapse, marked by stupor and exhaustion of the vital powers, gave warning of approaching death. Taking advantage of a favourable moment, Ken, one of the bishops in attendance, reminded his majesty of his danger, and administered such spiritual consolations as the dying monarch would consent to receive. But when Ken proposed the sacrament, which he did many times, the king replied, in faint and faltering accents, "I will think of it;" or, "There is still time enough." A consultation was now held between the duchess of Portsmouth, who was in close attendance at the sick bed, Barillon, the French ambassador, and the duke of York and his wife, on the critical question of proposing that a Catholic priest should be called in. As the law then stood, this step was not free from danger, however exalted the rank of the party who might undertake the responsibility. James at length decided to undergo the risk. Motioning the lords, bishops, and physicians, to the further end of the king's chamber, he knelt at the bedside, and taking his dying brother's hand in his own, inquired in a low tone whether he might send for a priest. "For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time; but will it not expose you to danger?" was the quick response. The apartment was then cleared of all, except the earls of Bath and Feversham; the door was double-locked; and Huddleston, the priest who had assisted in Charles's escape after the battle of Worcester, was brought by a private doorway to the bedside. The offices of the Romish church were then performed, after confession and the declaration of the dying man of his contrition that he had so long deferred his reconciliation to the church in whose ministrations he now sought consolation. Efforts were made to keep the secret, but the priest was seen by the servants and chaplains in the queen's apartments, through which he was conducted, and in a few days the story got abroad. After the priest's visit the king sent for his numerous illegitimate progeny, and taking each by the hand, bestowed the blessing of a dying father upon them in succession, and commended them to the care of their royal uncle. Not a word however escaped his lips about the duke of Monmouth; but to James he expressed all brotherly affection, and asked forgiveness of his many acts of unkindness or harshness towards him. One of the bishops reminded his majesty that he was the Lord's anointed, and the common father of all his subjects, and besought his blessing on those whose duty and privilege brought them about him in that solemn hour. All present fell on their knees, and the king pronounced the desired blessing. The queen sent a message, begging his forgiveness of any offence he might have in remembrance against her. He replied, "Alas! poor woman! She beg my pardon? I beg hers with all my heart. Take her back that answer." In wishing his brother a long and happy reign, he commended to his especial kindness the duchess of Portsmouth and her son, and requested kind treatment for the discarded duchess of Cleveland. And even in death he proved his fondness for Gwynn, the orange-girl and stage-player of earlier days, for among his latest recorded words stands this charge to his successor—"Do not let poor Nelly starve." Thus passed his last night, his life fast ebbing away, till near noon on the 6th day of February, 1685, when he calmly breathed his last. He was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, *de facto*, counting from the Restoration; but reckoning from the death of his father, the date adopted in all acts of parliament and legal documents of the period, the reign embraces thirty-six years.

To the sketch given of Charles's character in the opening page of this chapter, but little remains to be added. As age crept upon him, his features, never very prepossessing, became singularly harsh, and even repulsive, and his complexion deepened into quite a swarthy hue. His sociable temperament, and his easy affability, remained unchanged to the last year of his life, and presented a singular contradiction to his forbidding countenance. He made scarcely any addition to his meagre stock of book knowledge from the early period at which he became his own master, and the society in which he was most at home was not such as to compensate the lack of intellectual culture. He showed some partiality for chemistry, and gained the credit of being perfectly familiar with naval architecture, and was, indeed, no mean authority in that art. In his latter years he became sedulously attentive to repairing by diet and exercise the inroads made by dissipation on a constitution originally sound. He would walk in the parks for three or four hours at a stretch, and at such a rapid rate that only the most vigorous of the courtiers could hold up with him. Gardening, planting, and building, amused his leisure in the last ten years of his life, and his concern for his own health led him sometimes to attend dissections of the human body. He was sufficiently credulous to follow the advice of quacks, except when serious illness warned him of the danger of neglecting the advice of his physicians. He never emancipated himself from the control of his numerous female favourites. Every important transaction of his reign has associated with it the names of one or more of his concubines. Their baleful shadows flit thickly athwart the solemn gloom of his death-bed, depriving it of decency. He failed to win the sceptre of an autocrat, to which he aspired, chiefly because his love of ease and hatred of effort were in opposition to the exertion which it would have cost him. His religion was of so neutral a tint, that to this day it is a moot point whether he died a deist or a Christian. To the end of his life he conformed outwardly to the worship of the Church of England, professing zeal and attachment for it; but abundant proofs exist to show a secret and half-hearted leaning towards that communion with which he stealthily allied himself on the eve of his dissolution. He prevaricated with God and man to the very end, using the ministrations of two irreconcilable churches, even when his physicians had given warning that only a few more hours of life remained to him. With all his faults, his subjects regretted his loss. Half the troubles of his reign sprang from national anticipations of the evils to follow its conclusion. Now that he was dead, the nation was brought face to face with the danger to which it had long looked forward with anxious forebodings. A papist was now to fill the vacant throne.

SECTION II.

JAMES II.

JAMES II. was in the fifty-second year of his age when the death of his brother Charles gave him possession of the throne. He was born at St. James's Palace, October 15th, 1633, and created duke of York in his earliest infancy. At the surrender of Oxford to the parliamentary forces he was made prisoner, but eluded the vigilance of his captors, and in 1648 made his way to Holland, disguised as a girl. He served afterwards in the Spanish and French armies. Marshal Turenne bestowed great pains in initiating him in the military art, and was proud of the proficiency of his pupil, declaring at times that James would become the greatest prince and the greatest general of the age. He was in his twenty-sixth year at the date of his secret nuptials with Clarendon's daughter, and in his forty-first year when he married the youthful Princess Mary d'Este, who lived to share with him the regal dignity. In his brother's reign he had found scope for his taste in maritime affairs in the capacity of lord high admiral, until forced to relinquish that employment by the operation of the Test Act in 1673. At a later period, as already narrated, he acted the part of a viceroy for upwards of two years in the government of Scotland.

The first public act of the new king's reign went far to efface the prevalent distrust of his intentions with respect to the established religion of his realm and the civil liberties of the people. Passing from the death-bed of his brother to the meeting of the privy council, which was already assembled in an apartment of the palace, he addressed the board in terms which elicited the liveliest expressions of gratitude. At the solicitation of some members of the council, the speech was forthwith committed to writing, that the gracious utterances of his majesty might be published, to the satisfaction and delight of the nation. Finch, the solicitor-general, acted the part of scribe. The king, on perusal of the written speech, accepted it as correct, and authorized its immediate publication. The most material portion of it ran thus:—"I have been reported a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the only falsehood which has been told of me. I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects: therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish; and, as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of the nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

The heralds proclaimed the accession of the new king, and at the several halting places on the line of the procession between Whitehall and the City wine was freely offered from open casks to all who wished to drink to the health of his majesty. The acclamations were stinted, for the king's reassuring speech was not yet known to his subjects. In a few days, however, all misgivings were dispersed. The pulpits rang with glowing praises of the king, of whom it was everywhere said that he was always as good as his word. Loyal addresses poured in from the corporate bodies in all parts of the realm, filled with grateful acknowledgments and thanks for his majesty's gracious promises. Evelyn dwells on the contrast between the decorous aspect of the court on the evening of the first Sunday in the new reign and the mad profanity of which he had been an eye-witness only one week earlier. "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, &c.—a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset, round a large table, a bank of at least two thousand pounds in gold before them." . . . "Six days after all was in the dust." And thenceforward the revelries of a Comus-like crew were at an end. "The face of the whole court," says Evelyn again, "was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour; the new king affecting neither profaneness nor buffoonery." James summoned a new parliament to meet in May; but as most of the revenue of the crown lapsed on the death of his brother, he ventured on the illegal and hazardous expedient of ordering by proclamation that all customs and excise duties should continue to be levied as in the late reign. But he and his ministers knew the temper of the times, and in place of remonstrances against a stretch of prerogative, such as in the time of his father would have thrown the nation into commotion, James was greeted with compliments from the barristers and students of the Middle Temple, the great trading companies, and numerous public bodies, for his breach of the law.

The ministers of the late king were retained, but with some large modifications in their respective spheres of duty. Rochester was advanced to the dignity of lord treasurer. He resembled his father, the earl of Clarendon, in his extreme views on questions of prerogative and the claims of the Established Church. He was the accepted chief of the Tories, and enjoyed the first place in the confidence of the king. His abilities were respectable; but with all his training as a diplomatist and a parliamentary orator, he never acquired the art of controlling his temper. He was easily excited to fierce paroxysms of anger, in which he would swear like a trooper. Excessive drinking was not unfashionable in his time, and in that vice he gained and merited the character of a proficient. His fiery temper prompted him to severe measures for upholding the exalted pretensions of the party that hailed him as its chief.

Halifax had offended past hope of forgiveness by the part he had borne in the latter years of Charles's reign. His great service in defeating the Exclusion Bill was still formally acknowledged by James as giving an indelible title to the royal gratitude. But he was the author of the Bill of Limitations, under which James would have lost all the most cherished attributes of a king. This was never forgiven. He was not yet dismissed from the counsels of his sovereign, but he was required to exchange the place of lord privy seal for what was then the less lucrative and less influential, though dignified office of lord president, and he soon became a mere cipher in the government.

Godolphin was displaced from the Treasury, but retained in the post of chamberlain to the queen. Little as James liked him, the supple politician who was unburdened with inconvenient scruples, and of whom Charles used to say, "Sidney Godolphin is never in the way and never out of the way," was held to be too convenient a tool to be lightly cast aside. He was a faithful adherent of any government that gained the ascendancy, and contrived to glean rewards from all with which his plastic principles brought him into membership. He was fully as well known at races, cockpits, and card-tables, as in the arena of politics.

Sunderland brought to bear the powerful influence of Barillon, the French ambassador, and of the duchess of Portsmouth, and so made his peace with James despite his former opposition. He resembled Godolphin in all the supple qualities of an accomplished courtier, and in his mastery of the art and address of a keen negotiator. He was the depositary of many secrets in the safe keeping of which James was too deeply concerned to allow of his dismissal for the gratification of mere personal dislike of such an adroit time-server.

The king gave proof of his strong partiality for Jeffreys by giving him a seat in the cabinet and a peerage. Guildford retained the name of lord keeper, but all the higher functions of his office were confided to Lord Jeffreys, the chief justice.

Louis's old pensioner, the deceased king, was scarcely laid in his tomb before overtures were made to James for the continuance of the pecuniary obligations under which the English crown had long been degraded. James greedily snapped at the bait, and Barillon was shortly furnished with funds, as in former years, with which to gratify the king, his ministers, and such mercenary orators as might be elected for the forthcoming parliament, and he held a fund in reserve against such emergencies as a dissolution or an insurrection. Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, who now formed the inner council or cabinet, hastened to express to Barillon the gratitude of their master, and to acquaint him that France need not fear that England, under the new government, would hold itself bound by the treaty and obligations under which it had been pledged during Danby's administration to defend Spanish Flanders from invasion. Louis might forthwith annex Hainault and Brabant, without incurring any risk of collision with England. "Tell your master," said Rochester to Barillon, "his money will be well laid out. He cannot employ his revenues better. Represent to him strongly how important it is that the king of England should be dependent, not on his own people, but on the friendship of France alone." From other despatches of Barillon, abundant proofs are forthcoming that the king and his ministers debased themselves, and tarnished the honour of their country, by mean apologies to Louis for having summoned a parliament without previously taking his advice. In one of the interviews with James which Barillon reports to Louis, the English king is depicted as having descended to the lowest depths of shameless abasement. "Assure your master," said James, "of my gratitude and attachment. I know that without his protection I can do nothing. I know what troubles my brother brought on himself by not adhering steadily to France. I will take care not to let the Houses meddle with foreign affairs. If I see in them any disposition to make mischief, I will send them about their business. Explain this to my good brother, Louis. I hope he will not take it amiss that I have acted without consulting him. But in this case the delay, even of a week, might have produced serious consequences." Lingard urges in extenuation of this contemptible act of vassalage, that we have no other guarantee for the truthful narration of what passed, " than the suspicious pen of Barillon, who, throughout the correspondence with his sovereign, appears to act the part, not of an indifferent narrator, but of an advocate pleading the cause of his client, and who therefore puts into the mouth of James, not the language actually employed by that prince, but such language as might, by flattering the vanity and policy, obtain the good-will and consent of Louis." The other foreign powers, without exception, looked forward hopefully to the new reign as one that would restore England to its accustomed place among the foremost opponents of French aggression. Despotic governments sent messages of friendship to James, urging him to cultivate a good understanding with his parliament and people. Even the pope sent gentle rebukes and counsels against incautious zeal in behalf of the Roman Catholic worship, and urged James to adopt such a conciliatory home policy as would enable him to play a strong part in sustaining the balance of power among continental nations. James was not insensible to such appeals to his dignity, and suddenly adopted a tone and bearing towards France in marked contrast with the meek homage used in the earliest and anxious days of his reign, when it was not yet clear that his accession would be peaceably accepted throughout the kingdom. Louis playfully remarked on this quick transition from a submissive and deferential to a haughty and self-assertive demeanour, "My good ally talks big, but he is as fond of my pistoles as ever his brother was." The susceptibilities of his Protestant subjects were early subjected to severe trial by James's imprudent disregard of the wise and moderate counsels of the pontiff. The privacy in which the rites of his church were conducted in the queen's apartments when he was a subject was suddenly dropped, and bit by bit the magnificence and pomp of a state ceremonial marked the king's attendance at a form of religious celebration which was still under the ban of severe penal statutes. On Easter Sunday, the chief dignitaries of state and a long train of the nobility accompanied their sovereign, under an escort of guards, in his attendance at high mass in the queen's chapel. Rochester was permitted to absent himself from town on this occasion, in deference to his scruples as the acknowledged head of the old Cavalier and Church of England party. Within a few days came the coronation (23rd of April), the ritual for which was shorn of those parts which were most calculated to wound the religious susceptibilities of a Romanist. The discontent and alarm which these high-handed proceedings excited found expression in some pulpits of the metropolis; but James put the murmurers to silence by requiring the bishops to restrain their zeal, under a significant hint that the promise which he had given of protection to the Church of England must be held to depend on the loyalty of the Establishment towards himself as its head.

The Scottish parliament met on the day of the coronation, thus having the start by nearly a month of the parliament at Westminster, in order that the example of that complete subserviency which the Scottish Estates were certain to exhibit might have its due influence on the less manageable assembly to the south of the Tweed. They annexed to the crown for ever the duties which had been voted for Charles's life, and added a further revenue to continue during the new reign, making the total income of the crown from the northern kingdom up to about 60,000*l*. At the express instance of the king, a sanguinary statute was promptly passed, under which preachers in conventicles within any building, and both preachers and hearers in out-door conventicles, were made liable to the penalty of death and forfeiture of goods. Brutal soldiers, under the fiendish Graham of Claverhouse, performed the functions of judge, jury, and executioners, on numerous unhappy peasants, old and young, and of both sexes, who refused to be coerced into conformity with the episcopalian worship. An eternal load of infamy rests on the head of the monarch who authorised these atrocities. While these bloodthirsty villanies were being perpetrated in the northern kingdom, England was absorbed in the excitement of the elections. Toryism was now in its very zenith; unreasoning loyalty expressed itself in obsequious and servile addresses to the king, reprobating the Whigs as the authors of all evil; the Gazette for three months was filled with their grateful offerings to a prince who was but too prone to act on their teachings, and an abundant crop of bitter fruit was the speedy result. Nine-tenths of the members in the new parliament were either nominees of the crown, or men whose devotion to it was beyond suspicion.

Titus Oates now came again before the public, but no longer as a hero or an oracle. Before the close of Charles's reign, James had prosecuted him for defamation, and obtained a conviction. Two indictments for perjury were then preferred against him, and the trial now came on in the Court of King's Bench. The charges were clearly proved, and in retribution for the innocent blood which had been shed on his false testimony, the most aggravated sentence was recorded against him that a strained construction of the law would admit.

He was degraded from the clerical order; fined a thousand marks on each conviction; ordered to stand twice in the pillory; and to be whipped at the cart's tail from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn two days later. Should this fail to kill him, he was to be imprisoned for life, and five times in each year to undergo the discipline of the pillory. The whipping bestowed on him was of such unexampled severity, that it was a standing marvel how he survived the ordeal.

Dangerfield was next brought to trial for libel on the late and the present king. His sentence was similar to that on Oates; but though his scourging was less severe, and he was a younger man, he suffered so much under the first whipping that it was thought he could not survive. On the way back to Newgate, a Tory gentleman of Gray's Inn, named Francis, not content with exulting over the sufferings under which the luckless impostor was writhing piteously, struck him a blow on the face with a stick. He died within a few hours of reaching his cell. The public indignation against the dastardly act of Francis ran so high that it was judged expedient to bring him to trial; and he suffered the penalty of hanging for the murder which was more than half completed before he struck the blow. Bedloe, Carstairs, and Dugdale had already passed beyond the reach of human vengeance.

James now ventured on a measure of relief for his co-religionists, who crowded the prisons for their refusal in his brother's reign to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. They were set at liberty to the number of several thousands, and with them about fifteen hundred Quakers, who also were in confinement for rejecting the oaths. But Protestant dissenters were not included in this act of clemency; and the pious and venerable Baxter, whose efforts to bring about an acceptable compromise between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians at the commencement of the previous reign were rewarded with the offer of a bishopric, was tried before the furious chief justice on an information laid against his complaint of the persecution which the dissenters suffered. His eminence as a divine barely screened him from a public whipping, though his age was threescore and ten; and he actually suffered fine and imprisonment.

Parliament opened on the 19th of May. On the 23rd the Commons were called to the bar of the Lords to hear his majesty's speech. The declaration made to the council on the day of the late king's decease was now renewed to both Houses. On the subject of finance, his majesty astonished not a few of the boldest sticklers for the rights of the crown by the use of language very like a threat. After claiming a provision for life similar to what had been made for Charles, he proceeded to add, "There is one popular argument which I foresee may be used against what I have asked of you; the inclination men have for frequent parliaments, some may think, would be best secured by feeding me from time to time by such proportions as they shall think convenient; and this argument, it being the first time I speak to you from the throne, I will answer once for all,—that this would be a very improper method to take with me. The best way to engage me to meet you often is, always to use me well. I expect, therefore, that you will comply with me in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedily." The need of prompt and liberal supplies was further enforced by the announcement that intelligence had that day reached the government of the landing of Argyle at the head of a body of rebels in Scotland, and the breaking out of an extensive insurrection there. The Commons voted even more money than the king asked. They annexed to the crown for the current reign a revenue of 1,900,000*l.*, a sum at that time fully adequate to the expenditure of government in time of peace. Extraordinary supplies were added, shortly afterwards, to meet the exigency of two formidable insurrections. But the alacrity of the Commons in furnishing supplies was linked with as prompt an energy in another matter highly distasteful to James. Addresses were voted in a full committee of the House "to put the laws in execution against all dissenters whatever from the Church of England," and pledging the Commons "to stand by the king in the support and defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England with their lives and fortunes." Great was the wrath of James to learn that the obsequious throng, who for the most part owed their seats to intimidation, corruption, the compulsory substitution of new for the ancient charters of incorporation, and all the arts which his unscrupulous government had notoriously brought to bear on the elections, had yet the audacity to urge him to persecute the faith which he himself professed. He informed some of the leading members that no such address would be received. Next day the House rescinded the unanimous resolution of the full committee, and substituted a declaration of their entire reliance on his majesty's promise "to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as it is now by law established," which, they added, was "dearer to them than life itself."

News now reached London that the duke of Monmouth had landed on the coast of Dorset at the head of an armed force. This event eclipsed all other parliamentary business in the brief remainder of the session. The only transaction of interest in the Lords was the rescinding of the order which they had made in 1679 on the impeachment of some members of their order by the Commons. Their earlier decision settled that a dissolution did not set aside a pending impeachment. Their later decision reversed this rule; and thus Danby and the older peers, who had suffered a long imprisonment, but had recently been released on bail, at length obtained their final discharge. The reversal of Stafford's attainder, on the ground that his innocence was established by the proved perjury of Oates, was also passed in the Upper House; but its passage through the Commons was suddenly arrested by the events of the west-country insurrection. An act of attainder against Monmouth was carried through both Houses in a single day, and received the royal assent; the Commons voted additional supplies to meet the extraordinary expenditure on military operations, and parliament was prorogued from 2nd of July to the following November.

The numerous English and Scottish exiles resident in Holland flattered themselves with delusive hopes that the accession of James offered the opportunity of raising such a revolt as had been planned by Shaftesbury and the Whig leaders, but was nipped in the bud by the discovery of the Rye House plot. Hot-headed enthusiasts at home exaggerated the discontents occasioned by the king's measures in furtherance of the Romish Church and the control exercised by the court in the elections. These blind leaders of the blind represented that the oppressed people only awaited the arrival of their banished leaders to rise in vindication of the religion and laws which were already largely violated, and would soon be utterly set at nought by a popish and arbitrary king. Neither Monmouth nor Argyle needed much persuasion before they yielded their assent to the proposal that they should each head those of their countrymen, then assembled in Amsterdam, who were eager to try the chance of insurrection in their native land. Argyle and Monmouth arranged that their expeditions should be as nearly as possible simultaneous; the former to lead the Scottish refugees, and to effect a landing among his own retainers in Argyleshire; and the latter, at the head of the English adventurers, to make a descent on the Dorset coast. Argyle's expedition numbered about three hundred men at the time of quitting the Dutch shores. They started on the 2nd of May, and Monmouth promised to set sail on his shorter voyage six days later. In order to keep up a good understanding between the two expeditions, the Scots were accompanied by Ayloffe the lawyer and Rumbold the maltster, two Englishmen who had been engaged in the Rye House plot; and the English refugees took with them two Scots: Ferguson, also of Rye House notoriety, and Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of great ability but of eccentric views in politics. James was fully aware of the double scheme of invasion, and his envoy called upon the government of the Hague to interpose and prevent the departure of the hostile expeditions. But such was the division of authority and responsibility among the Dutch functionaries that their dilatory and conflicting procedure, if not actual connivance, enabled each batch of exiles to elude the feeble attempts to stop them. Argyle effected a landing in Lorn, but finding that the leading men in that locality had been seized as hostages by the government, he moved on to Campbelltown, where he issued a manifesto, setting forth as the main objects of the expedition the suppression of popery and prelacy and the dethronement of the persecuting tyrant who then filled the throne. The fiery cross was sent through all the wild hill country and secluded glens over which his hereditary jurisdiction extended, and about two thousand of the vassals of his house responded to the call. But the government had prepared so thoroughly for his reception that the mad enterprise rapidly lost all gleam of hope. The clans hostile to the Campbells were mustered in and about Inverary, and all doubtful or disaffected persons were secured. Large bodies of regulars and militia occupied the western lowlands and overawed the Covenanters. Ships of war were sent to cruise off the isle of Bute and the adjacent coasts on each shore of the Clyde. Argyle was for clearing his own territory of the hostile clans before attempting to meet the forces of the government in the lowlands. But among the refugees who accompanied him from Holland were men not to be controlled by the opinion of their leader. Dissensions soon became rife: the force was for a time divided, Hume and Cochrane taking a part over to Greenock—then a mere fishing village—where they made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the population in the vicinity. The severities of the government, the presence of the military in all the disaffected districts, and the want of unity of aim among the malcontents of the western lowlands, kept the people south of the Clyde quiescent; so Cochrane and his band rejoined their leader at Bute. Meanwhile the king's cruisers had picked their way among the rocks and shallows to the castle of Ealan Ghierig, at the mouth of Loch Riddan, and overpowered the small force which Argyle had left there for the protection of his ships and military stores and equipments. Fresh dissensions followed upon this disaster, and as the supplies of food were exhausted, the Highlanders deserted by hundreds. Argyle now made a desperate push with his diminished force for Glasgow; but fresh discouragements and obstacles drove his men away from his standard in shoals, and by the time he reached Kilpatrick his remaining followers were so few as to leave no hope for success in an encounter with the military who were hemming them in. The band dispersed, and many of them, including Argyle, were soon picked up by the militia. The earl was not brought to trial, but beheaded in pursuance of the judgment pronounced against him in 1681. His two sons who had shared with him the danger of the enterprise were simply banished: Ayloffe and Rumbold were executed; the latter on the day of his trial, because he was sinking under the wounds sustained in resisting his captors. Cochrane was sent to London, where he made some confessions to the king, in return for which he was rewarded with a pardon.

Monmouth failed to keep his time; instead of quitting the Texel six days after Argyle's departure, he delayed his start till the end of May. About fourscore English exiles bearing arms, and as many servants, followed his fortunes. He carried arms and accoutrements for some four or five thousand men. Several frigates were on the look out, eager to snap up his insignificant armament, but bad weather drove the cruisers off their ground, and he succeeded in landing at Lyme, on the Dorset coast, on the 11th of June. The mayor and Tory gentry fled at his approach, but the mass of the commonalty received him with acclamations. His standard was set up at the market-cross, and one of his party read to the assembled crowd a manifesto, bearing the name of "The declaration of James, duke of Monmouth, and the noblemen, gentlemen, and commons, now in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion, and vindication of the laws, rights, and privileges of England from the invasion made upon them, and for delivering the nation from the usurpation and tyranny of James, duke of York."

All the recent abuses of government were set forth in their worst colours, and with them were intermingled the wildest and most reckless extravagances. James was pelted with a storm of the blackest epithets—such as tyrant, usurper, murderer, bloody and mortal enemy; he was declared to have burned down London, strangled Godfrey, cut the throat of Essex, and poisoned his brother. The bitter medley concluded with an invitation to all patriots and Protestants to flock to the standard of Monmouth, and not to lay down their arms until the usurper and traitor had been brought to condign punishment. The promised fruits of victory were toleration for all Protestant sects; the revival of the forfeited charters; annual parliaments, with limitation on the power of proroguing and dissolving them; the militia to be at the disposal of sheriffs; the sheriffs to be chosen by the freeholders. Monmouth was declared to be the legitimate son of the late king, but waiving his claims on that score, he left the settlement of the new form of government to the wisdom of a free parliament. The gentry held aloof, but the yeomanry and peasantry came forward in crowds to take service under one whom in earlier years they had been taught to regard as the rightful heir, whose claims were set aside on account of his Protestantism. The horsemen were placed under the command of Lord Grey. On the 14th of June he was ordered to disperse the militia, who began to assemble at Bridport, six miles distant. A disorderly and confused fight took place in the streets; neither side suffered much loss, but Grey's raw recruits fled before the equally raw militiamen. On the following day the rebels moved on to Axminster, where the duke of Albemarle, with the militia under his command, made some faint demonstrations against them; but so little reliance had he on the fidelity of his men, that he thought it prudent to fall back towards Exeter.

Monmouth now moved on to Taunton, one of the staunchest seats of Puritanism, where he was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Supplies in profusion were freely placed at his disposal; shouts of welcome greeted him wherever he moved; ladies wove colours and emblems for his regiments; and a procession of young girls of the best families in the town waited upon him to present a flag, on which emblems of regal dignity were embroidered.

The leader of this train of maidens offered a costly Bible, which Monmouth accepted with a show of pious reverence, telling the deputation he came to defend the truths contained in that holy book, and, if it must be, to seal them with his blood. He now yielded a too ready consent to the counsels of Ferguson and Lord Grey, and was persuaded that his assumption of the regal dignity would bring to his standard the gentry and nobility who everywhere held aloof. He was accordingly proclaimed as the rightful king, under the same title as his uncle, James II., in the market-place at Taunton, on June 20th. On the following day the insurgents, now six thousand in number, marched to Bridgewater, where the mayor and aldermen, in their robes of office, received them with all honour, proclaimed Monmouth king at the market-cross, placed the castle at his disposal, and furnished abundant supplies of food for his followers. The cavalry now numbered about a thousand, but they were ill-armed and worse drilled. The infantry were divided into six regiments. Among them were some hundreds of militiamen still wearing their uniforms, but large numbers of them had no other arms than their implements of husbandry, among which scythes fixed on long poles were the most formidable. Meanwhile, the government was not idle. Albemarle, with the Devonshire militia, hung upon Monmouth's rear; the duke of Beaufort collected a similar force at Bristol; Wilts, Sussex, and Oxford also furnished contingents of the same description.

The regular forces also were fast gathering in the vicinity of Monmouth's army. Churchill was already in the west with the guards, and Feversham was following close behind with all the infantry that could be spared from the capital, where precautionary measures were adopted in the vague expectation of a rising. Monmouth moved onwards through Glastonbury, Wells, and Shepton Mallet, with the intention of taking Bristol, where he expected to gain large accessions to his forces. But by this time Bristol was occupied by a force too formidable for the insurgents. They next made an unsuccessful attempt on Bath, and in its neighbourhood repelled an attack of Feversham's advanced guard, under command of the duke of Grafton, one of Monmouth's half brothers. From Bath they moved to Frome, still anxiously looking out for the help that never came from the landed gentry. Then they passed a second time through Wells, taking the lead from the cathedral roof to make into bullets, and returned on July 2nd to Bridgewater, nowise encouraged by the events of the ten days' circuit they had made in the northern half of Somerset. The king's forces, to the number of four thousand of all arms, were now close at hand. On Sunday, July 5th, Monmouth took a view of them from the steeple of Bridgewater Church, whence they were plainly discernible in their scattered encampments on Sedgemoor, occupying the little hamlets of Weston Zoyland, Chedzoy, and Middlezoy. His heart had already failed him. He had talked of flight the day before. But flight was not easy, for his enemies inclosed him, and his advisers were still hopeful that his cause would prosper if he came off victor in the first encounter with a considerable body of the royal forces. He saw that if he remained at Bridgewater he would be shut in and attacked within a day or two. He resolved to take the initiative and to attempt a surprise of Feversham's army that very night. At eleven o'clock his forces were put in motion, the cavalry under Lord Grey taking the lead, and Monmouth heading the infantry. At one in the morning of the 6th, while threading their way cautiously across the open moor under cover of a dense marsh mist, Grey's foremost troop came in contact with a picket of the horse guards, who fired their carbines, and rapidly retired to give the alarm. The moor or marsh was intersected, as it still is, by a series of deep and broad ditches, crossed at long intervals by causeways. The rebel army had now passed two of these, and their guides were confident that no other remained in the space between them and their enemy. Monmouth was just arranging his men for a dash upon the foe, whom he still expected to take by surprise, when his cavalry were brought to a sudden halt by a third ditch. While they were galloping along the bank, looking for the causeway across, they were suddenly saluted with a volley of musketry from the opposite bank, where the foot guards were now drawn up in order of battle. Grey's undisciplined troopers were thrown into hopeless confusion by this musketry fire, and fled in pell-mell confusion. At this moment Monmouth brought up his infantry, who spread along the bank of the ditch, and exchanged a brisk fire with the regulars on the other side for nearly an hour. At the earliest streak of dawn the life guards and blues came galloping into the scene of action. Their first charge scattered a body of horse that Grey had tardily rallied, and sent them flying in headlong rout from the field. Monmouth's rear-guard shared the panic of his fugitive cavalry and fled, taking with them the ammunition, of which he was in sore need. More and more of the royal forces quickly came into line, and Monmouth's practised eye was not slow to discover that the day was irretrievably lost. He now consulted his own safety by flight, without attempting to draw off his brave rustic volunteers from the unequal strife. His men, unaware of his base desertion, fought stubbornly while their ammunition lasted, and, even when it was all gone, they prolonged the fight in a hand-to-hand encounter, using the butt ends of their muskets, pitchforks, and scythes, with effect. But they had now lost all the advantage with which darkness favoured their first unexpected onslaught. As soon as daylight had fairly set in, the royal artillery played on them, and broke their ranks; then cavalry charges on both flanks increased their confusion, and the royal infantry swarmed across the ditch, and plied them with more volleys of musketry as they withdrew. More than a thousand of them fell in the fight, and as many were made prisoners. Three hundred of the royal forces lay dead on the field. By four in the morning the streets of Bridgewater were thronged with a rush of fugitives, who were closely followed by the pursuing cavalry. The chase for flying rebels continued through the day over all the neighbouring country. Feversham made a cruel use of his easy victory. Some prisoners were hung a few hours after the fight in the hamlets where the royal army lay; more than a score suffered the like fate next day, on gibbets hastily erected along the highway between Weston Zoyland and Bridgewater. Colonel Kirke, who remained in charge of a detachment of the military when his commander returned to London, imitated, and even exceeded, the lawless violence of the earlier military executions. An entry in the parish register of Taunton records the death and interment of nine of Kirke's prisoners, executed by his orders without any form of trial, on the third day after the battle. But these must have been cases of special indulgence; the decencies of regular interment were denied to scores of miserable victims, whose corpses were left suspended in chains. Bridgewater was the scene of similar atrocities. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who lent his carriage horses to draw the cumbrous royal artillery into action at the fight at Sedgemoor, was indefatigable in his efforts to stop these butcheries. He boldly expostulated with Feversham against the barbarous illegality of the first day's executions, for which the excitement of battle afforded some palliation. "My lord," said the good bishop, "this is murder in law. These poor wretches, now the battle is over, must be tried before they can be put to death." Ken sent full accounts to the king of Kirke's savagery, little knowing how fully a royal warrant covered the largest measure of cruelty which the king's officers might think proper to exercise. On July 14th Sunderland conveyed the king's instructions to Kirke, "to secure such of his prisoners as had not been executed, in order for trial;" and a week later he added that his majesty was very well satisfied with Kirke's management of the rebels.

Monmouth, accompanied by Lord Grey and a German officer, made for the New Forest, hoping to find covert there until means could be devised for an escape over to the Continent. They rode from earliest dawn till late in the afternoon, through byways and across heaths and downs, shunning towns and villages. At Cranbourne Chase they turned their jaded steeds adrift, procured rustic disguises, and continued their journey towards the New Forest on foot. They slept that night among the growing crops. At five next morning some scouts from the Sussex militia, whose head-quarters were then at Ringwood, stopped Lord Grey as he was coming out of a field of oats. As soon as the rank of their prisoners was discovered, a large body of horse and foot was set on search among the crops and other cover for miles around. The reward of 5,000*l.* offered by government for the capture of Monmouth stimulated the zeal of the militiamen, some of whom, under Lord Portman, found the German at sunrise next morning. The search was now redoubled, and soon the duke was found hidden in a ditch, under a covering of ferns, and in the dress of a shepherd. His conduct as a prisoner awaiting his doom was as contemptible as his cowardly desertion of his deluded followers in the fatal field of Sedgemoor. In a letter to the king he laid the blame of his treason on the "false and horrid" counsels of wicked conspirators who had seduced him from his allegiance. He expressed intense remorse for his crime, and in the most abject terms of self-abasement implored the compassion of his unforgiving uncle. Under pretence that he had a momentous secret to reveal, a secret which lay in a single word which he could not commit to paper, but which when spoken would shield the throne from a great danger, he implored an interview with the king. The boon was granted. He was taken from Ringwood to Whitehall under a strong escort of horse and foot, and with his arms pinioned was led into the royal presence. Prostrating himself at the king's feet, he begged piteously for life on any terms. He threw the blame of his rebellion on Argyle and "that bloody villain Ferguson," who had drawn him into the fatal error. His great secret, if he had one, has never transpired. His supplications for mercy were met with a cold expression of the king's sorrow for the misery and ruin which he had brought upon himself, and he was told to prepare for death on the day after the morrow, in pursuance of the sentence of attainder already passed upon him. The king ordered Grey also to be brought before him. That nobleman behaved with a modest dignity that extorted the respect and admiration of James and the secretaries of state who were present. He offered no excuses, blamed nobody for his crime, owned that he had no grounds to expect mercy, and asked none. He and the duke were then conveyed to the Tower.

For the last two years of his life Monmouth had been living with Lady Harriet Wentworth, justifying his infidelity to his wife on the specious plea that his marriage contract dated from too early a period of life to be binding upon the conscience of either of the parties to it. The injured duchess visited him in the Tower, taking his children with her. He betrayed little emotion, and resisted the most earnest expostulations of several bishops who tried to draw from him a confession of the sinfulness of his adulterous connection with Lady Wentworth. He was equally stubborn in his refusal to admit the obligation of passive obedience and non-resistance. The bishops refused to administer the sacrament while he held these opinions, but he nevertheless persisted in them to the end. At his request his spiritual advisers accompanied him to the scaffold. They repeated their exhortations, but without avail. He was beheaded at the usual spot on Tower Hill on the morning of July 15th, 1685, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

The excesses committed by Kirke, and approved by the king, were dwarfed into comparative insignificance by the wholesale tragedies which were soon afterwards enacted in the name of law and justice. The jails of the western counties were thronged with prisoners implicated in the rebellion, either as principals or accessories. A special commission, with Jeffreys at its head, was sent in the last week of August, under a strong military escort, and armed with extraordinary powers, to try these prisoners. The Winchester assize came first; it included one case remotely connected with the rebellion. Alice Lisle, widow of one of the judges who presided at the trial of Charles I., had given shelter and food for one night to two fugitives from Sedgemoor. On the evidence before them the jury were not satisfied that the prisoner knew the fugitives to have been engaged in the rebellion. Their hesitation was again and again rebuked by the chief justice with such fierce invectives that the terrified jurymen at length agreed in a verdict of guilty. Under an old statute that had slumbered for ages in desuetude, a female traitor was liable to the punishment of burning alive in lieu of dismemberment. Jeffreys condemned this aged lady to that awful doom, and gave orders that the sentence should be carried into effect that very day. But public sentiment in this instance proved too powerful for even the brutal Judge Jeffreys. The clergy of Winchester gave expression to the feeling of society at large; their representations could not be slighted with impunity; the chief justice consented to a respite for five days. Ladies of rank joined in an urgent appeal to the king; his own brother-in-law, Clarendon, and his victorious general, Feversham, seconded the efforts of the petitioners. Their efforts failed to move the king to mercy except to the extent of commuting the revolting sentence of burning alive into simple beheading on the block. Alice Lisle bore her fate with pious resignation and courage. On the day after her death the commission moved on to Dorchester, where three hundred and twenty were arraigned on the capital charge of treason. Out of the first batch of thirty-five who pleaded not guilty, six were acquitted; the twenty-nine against whom the verdict of guilty was brought in were ordered away to instant execution, with the express purpose of terrifying the others into confession, which they were told was the only road to more merciful treatment. Few ventured to claim the benefit of a jury in the face of such an awful warning. Eighty suffered death at Dorchester within a few days, and the capital sentence was recorded against more than two hundred others, who were reserved for a fate hardly so merciful. The bloody assize then moved on to Exeter, and thence to Taunton and Wells. In each of these cities the same horrors were enacted. Only six days were given to the trial of more than a thousand prisoners in Somerset; but such was the horror and dismay spread through the ranks of the accused by the fate of the few who pleaded not guilty, that shoals of them sought to propitiate the diabolical wrath of their judge by a prompt confession of guilt, which spared him the trouble of hearing evidence. But submission offered only a very slender chance of escape. The names of two hundred and thirty executed at Taunton, Wells, and neighbouring places are preserved.

There is much ground for the statements contained in local histories which aver that the number is far below the actual total of the victims hanged, drawn, and quartered in the thirty-six towns and villages of Somerset selected for the ghastly spectacle. Oldmixon, an eye-witness of the horrors he describes, informs posterity that "the country for seventy miles, from Bristol to Exeter, had a new and terrible sort of sign-posts—gibbets, heads, and quarters of its inhabitants." The "History of the Bloody Assize" goes fully into the horrifying details. One brief extract must here suffice as a sample: "Nothing could be liker hell than these parts; caldrons hissing, carcases boiling, pitch and tar sparkling and glowing, bloody limbs boiling, and tearing, and mangling." Each village green, market-place, church-porch, and court-house was garnished with the mangled remains of sufferers. The stricken district was aptly called an Aceldama: "all the high-roads of the country were no longer to be travelled while the horrors of so many quarters of men and the offensive stench of them lasted." (Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs.) Some writers, Burnet among them, estimate the total number of victims of these horrors at six hundred; other accounts say seven hundred. The Treasury letter-book for 1685 contains the names of three hundred and twenty who were included in the lists sent up by the chief justice of persons who suffered death. Nearly a thousand transported, not, as in more humane times, to penal settlements under the control of officers responsible to their country, but as slaves to planters in tropical climates, doomed to a service in which no white man can long survive. They were given away in gangs to greedy courtiers and sycophants to sell in the slave marts of the West Indies. Two hundred of them perished under the horrors of their passage, and so escaped the worse fate of the survivors. Among the milder sentences of the infuriated judge on prisoners against whom the charge of treason could not be sustained, but who were convicted of misdemeanours, were ruinous fines for the rich, and imprisonments with scourgings of unheard-of severity for the poor. One lad was condemned to seven years' imprisonment, with whippings each year at the cart-tail through all the market-towns of Dorset. A woman, for a few idle words, was sentenced to scourgings through the same extensive circuit. A gentleman named Prideaux, whose father had been high in office under the Protector, was kept long in jail on a flimsy charge of being well affected towards the rebels. No evidence could be brought forward, but so strong was his well-grounded fear of the gibbet that he was glad to purchase his release by a payment of fifteen thousand pounds. With this fine Jeffreys bought an estate, on which the accursed name of Aceldama was bestowed by the multitude. The queen and the maids of honour sullied their fair fame by joining in the eager scramble of the courtiers for a share in the profits from this traffic in Englishmen, and in the plunder extorted as the price of pardons. A hundred of the convicts fell to the share of her majesty, who sold her white slaves to West India traders for exportation to the sugar plantations. Her gentlewomen obtained a royal warrant to extract the best price they could get for pardons in behalf of the troop of little maidens who presented the embroidered flag to Monmouth. Penn the Quaker acted the part of broker for the high-born ladies in settling the fines to be taken on account of these juvenile offenders.

Most of the ringleaders in the rebellion were spared, but the clemency extended to them reflects no honour on the king or his advisers. Grey escaped by giving a bond for forty thousand pounds to the king's brother-in-law, Rochester, and smaller bribes to other courtiers. Cochrane, who held high command under Argyle, was pardoned at the urgent entreaty of the priests of the royal household, to whom a douceur of five thousand pounds was paid beforehand for their intercession. Wade, Goodenough, and Ferguson, all deeply implicated in the Rye House plot, and conspicuous for the parts they played in the western insurrection, were spared for the help they could contribute towards the ruin of wealthier participators in movements which they had organized.

The butcheries in the west were followed by several executions in London of persons accused of harbouring rebels. Cornish, ex-sheriff of London, was hung in front of his own residence on a charge of complicity in the Rye House plot. On similar charges some persons of rank were prosecuted, but were permitted to condone their offence and redeem their lives by the payment of heavy fines.

Jeffreys was rewarded for his ruthless havoc among misguided peasants by the highest marks of his sovereign's esteem and gratitude. Far from compassionating the hecatombs of victims immolated by his bloodthirsty chief justice, the king exulted and gloated over the hideous despatches in which Jeffreys had conveyed to him daily reports of his doings on the western circuit. In letters to his son-in-law at the Hague, and in conversations with the ambassadors of foreign courts, James indulged in indecent boastings of the triumphs achieved over his enemies in what he called, with grim facetiousness, his lord chief justice's campaign in the west. He received Jeffreys with every mark of consideration immediately after the bloody assize, placed the great seal in his hands, and recorded in the next Gazette that the new lord chancellor's eminent and faithful public services had well merited the dignity to which he was now advanced. A few years later, when the bitterness of death was upon this evil judge, and he was in momentary expectation of his own summons before the bar of final judgment, he told Dr. Scott, the divine who attended him in the Tower in his last moments, "Whatever I did then, I did by express orders; and I have this further to say for myself, that I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither."

The completeness and ease with which James suppressed the two formidable insurrections that disturbed the opening year of his reign, encouraged him to underrate and despise the opposition of his subjects in most of the subsequent events of his brief career as a sovereign. A fatal security in his power of overawing or crushing the opponents of his government led him into a rapid succession of arbitrary acts that sapped the foundation of his throne.

At his accession the permanent military force amounted to six thousand only, of all arms. This had been increased to twenty thousand, with the sanction of parliament, to meet the emergency of an almost simultaneous rebellion in Scotland and England. Commissions were given with a lavish hand in the newly-levied regiments to Roman Catholics, and the Test Act was set aside in their favour. James now decided to keep up the army at its greatly augmented strength, and to procure such a modification of the Test Act as would allow of the unrestricted employment of his co-religionists in the military and naval services. The Habeas Corpus Act had proved an impediment to the action of the government in its recent high-handed dealings. James chafed angrily under the curb of this new restraint on the prerogative of the crown, and flattered himself that his new-modelled parliament would readily gratify his resolve to break through it. Halifax met these projects of his master with so much disfavour that he was summarily dismissed from office before the commencement of the November session. James composed and read from the throne his own speech to the two Houses. He dwelt on the inefficiency of the militia, as proved by the ease with which Monmouth moved without any serious check from Lyme to Bristol. A standing army, he added, was indispensable for the security of the country at home, and the maintenance of its influence and honour abroad. He had already provided such a force, and he relied on his parliament to furnish supplies for its maintenance. Among the officers were men who had not taken the test, but he had proved them to be fit for public trust, and was resolved not to part with them. No parliament had ever been so timid, submissive, and superstitiously loyal as that to which this dictatorial royal speech was addressed. Eleven-twelfths of the members were stanch Tories, and very many of them were needy dependants of the court, possessed of no property, who owed their seats to that remodelling of the charters of the corporate towns which gave to the crown an overwhelming influence in the elections. But there were also in that assembly large numbers of Tory gentlemen, who with their ardent loyalty to the king combined an inextinguishable jealousy of standing armies and a dread of popery, which forbade their acceptance of the royal programme. These feelings found expression in lengthy, but guarded debates on the king's speech.

The resolution passed on the question of supply was accompanied with an address to the king, urging the maintenance of the Test Act. James gave vent to his displeasure in a sharp reprimand, concluding with the threat, "however you may proceed on your part, I will be very steady in all the promises which I have made to you." On the motion that his majesty's reply should be taken into consideration, John Coke, the member for Derby, said, "I hope that we are all Englishmen, and that we shall not be frightened from our duty by a few high words." This expression produced an immediate ferment, the ministers insisting that the offender should be committed to the Tower for the insult offered to the crown. Some of the more moderate members held that a reprimand by the House would be a sufficient punishment, but the commitment was carried by a large majority. This manifestation of fervent loyalty was however followed by such resolute expressions of opposition to any tampering with the religion or liberties of the country, that James made up his mind to dispense with the services of his parliament until it could be brought into a meeker mood. His decision was hastened by the spread of opposition from the Commons to the Upper House, where the bishop of London, among others, boldly declared the belief of his order that the religion and civil constitution of the country were in danger. Viscount Mordaunt ventured on still stronger language, telling the peers that the maintenance of an army officered by papists could have no other purpose than the subversion of the laws and the establishment of arbitrary power. Halifax, Nottingham, and Anglesea followed in the same strain. The new chancellor strove in vain to overawe the Lords with the bluster and bullying tone and bearing which had borne down all before him in the courts of law. He quailed and writhed under the scornful and contemptuous rebukes with which peers of ancient lineage resented his attempts to browbeat them into submissive meekness. The king came to the rescue of his defeated and humiliated chancellor by suddenly proroguing parliament on the eleventh day of the session. He vented his anger against those who had thwarted his aims by dismissing such of them as filled offices in which the crown held the patronage. Fox was expelled from his post of paymaster-general, and the bishop of London was struck off the roll of privy councillors and deprived of the office of dean of the chapel royal. The disquiet engendered in the public mind by this breach in the good understanding between the king and his ultra-loyal parliament was heightened and intensified by the arrival of thousands of Protestant refugees from France. Louis had over and over again solemnly pledged himself to maintain the privileges of his Protestant subjects, but in the face of such professions had curtailed bit by bit the immunities secured to them by the Edict of Nantes. At length he finally revoked that charter of toleration, expelled all preachers of the reformed faith from France, and by a series of other decrees subjected the Huguenots to a fierce persecution, which drove them in crowds into exile. Many thousands of them came to London, where their sufferings were compassionated and their wants relieved by public subscriptions, in which even James felt obliged to take part at the very time when he was deeply mortified and embarrassed by their presence; for he was demanding favours for Catholics at the very moment when a neighbouring Catholic prince was oppressing his Protestant subjects beyond endurance.

The rupture between the king and his parliament was quickly followed by a wide divergence, amounting to a decided opposition, between the two parties in his cabinet, who followed respectively the leadership of the lord treasurer, Rochester, and of Sunderland, who now filled the place of lord president, in addition to his old office of secretary of state. Rochester and his brother, the earl of Clarendon, had felt their influence on the wane from the moment that the victory at Sedgemoor elated the king with an overweening confidence in his ability to quench all opposition, whether in church or state, by the force of his own determined will. But James was not yet altogether unmindful of their former services, of their relationship to him by his first marriage, and of their commanding influence with the great Tory party. They advised a speedy reconciliation with parliament, which could then have been secured by concessions to the strongly-manifested sentiment in favour of applying the test to officers in the army. They recommended the king to enter into an alliance with Spain and Holland, similar to the Triple League which had once brought back to his brother the alienated affections of the people. This, they urged, would pave the way for indulgence to his co-religionists, on the safe basis of the gratitude of a loyal and united people. The wily Sunderland, on the other hand, accommodated his counsels to James's whims and prepossessions. He allied himself with the ultra-Catholics who now thronged at court, and persuaded James that he could only be master of his own subjects while he abstained from continental entanglements that would drag him into war against France, and lay him under the obligation of keeping his parliament in good humour. Rochester was supported by the envoys of all the foreign powers except France. Even the more moderate English Catholics, represented by such men as Lords Powis and Bellasis, deemed it best, for the permanent interests of their church, to support the policy of which Rochester was the official mouthpiece. Sunderland, on the other hand, was backed by Barillon, who continued his old and efficient service of embroiling the English king with his subjects. Throughout this reign, as in the previous one, Louis never ceased from this expedient for paralysing the action of England in the affairs of the Continent. Sunderland was rewarded by a similar pension from the foreign prince whom he served so well. Louis paid in advance, and gave at times a year's payment when he was pledged for only half as much—so grateful was he for the English lord president's help in frustrating the projected coalition. Talbot, Jermyn, Petre, and Lord Arundel, men whose zeal greatly outstripped their discretion, were now high in the confidence of the king, and Sunderland spared no pains to cultivate their good graces. Roger Palmer, who was indebted to his wife's dishonour for his earldom of Castelmaine, was another member of this influential junto. Jeffreys sided with them, not out of attachment to their policy, but because he was resolved to run no risk of quarrelling with the king. Conversions to the ancient faith now became fashionable at court. Sunderland, among others, declared himself a Catholic, but he reserved the public avowal of his conversion for another occasion. But Catherine Sedley, who had displaced Arabella Churchill in James's regards, resisted the contagion of fashionable example in the matter of conversion, and occasioned no small commotion at court by her objectionable Protestantism. Sunderland and his new allies lent all possible encouragement to the queen's resentment against the reigning mistress, while Rochester and his party favoured her to the utmost, and induced the king to confer on her the dignity of countess of Dorchester. But Mary of Modena had none of the meek and submissive temper of Catherine, the late king's consort. She stormed so vigorously at the scandalous behaviour of her husband, that James was fain to expel Sedley from her apartments at Whitehall. He gave her a handsome pension and a splendid establishment, and eventually prevailed on her to go and reside in Ireland. This expulsion of Sedley was a great triumph to the Catholic party, who dreaded the influence which Rochester seemed likely to establish through the medium of the king's Protestant mistress. In the meantime James was advancing with rapid strides in a course the very reverse of that to which he had pledged himself at the opening of his reign. Instead of carrying out his promise "to preserve the government, both in church and state, as by law established," James now gave his whole heart to the elaboration of means for the overthrow of both. Rochester lost all influence in the government; Sunderland, and the secret conclave of Romanists, directed the counsels of their infatuated sovereign, or lent their willing aid to all his attacks on the constitution in church and state. Castelmaine was sent on an ostentatious embassy to Rome: the pope's ambassador had previously been established at the English court.

The dispensing power of the crown had received a rude shock in the middle of the previous reign. The vigorous protest of the Commons against Charles's Declaration of Indulgence resulted in the cancelling of that document, and an express promise from Charles that what had been done on that occasion should never be drawn into a precedent. James now decided to revive the pretension which his brother had solemnly relinquished. He took counsel with the judges as to the best means of recovering a power which would enable him to relieve Catholics from all the civil and religious disabilities which the laws laid upon them. Servile as the judicial bench then was, it included several men who, from a lingering respect for the dignity of their office, or from a wholesome dread of the wrath of the Commons in the next session, refused to co-operate in the project. Among these was Jones, chief justice of the Common Pleas. The king told him he was resolved to have twelve judges of his own mind in this matter, and gave him the choice of relinquishing his place or his opinion. Jones answered with becoming dignity, "For my place I care little. I am old and worn out in the service of the crown. But I am mortified to find your majesty thinks me capable of giving a judgment which none but an ignorant or a dishonest man could give. Your majesty may find twelve judges of your mind, but hardly twelve lawyers." He and three others gave place to more obsequious slaves of arbitrary power. Finch, the solicitor-general, was also summarily dismissed for declining to defend the dispensing power. Sawyer, the attorney-general, was ordered to prepare warrants, under which church livings in the gift of the crown were to be conferred on Romanists. He, too, ventured to remonstrate, reminding the king of his recent promise to uphold the Church of England, and adding that such warrants would involve a violation of the whole of the statute law affecting the Established Church from the reign of Elizabeth onwards. He soon afterwards paid the same penalty as the refractory judges.

Patents under the great seal had been given to Catholics holding commissions in the army, exempting them from the penalties of the Test Act, "any clause in any act of parliament notwithstanding." James now decided to have a case brought before his reorganized judicial bench, in order to affirm the validity of his dispensing power as exercised in these patents. Under instructions of the courtly lawyers, a coachman brought an action against his master, Sir Edward Hales, who held a colonel's commission. The coachman charged his master with a breach of the Test Act, and sued for the penalty of five hundred pounds. The facts were admitted by the defendant, who claimed exemption from the penalty on the strength of the dispensation he held under the great seal. The presiding judge took the opinion of his brethren, ten of whom agreed with him in affirming that the king might lawfully dispense with penal statutes in particular cases, of the merits of which he was entitled by his prerogative to be sole judge. This high power was claimed by Herbert, who delivered the judgment, as "the ancient remains of the sovereign prerogative, which never yet was taken, nor can be taken, from the kings of this realm." The single dissentient from this decision was Baron Street, notorious as a corrupt and unscrupulous creature of the court, of disreputable morals and dissolute habits. He played his part under the direction of his royal master, who aimed to give an air of independence to the bench by the circumstance that it was not entirely, though very nearly, unanimous in a judgment of such momentous import. James lost no time in turning to account the decision which made him master of the law. Four Catholics were forthwith sworn into his privy council. Some clergymen of the Church of England who had professed conversion to the ancient faith were authorized by royal warrants to continue in the enjoyment of the emoluments of their benefices. Massey, a Roman Catholic, was appointed by virtue of the dispensing power to the deanery of Christchurch, Oxford. The full rites of the Church of Rome were publicly performed under the same royal protection in several of the colleges at that ancient seat of learning and orthodoxy. A Jesuit was established there as a chaplain. A press was started which made open war on Protestantism under the safeguard of a royal license. This was a severe ordeal for the established clergy, who had previously received a royal mandate charging them to abstain in their sermons from controverted points of doctrine. Some of them already found their favourite dogma of passive obedience a most galling restraint. To a few it had become a burden too heavy to be borne. Sherlock, master of the Temple, and Sharp, rector of St. Giles in the Fields, dwelt in their discourses from the pulpit on topics forbidden by the Catholic king. Sherlock was summarily dismissed, and deprived of the pension which had been conferred on him for writings in vindication of the royal authority in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. The bishop of London was desired to suspend Sharp from the exercise of his spiritual functions until the king's further pleasure against the delinquent clergyman should be declared. The bishop had already felt the hostility of the court for his speech in parliament; but he was not yet subdued to the practice of passive obedience, however much he may have approved that doctrine as a speculative theory. He declined to punish Sharp without any form of trial. This incensed the royal wrath against the bishop to a most extravagant pitch. A new court of ecclesiastical commission, the exact counterpart of the obnoxious court from which the Long Parliament had emancipated the nation, was now established, with Jeffreys at its head. The first work of this court was to suspend the bold bishop who had ventured to think it lawful to decline compliance with the king's wish. Archbishop Sancroft was nominated as one of the seven members of this court. He excused himself from attending on the plea of failing health. The king saw through the flimsy pretext of the timid primate, and erased his name from the list of privy councillors. Before the close of the second year of this reign a colony of Benedictine monks was installed in St. James's Palace; Carmelites were established in the city; Franciscans in Lincoln's Inn Fields; Augustinians in the old cloister of St. John, Clerkenwell; and the Jesuits opened a church and a school in the Savoy. Monastic and conventual garbs, cowls and hoods, hempen girdles and strings of beads, arrested the gaze of the astonished Londoners in all their leading thoroughfares. The provincial towns were startled by representative bodies from foreign communities of the same religious orders. The popular excitement caused by this sudden invasion of monks and priests expressed itself in rude fashion in some places. The military were called out to disperse a mob of anti-papal rioters at Bristol. At Worcester and Coventry the services in the Roman Catholic chapels were interrupted by angry visitors, who had been taught to regard images and crucifixes, incense and the host, as adjuncts of an idolatrous worship. The very heart of London became the scene of fierce commotion, which seriously hindered trade. Lime Street chapel and a mass-house in Cheapside were frequently beset by crowds, who were with difficulty restrained from demolishing the obnoxious buildings. The civic authorities called out the train-bands to keep the peace, but murmurs from the ranks proclaimed that this force could not be relied upon to fight in such a cause. James now formed an encampment on Hounslow Heath, where he assembled an army of sixteen thousand men, and occupied himself in reviews and military evolutions. It was notorious that this movement was a menace against the capital; but crowds of holiday-makers thronged the camp every day, mingled among the soldiers in their tents, and were soon so much at home with them that a strong mutual good-will grew up, of which the king had afterwards much cause to repent. The quiet of the camp was frequently disturbed by disputes between indiscreet converts to Romanism and over-zealous Protestants. A clergyman of the Establishment, named Samuel Johnson, who had formerly filled the post of chaplain to Lord Russell, and was now undergoing an imprisonment for writing against the fashionable doctrine of non-resistance, issued anonymously and secretly an address, which was circulated among the Protestants in the army. The tract contained a vehement exhortation to the patriotism of the soldiers, urging them to fight rather for the Bible, the great charter, and the petition of right, than for the mass-book. A fellow-prisoner named Speke, who had urged Johnson to the task, had the baseness to divulge the secret. The tract was pronounced libellous and seditious; its author was degraded from his clerical order, placed in the pillory, and publicly whipped through London.

Several leading members of government in the northern kingdom embraced the religion of their sovereign, and like their English prototype, Sunderland, were rewarded for their base apostacy by a rapid advancement over the heads of their more scrupulous rivals. Perth, the chancellor, set up a popish chapel in his own house in Edinburgh. A mob attacked the house, and serious riots ensued, in the suppression of which several lives were lost.

The Scottish parliament had been, for a quarter of a century, so completely under command, that James indulged a confident expectation of securing its accustomed submission to his wishes in those particulars in which the parliament at Westminster had proved refractory. The session was opened at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1686. A letter from the king signified his wish that an act should be passed to exempt Roman Catholics from all penalties and disabilities laid upon them by many statutes. The debates on this proposal soon proved how utterly hopeless was the chance that government could command a majority for any such measure. The parliament was thereupon angrily dismissed, and the irritated king proceeded at once to show his contempt for the laws which he had failed to abrogate by constitutional methods. He issued a mandate requiring all the Scottish law courts to regard the statutes against Papists as null and void. He dismissed many high functionaries from their posts, and appointed Papists to succeed them. The corporate bodies throughout the kingdom were dissolved, and the king made appointments at his pleasure to the principal municipal offices.

Ireland was in like manner suddenly and completely revolutionized. Tyrconnel, general of the forces, was entrusted with powers which gave him the control of all parts of the administration. Clarendon was dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy for giving only a lukewarm and perfunctory support to the new policy of his master, and Tyrconnel, under the title of lord deputy, became viceroy in his stead. He dismissed Englishmen and Protestants from all civil and military employments, and filled their places with Catholics of the native race. Several thousands of soldiers were cashiered in a few weeks for no other reason than that they were Protestants and of English race. To undo the work of all the sovereigns and statesmen from the days of Elizabeth, to raise the Celt and to ruin the Saxon, to reverse all the relations of the ruling and the conquered races, to depress the Protestant Church and to exalt the Church of Rome—such were the headlong and daring projects entrusted to the new viceroy of Ireland. He had sought the work, and was indeed the inspirer of the policy which he was to carry into effect. He aimed at more than James, with all his love of arbitrary rule and devotion to the ancient faith, could be persuaded to sanction. He made strenuous attempts to gain authority to reverse the Act of Settlement passed at the beginning of the previous reign, under which the ownership of the soil was fixed. Every lawsuit bearing on tenure of landed property which sprang up during Tyrconnel's administration between English proprietors and representatives of earlier Irish owners was decided in favour of the latter. No redress could be obtained from Irish sheriffs, juries, and judges, when the prosecutor was of Saxon and the criminal of Celtic race. Fifteen hundred families abandoned their homes and sought refuge in England to escape the reign of terror which followed Clarendon's recall. Tyrconnel was characterized by one of the leaders of his party as fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms.

Rochester clung to office long after he had ceased to influence the counsels of his sovereign. But his presence in the cabinet proved a hindrance to some of the infatuated schemes of the Popish party. They represented to James that his most cherished plans were always thwarted by the minister who, from his rank, ought to be foremost in promoting them. The king was very reluctant to part with his brother-in-law, and made some prolonged but fruitless attempts to convert him to Romanism, in order to be able to retain his services in the government. At length Rochester was told that he could no longer hold office unless he would adopt the religion of the king. At the opening of the year 1687 the Treasury was put in commission, and Rochester dismissed with substantial marks of the king's goodwill. The fall of their political chief spread fresh alarm and dismay throughout the Church party. He and the discarded lord-lieutenant of Ireland were uncles and the natural guardians of the two Protestant princesses who stood next in succession to the throne. They had shared with the king the adversity of his earlier years, and had been his firmest and most trusted friends through all the years of anxiety and peril which preceded his accession. Through evil days, and in the plenitude of his power, when all his enemies were in the dust, the Hydes had been his stanchest adherents, the most faithful of his counsellors, and the most obsequious among his servants. They had gone all lengths short of abandoning their religion to retain his good graces, and yet they were cast aside. Their Protestantism outweighed, in the estimation of their bigoted master, a lifetime of benefits and services in his behalf. Their fall was ominous for all other functionaries, whether in the state or the church, who were not prepared to sell their souls to gain the smiles and favour of their prince. The churchman's favourite tenet of passive obedience was now subjected to a severe strain, but the measure of his endurance was not yet quite filled up. He took comfort in the thought that the king was no longer young, that the presumptive heiress to the throne was a Protestant, and her husband, the nearest prince of the royal blood, and the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, would share her throne. Meanwhile fresh outrages on the national faith came on in thick succession. More Papists were placed in positions of trust and dignity, and more Protestants were dismissed. The privy seal was given to Arundel; Bellasis was made first lord of the Treasury; Petre was secretly sworn of the privy council; and Jermyn, under the title of Lord Dover, became a member of the new Treasury board. James now entertained some thought of reassembling parliament, if he could be assured of a majority pledged to support his policy. To this end he adopted a system of private conferences, to which all members who had resorted to London at the usual time for the session were separately invited. Petre suggested this sort of personal canvassing, which got the name of "closetings." The usual course was for the king to urge, in familiar conversation, that the penal laws against Catholics, passed in the late reign, were really aimed against himself, and under the stigma which they affixed upon his religion he had been driven from public employments and banished from his native land. His personal honour was affronted, he said, by the mere existence of statutes pointed expressly against himself. He appealed, in a friendly yet urgent manner, to the loyalty of each member, of which no more acceptable proof could be offered than the promise to vote in the forthcoming session for the repeal of the Test Acts levelled against their sovereign. The judges on circuit were instructed to play a similar part with such members of either branch of the legislature as they might meet in the country. Members who held offices of profit were bluntly told that the king would keep no man in his service who would not pledge himself to promote in parliament the measures in behalf of the members of his religion on which his majesty had set his heart. In pursuance of this threat James dismissed Herbert, member for Dover, rear-admiral of England and master of the robes, and numerous lords and gentlemen filling high posts in the public service. But on the completion of the personal canvass it became fully apparent that a majority in both Houses would refuse compliance with the king's behest. He thereupon decided to have no session for the present. On the 18th of March, 1687, he notified to his privy council a further prorogation till the following November, and that he was determined to accomplish by his own authority a measure in which his intractable parliament would be sure to thwart him if he left the decision to them. Early in April he launched his famous Declaration of Indulgence, which was prefaced by a preamble in the lofty tone of an autocrat: "We have thought fit, by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament, when we shall think it convenient for them to meet." The declaration annulled a long series of statutes affecting Roman Catholics and dissenters; authorized them to perform their worship in chapels and meeting-houses; abrogated every act which imposed religious tests on persons filling public employments; and threatened the exercise of the royal displeasure against those who should molest any congregation of worshippers.

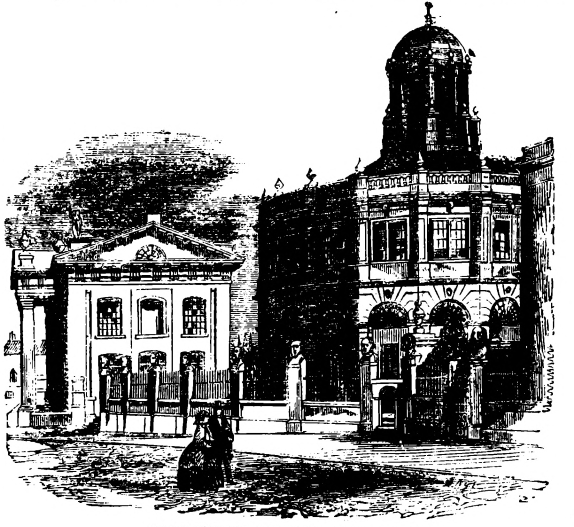
A corresponding measure for Scotland, published a few weeks earlier, exhibited still loftier pretensions: "We, by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, do hereby give and grant our royal toleration. We allow and tolerate the moderate Presbyterians to meet in their private houses, and to hear such ministers as have been or are willing to accept of our indulgence; . . . and, we by our sovereign authority and absolute power, suspend, stop, and disable, all laws or acts of parliament made or executed against any of our Roman Catholic subjects, so that they shall be free to exercise their religion, and to enjoy all: . . . and we cass, annul, and discharge all oaths by which our subjects are disabled from holding offices." The intent, as proved by his uniform practice before and after this memorable declaration, deprives James of any of the praise to which he would else be entitled as the author of a grand scheme of universal toleration. Only fifteen years earlier his brother had attempted a much less sweeping exercise of the royal prerogative; but the energetic action of parliament, in opposition to the king's assumed power over the laws, led to the most full, formal, and explicit renunciation by Charles of any such right on the part of the crown. James was minutely conversant with all the proceedings which led up to his brother's solemn promise that the step which had given such umbrage to parliament should never be drawn into a precedent. In open defiance of the teachings of the past, he had now revived the claim which he knew to be hateful to the great majority of his subjects. He was doing evil in the guise of goodness; subverting the constitution under the semblance of a virtuous purpose which all men knew to be alien to his nature; setting at nought the power of parliament, and making the will of the sovereign the fountain of all law. His despotic act alarmed and irritated the great party which had stood firmly by the throne in all the vicissitudes of the previous half-century. On the other hand, the nonconformists, who had been ground in the dust while Cavaliers and Churchmen were in the ascendant, were naturally less disposed to cavil at the means by which they had attained a sudden and unforeseen toleration, than to rejoice in the blessings of personal and religious liberty, safety from persecution, and repose after twenty years of oppression. A daring act of illegality gave freedom to hosts of earnest and pious men who were suffering for conscience sake. Their first emotion was one of gratitude to their deliverer. Addresses of joyful thankfulness were sent to the king by many a gladdened congregation. But it was only a small minority of nonconformists who expressed approval of the dispensing power which was exercised for their benefit. The more numerous bodies held aloof, despite every exertion of the adherents of the court to persuade them to send up addresses of thanks. They knew too well the precarious tenure on which religious liberty rested, and that it could only co-exist with the ruin of civil liberty, unless it were secured in a regular way. The Church at this moment entered into competition with the court in the offer of tempting terms for the alliance of the dissenters. The parochial pulpits ceased to resound with abuse of schismatics, sectaries, and fanatics. Baxter, and Howe, and Bunyan were now spoken of as persecuted Protestant brethren, whose followers would best consult the permanent interests of their respective communions by taking part with the Church against the Jesuitical conspiracy which had sapped the foundations of civil freedom, and had no other aim than the re-establishment of that religion which was always hostile to both civil and religious liberty. The king offered freedom of worship founded on loss of civil liberty; the Church held out the prospect of both civil and religious freedom, on the sure basis of a legislative enactment, when the rule of law should be re-established under a Protestant sovereign.

Ineffectual attempts were made to extract from the prince of Orange expressions of approval of the Declaration of Indulgence. He was well known to be favourable to liberty of conscience; but he had a clear perception that this could never be established by a usurpation on the part of the crown of a power above the law. He and the Princess Mary sent a joint protest to the king against his perilous assumption of despotic power. The very foundations of monarchy, they urged, were in danger of being rooted up in the reaction which would be brought about by attempts to rule without regard to the laws. Their own stake in the crown, which then encircled the brow of a bigot and a tyrant, gave them a good title to use outspoken language of warning against jeopardising the very existence of kingly government. They urged James to retrace his steps, to cancel the declaration, and to govern in strict accordance with the laws of the realm. They would be glad, they said, to see Roman Catholics, as well as Protestant dissenters, relieved from the pressure of the penal statutes; and they would gladly see Protestant dissenters admitted to civil and military employments under such safeguards as parliament could devise. But they held it to be unadvisable to admit Catholics to offices of trust, and recent events fully warranted their misgiving on that head.

James was deeply vexed at the conduct of the prince and princess. Their envoy told him he could not expect a Protestant prince to take part against the Protestant religion, and William held equally plain language with his uncle's representative, telling him, on one occasion, "You ask me to countenance an attack upon my own religion. I cannot, with a safe conscience, do it, and I will not; no, not for the crown of England, nor for the empire of the world."

Ecclesiastical offices of great dignity were at that very time being given to avowed or concealed Papists; to be of the king's religion was the strongest recommendation for office; to be a member of the National Church was a sufficient ground for dismissal where the king saw the chance of introducing a Papist into the vacated post. Fresh freaks of arbitrary power exhibited from day to day the settled determination of the king to advance his religion at the expense of the Established Church. He sent a mandate to Dr. Peachell, vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, requiring him to confer the degree of Master of Arts, without exacting the customary oaths, on Francis, a Benedictine monk, then acting as a missionary at that seat of learning. Peachell and his colleagues refused compliance, urging their obligation to obey the statutes. The case was referred to the court of High Commission, which deprived Peachell of his office. While this case was still pending, the king ordered the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to appoint to the vacant office of president a man of questionable character, not possessed of the statutory qualifications for the dignity, and notorious at the university for his advocacy of Catholic interests. The rumour ran that the king's nominee was to proclaim himself a Catholic immediately after his admission to office. The champions of passive obedience found it impossible to submit meekly to this cruel proof of their consistency. They elected another candidate. The king was deeply incensed, and cited the disobedient fellows before his court of High Commission. They offered such abundant proofs of the profligacy and depravity of the king's nominee, Anthony Farmer, that it was simply impossible for any court to thrust such a man on a body of divines as their head in the government of a place of education. The crown then named Parker, bishop of Oxford, who had the repute of being a concealed Papist, and insisted on his installation. The fellows refused compliance, alleging the obligation of the oaths which they had sworn to support the president already elected. The proceedings in the case extended over the greater part of the year. In the course of a summer progress through the country, James visited Oxford, and summoned the offending fellows to his presence. He rebuked their insubordination in severe terms, telling them they had not dealt with him like gentlemen, but, on the contrary, had been unmannerly and undutiful. "Is this your Church of England loyalty?" he exclaimed. "I could not have believed that so many clergymen of the Church of England would have been concerned in such a business." On bended knees they expressed their dutiful submission, and presented a petition to his offended majesty. "Go home," said the angry monarch. "Get you gone. I am king. I will be obeyed. Go to your chapel this instant, and admit the bishop of Oxford. Let those who refuse look to it. They shall feel the whole weight of my hand. They shall know what it is to incur the displeasure of their sovereign." He had pushed the petition from him: they again humbly urged his acceptance of it. He flung it down contemptuously, telling them again, "Get you gone. I will receive nothing from you till you have admitted the bishop." One among them counselled submission, but the rest all adhered firmly to their previous resolve to stand by their oaths and their statutes. Penn, the courtly Quaker, who was one in the cortège which accompanied the king in this royal progress, was sent to urge the fellows to give way rather than face inevitable ruin. Hough told him, in the name of his college, "We stand on our statutes and our oaths: but even setting aside our statutes and oaths, we feel that we have our religion to defend. The Papists have robbed us of University College. They have robbed us of Christ Church. The fight is now for Magdalen. They will soon have all the rest." The king next sent a special commission, under military escort, to eject Hough and instal the bishop in his stead. He required the fellows to express their penitence, to implore his pardon, to promise unqualified obedience for the future, and to admit that the deprivation of their president had been legal. They manfully yet respectfully declined to humiliate themselves by acceding to this command, although they knew in advance the fate they were inviting by disobedience. They were thereupon expelled from their college, and an iniquitous sentence of the court of High Commission pronounced them incapable of holding any church preferment, in order that the dispensers of church patronage might be baulked of the opportunity of rewarding their service to the cause of Protestantism. Parker died soon after, unlamented and unhonoured by the university. Magdalen then became a popish seminary, full mass was daily performed in its chapel, none but Romanists enjoyed its fellowships, and a Romish ecclesiastic, the bishop of Madura, filled the office of president. The ejected fellows were comforted by the warm sympathy of their countrymen; liberal subscriptions were raised for their support; the king's daughter, the princess of Orange, was among the leading contributors.

While the contest between the king and Magdalen College was at its height, a royal mandate under the



CLARENDON THEATRE, OXFORD.

great seal was served on the governors of the Charterhouse, demanding the admission of a Roman Catholic on their foundation. The governors were then, as now, men of high rank. Jeffreys was among the number, and made strenuous but unavailing efforts to induce his colleagues to give way; but they returned an answer to the effect that they could not obey the king's order without betraying their trust and violating an Act of Parliament. Among the signatures to the letter of refusal were those of Danby, Ormond, Halifax, and Nottingham, men who had filled high places in the state, and rendered priceless service to the king and his predecessor. He could not hope to coerce them into an infraction of the law without such extremes of tyranny as the times were not yet ripe for. He was therefore fain to submit to defeat, but he indulged in ominous threats of future proceedings.

Down to the middle of the year 1687, the papal nuncio at the English court had acted in a kind of unofficial capacity, never appearing in any state or magnificence, and exhibiting the utmost deference for national susceptibilities in matters of religion. But James at length prevailed on the pope to allow a public reception of his nuncio on a scale of great magnificence. In the excited state of public feeling, it was hazardous to exhibit in the metropolis an ostentatious pageant in honour of the pope. Windsor was therefore selected for the ceremony. Among the officers of state who were required to bear a part in the ceremonial were several who ventured to express their scruples, on account of the penalties to which they would thereby become amenable. Among these was the duke of Somerset, who refused to bear part in the stately ceremonial in honour of the nuncio. "I thought," said the king, "I was doing you a great honour in deputing you to escort the minister of the first of all crowned heads." Somerset replied that to obey his majesty in that particular would involve a breach of the law. "Do you not know," the king added, angrily, "that I am above the law?" "Your majesty may be above the law, but I am not," said the duke; "and while I obey the law I fear nothing." The king dismissed him forthwith from all his employments at court and in the army. Adda, the nuncio, was carried in a royal coach to Windsor Castle on July the 2nd, a long train of state carriages joining in the cortège.

On the following day a proclamation in the Gazette announced the dissolution of parliament. It had been in vacation for two years, with the exception of an autumnal session of ten days, in November, 1685, but had always been expecting to meet at the end of each term of many successive prorogations. James flattered himself that with the aid of the nonconformists, whom he had befriended, and by some further manipulation of the corporate bodies, a new parliament might be elected of still more pliable temper than the last, and that in such a parliament bills might be passed giving permanent force to those measures on which he had set his heart. The aim of his summer journey through many counties was to arouse the flagging loyalty which had been too severely tried by many arbitrary exercises of power. Shortly after the conclusion of that journey the king was elated with the joyful prospect of issue by his queen. She had already borne four children, who had died in infancy. Towards the end of October it became known that she was again pregnant. Few of the king's subjects shared the joy with which the circumstance filled his own cold heart. The hopes of the nation had long been centred in the early accession of the princess of Orange and her Protestant consort. Five years had passed since the queen's former pregnancy; the king was in his fifty-fifth year; the nation had ceased to expect a new heir to the throne, and the prospect was the reverse of reassuring. An infant prince would be bred in the faith of his father; all securities for Protestantism and constitutional liberty would fall under the continued assaults of an absolute government and an intolerant religion. With the fears engendered by this dismal prospect were mingled suspicions of trickery and fraud on the part of the Jesuitical cabal that directed the king's counsels. Their thriving schemes in furtherance of their religion would be crossed beyond hope of recovery by the accession of the Lady Mary and her Protestant husband. In dread of that event some of them had proposed, in the first year of the reign, that the succession should be offered to the king's second daughter, the Lady Anne, if she could be brought to embrace the religion of her father. But it soon transpired that she was unalterably fixed in her attachment to the Church of England. Other wild schemes for altering the succession were nevertheless propounded. Tyrconnel gained the sanction of the king to a project for severing Ireland from the English crown from the moment it should cease to be held by a Catholic prince. With the approbation of James, he entered into secret negotiation with Louis XIV., who was fully disposed to assist in disinheriting the king of England's Protestant children. But the unexpected pregnancy of the queen interrupted these nefarious plots. The Catholics were wild with exultation in the prospect of a prince of Wales of their own religion. Their indiscreet boastings only strengthened the incredulity of the people at large. Pasquinades, rude jests, and indecent pleasantries, in prose and verse, were circulated through town and country, giving currency to the notion that the king was about to defraud his daughters of their inheritance by introducing a spurious heir to the throne. The bitter feelings aroused in James's mind by the mingled derision and fear with which all grades of society received the tidings that the queen was about to become a mother were nowise solaced by the result of his attempts to pack a new parliament. Under pretence of reforming abuses in corporations, a board of so-called regulators was established, whose real function was to reconstruct the constituent bodies of the kingdom in such a way as to insure the return of members pledged beforehand to support the king's policy. A proclamation was issued, notifying the king's determination to revise the lists of lords-lieutenant of counties, and of all magistrates, with the view to dismissing all who were not favourable to the promotion of the royal wishes. The lords-lieutenant were then ordered to summon before them all deputies, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officials in their respective counties, and to put to them a series of questions as to how they were prepared to act at a general election. The replies were to be taken down in writing, and forwarded to the board of regulators, together with lists of Roman Catholics and dissenters whose devotion to the crown might point them out as fitting instruments for the king's purposes. Among other questions to be put to men of highest consideration or influence in the constituencies were the following: whether, if chosen to serve in the next parliament, they would vote for a bill framed on the principle of the king's declaration of indulgence; whether, in their capacity of electors, they would vote for candidates favourable to such a bill; and whether they would promote the king's benevolent purposes by living themselves in friendship with persons of diverse religious persuasions. Fully half the lords-lieutenant refused to act as political inquisitors, and were thereupon summarily ejected from office. The earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Derby, Dorset, Pembroke, Bridgewater, Thanet, Rutland, Northampton, Abingdon, Gainsborough, and Scarsdale, the duke of Somerset, and other noblemen, all of whom owed their original appointment to their high Tory politics and proved devotion to the crown, were among those thus displaced by more obsequious tools of tyranny, most of whom were Roman Catholics and of inferior social condition. To the surprise and confusion of the government, most of the replies tendered throughout the country to the questions of this new political catechism ran in the same evasive form of words, pledging the respondents to nothing at all. Foiled in this attempt, the board of regulators now addressed themselves to the task of purging the corporations of all functionaries who could not be counted upon to promote the king's policy. All the new charters contained a clause reserving to the crown the right of dismissing magistrates at pleasure. A similar proviso in the new charter of the city gave the king the power of removing the masters and other officers of all the civic companies. Full play was now given to this reserved right of the crown, and on this occasion it was employed to oust the Tories and to put in their places Roman Catholics and all denominations of dissenters. In London alone nearly a thousand civic functionaries, most of whom had won their places as stanch adherents of the government and opponents of the Exclusion Bill, were dismissed and as many nonconformists installed in their room, and the same process was adopted throughout the kingdom. But events had opened the eyes of Protestants of every denomination; the outcasts from Magdalen were eloquent, though silent warnings of a widespread desolation held in reserve, to be heaped on the heads of the firmest friends of the throne when they stood between the king and his religion. If the Church, which had rendered priceless services to the king, and to which he was indebted for filling the throne in place of being a homeless outcast, could be made the victim of ruthless spoliation at his hands, what fate could be expected by those sects that had sought to despoil him of his birthright, when they had served the purpose for which he now sought their aid? Under such reflections as this, Churchmen and dissenters were drawn together, and made common cause against the harsh despot who would soon have crushed them in a common ruin. The new office-bearers in the boroughs everywhere declined to offer the desired addresses in support of the king's measures. Many boroughs were called upon to surrender their charters; those that submitted received new ones, limiting the electoral franchise to a small number of nominees of the government. But very many of the towns resisted the arbitrary edict; and the courts of law were suddenly flooded with suits against the refractory corporations.

On the 27th of April, 1688, James issued a second declaration of indulgence, closely resembling the former, but with the additional statement that his majesty was immutably fixed in his resolution to stand by the practice laid down in the declaration, and that he would continue in the course which he had begun of removing all persons who would not support his measures from offices and employments in the civil and military services. He added, that a parliament would be called before long, and urged the electors to choose only such representatives as would cordially assist in the work he had taken in hand. This new declaration had little in it to arrest attention, beyond showing that the king had not changed his mind, and that he was willing to call a parliament if its obedience could be relied upon for giving legal effect to his foregone conclusions.

In an evil hour James rushed into a fresh quarrel with the Established Church, already distrustful, and indeed alienated by a succession of wrongs and insults. A week after the publication of his second declaration in the Gazette, an order in council was issued, enjoining the bishops to command the clergy of their respective dioceses to read the obnoxious declaration from their parish pulpits, at the usual time of Divine service on two succeeding Sundays; in London on the 20th and 27th of May, and in the country on the 3rd and 10th of June. Anxious conferences among the London clergy quickly elicited the fact that a large majority of their number held that they could not in conscience yield obedience to an order which was at variance with the law of the realm. Their natural hesitation in coming to so important a decision was set at rest by the hearty assurance of sympathy and support which was voluntarily tendered to them by the leading nonconformists. The primate, meanwhile, was using all the means which the brief interval and the imperfect means of communication allowed for ascertaining the views of the Episcopal order. On the 12th of May, a preliminary meeting of several prelates and other eminent divines assembled at Lambeth Palace, under the presidency of Archbishop Sancroft. The general feeling was in unison with that of the London clergy—that the declaration ought not to be read, and that a petition should be drawn up urging the king to withdraw the order in council. Letters were sent to the bishops not then in London, urging them to come up, and strengthen the hands of their brethren in the approaching crisis. A second meeting took place on the 18th, when, after long deliberation, the terms of the petition were settled. The document opened with expressions of unshaken loyalty to his majesty, and of willingness on the part of the Church to lend its aid in parliament and in convocation towards such measures of relief to dissenters as were called for by a tender regard for their conscientious scruples. The declaration was objected to on the single ground that it was "founded on a dispensing power declared illegal in parliament," and that the petitioners "could not in prudence or conscience make themselves so far parties to it as the publication of it in church at the time of Divine service must amount to in common and reasonable construction." In conclusion, they humbly and earnestly besought his majesty "not to insist on their distributing and reading the said declaration." The petition was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Turner, of Ely; Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Trelawney, of Bristol; and Lake, of Chichester. The bishop of London being under suspension from his office, it was held proper to withhold his signature. Tillotson, Patrick, Sherlock, Tenison, and Stillingfleet, were present in the name of the metropolitan clergy, and they carried with them the moral support of Baxter, Bates, and Howe, the most distinguished among nonconformist divines. Sancroft was under displeasure of the court, and therefore refrained from affronting the king by his presence; but the other six bishops proceeded at once to Whitehall, and sought an audience of the king. When admitted to his presence they bent reverently on their knees and presented the petition. He read it carefully through, his face darkening with thicker gloom each moment. Then he broke out into angry reproaches and threats: "This is a great surprise to me. Here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion." The bishops implored his majesty not to apply the word rebellion to any act of theirs, and vehemently assured him of their unshaken loyalty. Trelawney, falling on his knees, exclaimed, "I beseech your majesty not to say anything so hard of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are, or can be, guilty of rebellion." Ken added, "Sir, I hope you will allow that liberty to us which you give to all mankind. We will honour the king, but we fear God." Protestations were wasted on the angry tyrant, whose increasing passion vented itself in a torrent of bitter reproaches. "You are trumpeters of sedition; this is rebellion; it is a standard of rebellion," he repeated, over and over again. "I will be obeyed. Go to your dioceses, and see that I am obeyed. I will keep this paper. I will not part with it. I will remember you have signed it. God has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it." The bishops withdrew, and, on the following day, printed copies of the petition were widely dispersed through town and country. Within a few days, many other bishops publicly professed their concurrence in the petition. Only four out of the London clergy obeyed the order in council, and their reading the declaration was the signal for the rapid dispersion of their congregations. The example of London was followed throughout England. Not more than two hundred out of ten thousand pulpits gave utterance to the obnoxious declaration. Adda, the nuncio, writing to the papal government, stated, "The whole Church espouses the cause of the bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division among the Anglicans, and our hopes from the nonconformists are vanished." The whole country was now in a ferment of exultation, and the bishops were everywhere applauded. The government was greatly perplexed. To advance was full of peril; to recede, full of disgrace. Sunderland advised that the offending bishops should be treated with clemency, and the Catholic members of the king's council, for the most part, leaned also to moderate counsels. But after so many previous acts of successful violence, James recoiled from the thought of mildness and concession. A week of wavering purposes and agitated counsels followed; but at length the advice of Jeffreys was adopted, and it was resolved to proceed against the refractory prelates in the Court of King's Bench on a charge of seditious libel. The bishops were in the first instance summoned to appear before the king in council on the 8th of June, to answer a charge of misdemeanour. They attended at the appointed time, and were interrogated with the view of making such an admission of their handwriting in the petition as could be used in evidence against them. After some demur the required admission was made, under protest that they relied on the king's justice and generosity not to put in, as evidence against them, an admission which in law they were not bound to make. Jeffreys then told them they would be proceeded against in all fairness in Westminster Hall, and they were ordered to enter into a recognisance or legal engagement for their appearance in the Court of King's Bench. They engaged to appear when called without giving a recognisance. They pleaded the privilege of their order, which freed them as peers of the realm from the obligation of entering into a recognisance in misdemeanour. The king refused to accept the plea, and they were accordingly committed to the Tower on a warrant. As they passed down under a guard of soldiers to the barge which was to convey them to prison, the crowds of spectators gave abundant tokens of sympathy. Evelyn, who was present, says, "The concern of the people was wonderful; infinite crowds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them as they passed." The same kindly greetings cheered them as they passed down the river; cries of "God bless your lordships" were shouted from innumerable boats; crowds on both banks betrayed their emotion by falling on their knees as the royal barge passed, beseeching the protection of heaven for the sufferers in behalf of liberty. The soldiers in the Tower took the contagion, and on bended knees besought the blessings of their reverend prisoners. Visitors of all ranks thronged to the Tower, to condole with the illustrious seven. The nonconformists were conspicuous for the share they took in these demonstrations. They sent a deputation of ten of their leading ministers to express their respect and sympathy for men who stood by the endangered Protestant religion. The court, in alarm and anger, doubled the guard at the Tower. Even Jeffreys quailed under the fervent hatred of tyranny which now took possession of all ranks and parties. He joined with Sunderland in urging the king to take advantage of an auspicious event, the birth of a prince of Wales (to be presently related), for the issue of a general pardon, which might include the bishops among other offenders, without the appearance of giving way. But the pride and obstinacy of James, buoyed up by the pernicious counsels of bigoted zealots, and by prompt offers of help from France in men and money, stifled the voice of prudence and urged him to fresh displays of insolent authority. A proclamation was prepared, setting forth in angry and haughty language the king's command to all clergymen, under pain of deprivation, to read the declaration from their pulpits. At the last moment he stopped the issue of this mad proclamation; "but some men," said the now fearful chancellor, "would hurry him to destruction." On the 15th of June the bishops were brought before the Court of King's Bench by a writ of habeas corpus. The papal nuncio relates, in the language of a sympathetic spectator, the cordial reception given by the assembled multitude that awaited the landing of the bishops in the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall. "Of the immense concourse of people," he says, "who received them on the bank of the river, the greater part were on their knees. The archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; they cried aloud that all should kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many." Some technical objections taken by the counsel for the defence occupied the court many hours, but these were eventually overruled in favour of the crown, and the bishops pleaded not guilty. That day fortnight was fixed for the trial, and the prisoners were set at liberty on their own recognizances to appear on the appointed day. Bell-ringing and bonfires gave expression to the joy of the populace, who, in their ignorance of the precise motive of the legal proceedings, imagined that the case had terminated in an acquittal. On the 29th of June London was thronged with visitors, eager to get earliest news of the events of the trial. Westminster Hall and all the open spaces near were filled with excited crowds. Four judges occupied the bench. More than thirty peers were counted among the anxious and excited auditory. Owing to technical defects in the evidence of the writing, the case was well nigh falling through without any argument on either side on the main substance of the charge. Chief Justice Wright had actually commenced his charge to the jury, with the intent of directing an acquittal, for lack of sufficient formal evidence, when he was interrupted by one of the counsel for the defence, who asked leave to make some further observations. The interruption was turned to account by the counsel for the crown, who prevailed on Sunderland to take his place in the witness-box, and supply the defects of evidence through which their case had broken down. Sunderland had introduced the bishops to the king, and knew that the intention of their visit was to present a petition. He had seen the petition in the king's hands, bearing their signatures, immediately after their interview with his majesty. This testimony completed the formal evidence required to prove publication of the libel. The real merits of the case were now argued fully and freely. The prosecutors undertook to prove the petition a false, malicious, and seditious libel. For the defence it was argued the petition was not false, for it affirmed only the truth in telling the king that the dispensing power which he claimed was illegal; it was not malicious, for the bishops had not gone out of their way to make an occasion of strife; nor was it seditious, for it was given privately into his majesty's hands. The dispensing power was vigorously and eloquently assailed, and the right of the subject to petition the sovereign for the redress of grievances unflinchingly asserted. Each judge in succession charged the jury. Wright insisted that the dispensing power was not a matter on which they were required to come to any conclusion; that any writing which tended to breed dissension between the king and his subjects was libellous. Allibone, a Romanist, who owed his seat on the bench to the dispensing power, held language to the same effect. Holloway passed over the question of the dispensing power, and held that there was nothing libellous in the petition if the bishops had no other aim than to free themselves from blame by a temperate statement of the grounds on which they felt unable to comply with the royal command. To Powell belongs the glory of an outspoken opinion which in effect gave the deathblow to the sway of prerogative over law. He unreservedly declared that the petitioners were innocent of sedition or any other crime, and declared, "If a dispensing power be allowed, there will need no parliament; all the legislature will be in the king. I leave the issue to God and your consciences."

The trial had occupied ten hours. At seven in the evening the jury withdrew, to decide on their verdict. They deliberated and debated till six next morning, when Arnold, the king's brewer, who had stubbornly resisted the multifarious arguments of his fellow jurymen, was at length subdued, and they sent a message to the chief justice to say they were agreed. As soon as the court opened they were ushered in, and amid breathless silence their foreman, Sir Roger Langley, announced their verdict of "Not Guilty." The pent-up emotions of the close-packed auditors, many of whom had paced wearily up and down the precincts of the court throughout the night, found sudden vent in vociferous cheers. The outside throngs caught up and repeated the well-understood token of an acquittal. Responsive cheers rose from more distant groups; the glad news spread like lightning over town and country. The soldiers in camp at Hounslow Heath, who shared the general sentiment of the people at large, expressed their delight by joyful acclamations in the hearing of the king. In deep vexation, he angrily asked the meaning of the uproar. "It is nothing; the soldiers are glad the bishops are acquitted," was the answer. "Call you that nothing?" said James, and added: "So much the worse for them." He had great cause for chagrin. Not one of his judges had ventured in open court to defend the dispensing power. One of them had courageously condemned it as illegal. The country was in a ferment of exultation at the great constitutional victory. The troops, on whom he relied to sustain his lofty pretensions, were evidently infected with the contagion of the newborn hopes and aspirations of the people. At night, bonfires, fireworks, and illuminations expressed the general joy. Several popes in effigy were carried in grotesque pageant through the street, and committed to the flames. The provincial towns emulated the example of the capital in demonstrations of gladness at the defeat of a harsh and despotic prince in his attempt to trample on the constitution of the realm. All grades and every profession, all the religious sects and parties, except the very small minority that adhered to the Church of Rome, were now united by one common sentiment of deep-seated distrust of their harsh and oppressive government.

On the 10th of June, two days after the committal of the seven bishops to the Tower, the birth of a prince of Wales cast a deep gloom on the nation's long-cherished hopes of a Protestant succession. The suspicions and unbelief which were abroad respecting the queen's pregnancy were well known to the king. By a fatal error he omitted those natural precautions which would have set at rest all misgivings. At the time of the birth, public functionaries of both sexes were assembled, in accordance with precedent, in the chamber of the queen, but they were all either papists and foreigners, or apostates from the Protestant faith, and therefore distrusted by the public. The archbishop of Canterbury, who by virtue of his office ought to have been there, was in durance as a culprit. The Princess Anne, who was firmly persuaded that the pregnancy was an imposture, was staying at Bath, drinking the waters. No member of the family of the Hydes was invited to be present, though it was of the first importance that the rights of the king's daughters should be scrupulously watched. Thus every circumstance conspired to increase rather than to allay the popular misgivings, and to confirm the widespread belief that the birth was a pretence, under which the king aimed to establish a popish successor on his throne, at the cost of defrauding his Protestant daughters of their inheritance. The prince of Orange was promptly acquainted with all the rumours that rose in quick succession both before and after the queen's confinement. His special envoy, Zulestein, informed him that not one person in ten, in any English society with which he mingled, believed the infant to have been born of the queen. The letters of the Princess Anne to her sister the princess of Orange expressed not doubt merely, but a confident persuasion that the little interloper was no true prince, but a mere pretender.

The prosecution of the bishops alienated what little loyalty still faintly lingered in the Established Church, after the series of affronts and injuries to which it had been subjected by the sovereign. The Tory gentry were almost to a man stanch members of the persecuted church. Their devotion to the crown, already too severely tried by the action of the suspending power, was utterly quenched by the hostility of the king to their religion. Thus Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and dissenters, were all drawn together by the common bond of intense disaffection to the king. The whole nation was ready for revolt. Leading men of all parties held secret conferences on the exigencies of the time, and soon came to an understanding by which a bloodless revolution was effected. The conspiracy to dethrone James had indeed already commenced before the imprisonment of the bishops and the birth of a prince lent their powerful influence towards bringing the whole nation into a mood which removed every serious hindrance to success. Edward Russell, a cousin of Lord William Russell, and Henry, a brother of Algernon Sydney, were leading agents in sounding the political chiefs whose concurrence was essential to the success of the great enterprise. William, who was constitutionally fully as cautious in council as he was resolute and daring in action, insisted on having a written invitation from prominent men representing great interests, with promises of an armed support, before he would commit himself to a hazard which would end in great calamities for England and Europe if the issue proved unfortunate. Such an invitation was at length drawn up on the day when London abandoned itself to a delirium of joy in honour of the acquittal of the bishops. Admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a common sailor, started with the momentous document to the Hague. The invitation was signed in cipher by the earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, Bishop Compton, Henry Sydney, and Edward Russell.

William's great and perilous design was singularly favoured by the posture of continental affairs. The intervention of France in the choice of a new elector of Cologne, in the summer of 1688, gave rise to warlike demonstrations on the part of some of the German princes. William turned to account the alarm of coming war by persuading the States-General to augment their naval and military forces.

James madly rushed upon his fate. He vented his anger at the acquittal of the bishops by dismissing the two judges who held that the petition was no libel. He commenced proceedings, by which he proposed bringing before the High Commission every clergyman who had omitted to read his declaration. But many of the instruments of his tyranny now took alarm. They saw signs of a coming retribution, and consulted their own safety by timely resignation or desertion. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, withdrew from the commission, and the other members, paralysed by fear, shrank from the contest with the church into which the king now attempted to drive them. James was deeply mortified by demonstrations which had proved the sympathy of his soldiers with the cause of the bishops and the nation. He broke up the encampment at Hounslow, and resolved to remodel the army. Numerous battalions of native Irish were brought over to England, and gradually moved towards London. Swarms of recruits were imported, Celtic in speech, barbarous in manners, and alien in religion, with the intention of mingling them in the same regiments with English Protestants. But privates and officers alike declined to be parties to a fusion which at that date was as little accordant with national predilections, and took as small account of the prejudices of race, as would be in our day a scheme to amalgamate, in one homogeneous corps, Hottentots and Canadians, or Sepoys and Highlanders. A cry of wounded pride and disgust spread through the kingdom at this last insult to national feeling. Armed columns of rude Irish, whose chief title to royal confidence was their hatred of Protestantism and the English name, were now the most trusted instruments of a harsh despot who had alienated the affections of his countrymen by trampling on their laws and persecuting their religion. Meanwhile more and more important adhesions were given in to the prince of Orange in each week. Two of the seven persecuted bishops, Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Trelawney of Bristol; some officers of high rank, as Churchill, Kirke, and Trelawney, besides many noblemen and gentlemen of great estate, placed their services at William's disposal. Sunderland, too, commenced to serve a new master without renouncing his high post in the service of his rightful but lawless prince. When James's suspicions were aroused by news of the extensive military and naval preparations of his son-in-law, Sunderland adroitly calmed his disquiet by insisting that these precautions were defensive merely, and had reference solely to anticipated French encroachments. Louis sent repeated and alarming despatches, warning James of his danger. Sunderland lulled his master into a fatal security by insisting that these warnings were cunning devices to frighten James into taking part with the French in the coming war about Cologne. Louis then threatened the Dutch government, that any attempt from the shores of Holland on the territory of the English king, who was under his protection, would be the signal for a French invasion of Holland. He at the same time sent offers of naval and military help to James. But the infatuated bigot, who had forfeited by his besotted follies and crimes the loyalty of all ranks of his English subjects, was now taken with a sudden fit of lofty pride, which prompted him to reject with scorn and insult the offer of foreign protection. Nettled at this treatment, Louis left his English brother to his fate. The French armies were suddenly withdrawn from Flanders and poured into Germany. William seized the golden opportunity to redouble his preparations. He had little difficulty in obtaining the consent of the government of the Hague to an enterprise big with hope for the Protestant interest, and friendly overtures and promises of support thronged upon him from foreign courts. Concealment was no longer attempted. On the last day of September William issued a declaration to the people of England, enumerating the manifold acts of misrule under the tyranny of James, and proclaiming his design to come to their help in securing civil and religious liberty. His appearing among them in arms had no purpose of conquest or usurpation, and was intended solely to secure the holding of a free and lawful parliament, to which should be left the decision of all questions, public and private. The delusion of the wrongheaded king was at length dissipated. Almost in the same day that he rejected offers of help from the only power inclined to befriend him, he learned that all the other powers of Europe were complacently expecting his downfall; and that, by the invitation of many of his most eminent subjects, a foreign army was to be wafted to his shores by the first favourable wind. The peril of his situation staggered him. He had an efficient navy and a numerous army; but he had been taught by many recent experiences that he could not rely implicitly on their loyalty if their services were to be employed in quelling the aspirations of all ranks of their fellow-subjects after constitutional government in church and state. He called over more Irish papists, and drew southwards a large part of the military force then quartered in Scotland. He at the same time came to the reluctant conclusion that conciliation and concession must be brought to the aid of his armaments in repelling the threatened invasion. He put forth a declaration of his intention to maintain the Act of Uniformity, and to protect the Established Church in all its rights. He reinstated Compton in his functions as bishop of London, and replaced the magistrates and other functionaries who had been dismissed for refusing to support his arbitrary measures. The bishops were admitted to an audience, and invited freely to advise his majesty on measures calculated to arrest the tide of general disaffection. They recommended that all acts done under sanction of the dispensing power should be at once revoked; that the Court of High Commission should be abolished, a parliament called without delay, legal government re-established, and that his majesty should return to the communion of the Established Church. He still clung tenaciously to the dispensing power, and to the faith for which he had been drawn into imperilling his throne; but he lost no time in abolishing the obnoxious ecclesiastical court which had tyrannized over the church. A few days later he restored the president and fellows of Magdalen, gave back to the city its ancient charter, and restored the forfeited franchises to all the other municipal corporations. Petre and Sunderland were cashiered, the first because no new advisers of the crown could be expected to take their seats with him, and the other on suspicion of treachery to his falling master. An extraordinary council was convened at Whitehall, to sift the evidence of the birth of the prince of Wales. The depositions of the numerous witnesses were forthwith published in the Gazette.

Meanwhile the prince of Orange had put to sea, but bad weather intervened, and drove him back. But after making good the damages sustained in the gale, he set sail again on the evening of the first of November. For twelve hours his immense armament of six hundred transports and fifty fighting ships stood to the north, to deceive the king's cruisers into the belief that the invaders were making for the Yorkshire coast. Next morning they tacked and bore down to the Straits of Dover. The English fleet, under Dartmouth, was wind-bound in the estuary of the Thames. By noon the huge armada was off Dover, delighting myriads of spectators by its friendly salutes and its imposing array. Light easterly breezes carried the enormous armament without a single disaster down Channel. On the 5th of November every ship dropped anchor in Torbay, and the landing commenced immediately. No sooner was the fleet safely within shelter of this capacious harbour, than a sudden change of wind, with tempestuous weather, opposed the advance of the pursuing squadron. From first to last the enterprise was so well served by the weather, that the favouring breezes were commonly spoken of as Protestant winds. The army of friendly invaders included 11,000 infantry, 4500 cavalry, and a good supply of artillery. Several regiments were English and Scotch, with a sprinkling of Irish Protestants. Among the notable Englishmen were Admirals Herbert and Russell, the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, and the sons of the Lords Halifax, Winchester, and Danby. Burnet and Ferguson officiated as army chaplains. The march to Exeter commenced on the 6th. On the 8th that ancient cathedral city, in fear and trembling from fresh reminiscences of Monmouth's ill-starred expedition, opened its gates to such an array as never before had been seen in England. Nearly a week elapsed before any persons of eminence declared for the prince of Orange. He was so chagrined by the appearance of timidity and lukewarmness, that he talked of retracing his steps and relinquishing the enterprise. Soon, however, he was amply reassured by wholesale accessions of support from all quarters. Insurrections broke out almost simultaneously in Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Nottingham, under the direction of great landowners who were in concert with William and his advisers. All the west country declared for him within ten days of his arrival at Exeter.

James meanwhile was hastening his army to Salisbury. His force was numerically nearly thrice that of the invaders, but its heart and conscience were not in the cause it was called upon to defend. Except a few thousand papists, his rank and file were all disaffected, and many of his principal officers were in league with the foe. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, and therefore a kinsman of the king, attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry to the prince of Orange. Some of the officers, however, with a keener sense of honour, opposed the daring plot, and Cornbury escaped from their hands with difficulty, carrying with him a few score troopers. Most of his men joined him within a few days, and his example was quickly imitated by Churchill, Grafton, Kirke, and others in high command. James joined his demoralized army at Salisbury on the 19th, and William marched to meet him on the 21st. But the defection of so many of the most trusted officers in the royal army, and the desertion of numerous bodies of troops, convinced James that it would be the height of folly to risk an immediate engagement with the invaders. He decided on an immediate retreat. Breaking up his camp, he moved on the 25th from Salisbury to Andover. That night his guests at supper were his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and Ormond. Bidding him good-night after their gloomy repast, these distinguished guests rode off to join the prince of Orange. On the same night the Princess Anne escaped from Whitehall, escorted by the bishop of London and Lord Dorset, and made her way towards the head-quarters of the northern insurgents.

James made light of the flight of the dull Prince George. As each piece of alarming news came to the hearing of the prince, his uniform expression of surprise had been, Est-il-possible! (Is it possible!) When he himself at length followed the prevailing passion for desertion, the king received the news with grim jocosity, merely remarking, "What, has Est-il-possible gone too?" But the flight of his daughter moved him to bitter emotion. "God help me! my own children have forsaken me," was his cry of misery when told of the desertion of the Princess Anne. By this time, York, Bristol, Plymouth, Newcastle, and Hull, with numerous towns of less note, were in the hands of the revolutionists. None of the troops except the Irish papists could be relied upon to fight for James. In this crisis the king called a council of peers on the 27th. They advised him to summon parliament immediately, to dismiss all papists from offices of trust, to open negotiations with the prince of Orange, and to offer an unconditional pardon to all who had sided with William. He pretended to comply with these suggestions, in order to gain time. He appointed commissioners, issued a proclamation of amnesty, announced that writs were preparing for a general election; and on the same day recorded his own bad faith in a statement to Barillon, in which he unblushingly declared, "This negotiation is a mere feint. I must send commissioners to my nephew, that I may gain time to ship off my wife and the prince of Wales. A parliament would impose on me conditions which I could not endure. I should be forced to undo all that I have done, and to break with France. As soon, therefore, as the queen and the infant prince are safe, I will leave England and take refuge in Ireland, in Scotland, or with your master." He gave an earnest of his intentions by sending his child to Portsmouth, in charge of Lord Dover, with orders to Lord Dartmouth to supply conveyance in one of the royal ships to the French coast. But Dartmouth refused to carry the heir-apparent out of the kingdom. Meanwhile Halifax, Godolphin, and Nottingham were deputed to meet the prince of Orange, and arrange terms of accommodation between the king and his people. The meeting took place at Hungerford, on the 8th and 9th of December. A truce was agreed to, under which William's army was not to approach nearer to London than forty miles on the west. The force that still adhered to James was to retire to as great a distance on the east of the capital. All questions in dispute were to be left to the decision of parliament. William further stipulated that all laws then in abeyance, under the action of the dispensing power, should be obeyed until they were altered by parliament. While these negotiations were in progress, James was making secret preparations for evading any early settlement of affairs. On the night of the 9th of December he had the queen and the infant prince stealthily conveyed to Gravesend, whence they sailed in a yacht to France. At three in the morning of the 11th, he withdrew secretly from Whitehall, crossed from Millbank to Vauxhall, and took the road for Sheerness, where a small craft awaited his arrival. In order to embarrass the action of any government that might be set up in his absence, he destroyed with his own hands the writs then about to be issued for the general elections, carried the great seal away with him when he absconded from the seat of government, and in his nocturnal flight threw it into the river opposite Lambeth. On the flight of the king, Lord Feversham instantly disbanded the royal forces. But the principal officers of the army, on the advice of Lord Rochester and other peers, decided to keep their men together, to assist in the maintenance of order until a government could be organized.

The reign of James ended with his flight from the capital. An interval of sixty-four days followed, in which the throne was vacant. This period bears the title of the Interregnum. In it a provisional government found ample and arduous work in re-establishing the shattered foundations of constitutional freedom. No sooner was it known in London that the king had fled, than lawless and excited crowds gathered about the Romish chapels, and quickly reduced them to heaps of ruins. The residences of several envoys from Catholic powers shared the same fate. In the absence of a regularly-constituted authority, the peers who were in London, about thirty in number, hastily assembled at the Guildhall, to concert with the civic authorities the requisite precautions for preserving the public tranquillity. In the interests of the public safety, this council, with Archbishop Sancroft for its president, courageously assumed the responsibility of taking into their own hands the reins of government till the prince of Orange arrived to relieve them of their trust. They took possession of the Tower, occupied the streets with strong patrols of train-bands and militia, and issued an order to Lord Dartmouth to refrain from any hostile movement against the Dutch fleet, and to dismiss all Catholic officers serving in his squadron. They drew up and forwarded to William a declaration setting forth their entire agreement in his design to refer the settlement of affairs to a free parliament, and explaining that they had assumed the functions of a provisional government only as a temporary expedient for the preservation of order until his arrival in London. The civic authorities sent at the same time a deputation to the prince, urging him to hasten to the capital to complete the work he had so prosperously begun. The evil councillors of the king all fled in panic fright. Some escaped in menial disguises. Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, dressed as a seaman engaged in the coal trade, was captured by a mob at Wapping. The train-bands rescued him with difficulty from the summary vengeance of the raging throng, and he was lodged in the Tower. The fiercest execrations of an infuriated multitude pursued him to the prison gates. Smitten with abject terror at his coming doom, his health, already grievously shattered by habitual debauchery and drunkenness, rapidly gave way, and the fiendish monster soon died in all the horrors of an unappeasable remorse, and so cheated the gibbet of its due.

On the night of December the 13th a panic was spread through London by the alarming rumour that the Irish soldiers, disbanded on the order of the king, were coming in great force to murder all Protestants on whom they could lay hands. Many thousands of private citizens paraded the streets through the night, with arms in their hands, to bear part with the military in quelling the expected massacre. But the alarm of this "Irish Night" proved to be groundless.

James, meanwhile, had been seized by some rude fishermen, as he was about to set sail from Feversham. Lord Winchelsea rescued him from his captors, and he was conveyed under honourable escort to London, on the 16th, to the serious embarrassment of William and his advisers. On the following evening a strong force of Dutch troops took possession of Whitehall and all the adjacent public buildings. The king was then told that it was necessary he should quit London pending the settlement of the government, and that he might take up his residence at Ham, in Surrey. James objected to Ham, and expressed a preference for Rochester. This was promptly agreed to, and he was taken on the morning of the 18th in a royal barge, under escort of Dutch troops, to Gravesend, and thence on the following day to Rochester. Especial care was taken that no officious blunderer should thwart any fresh attempt of the fallen monarch to quit the kingdom. His few remaining friends urged him to stay, assuring him his flight was the very thing his enemies most desired. But a craven fear that a fate like his father's awaited him took possession of his mind, and before daylight on Sunday, the 23rd of December, he stole away from the garden which sloped from the rear of his dwelling down to the Medway, accompanied by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and a few officers, and after a tedious passage of two days in a fishing smack, was safely landed at Ambleteuse. The best service James ever rendered to his country was to quit it. The day of his departure marks the end of a prolonged term of vassalage to a foreign power, and the commencement of a new era of national greatness.

William took up his quarters at St. James's Palace on the afternoon of the same day that his father-in-law quitted Whitehall. His arrival was greeted by the customary demonstrations of popular good-will, illuminations, bonfires, and merry peals from all the church steeples. Deputations thronged the palace next day, presenting the greetings and the gratitude of all orders of men in the state, and paying their homage to their deliverer. Some of his more zealous adherents advised him at once to assume the crown by right of conquest. But this would have been a gross violation of that part of his declaration in which he expressly stated that he had no design to conquer, but only to give freedom to the nation. He adhered scrupulously to his engagement, and even in the matter of calling a new parliament he employed the nearest approach to a parliamentary sanction that was available. He convened a meeting of the peers on the 21st of December, to advise him on the state of the country, and to these were added within a few days, as representatives of the people, all gentlemen who had been members of any parliament in the reign of Charles II., together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty eminent citizens. Both chambers passed resolutions requesting William to charge himself provisionally with the administration of the government, and to issue writs in his own name for the meeting of a convention on the 22nd of January, 1689.

Scotland bore a prompt and hearty share in hurling down the tyranny of James and establishing the guardianship of William. As soon as the troops which held it down were moved southward to meet the Dutch invaders, Edinburgh and the western counties rose in arms for the prince of Orange. Holyrood was stormed and sacked, and all its accumulations of popish books and paraphernalia piled up in the High Street and burned. Some members of the administration passed over with magic swiftness from the losing to the winning side. The few who strove to stem the torrent of revolution were hustled out of the way without ceremony. Some saved themselves by timely flight; others, almost as obnoxious to the nation as the execrated Jeffreys, were glad, like him, to escape the summary vengeance of the mob in the ignominious security of a prison. The Covenanters had now their day of triumph, and if they indulged in some excesses at the expense of their oppressors, it must be pleaded in their behalf that nearly thirty years of cruel wrongs endured by them might in strictness have warranted a larger atonement than they exacted from the enemies who had ground them in the dust. Many leading men repaired to London, where a council representing Scottish interests presented an address after the model of that adopted by the English peers and commoners, praying William to summon a parliament, and to administer the government in the interval.

The English Convention met on the appointed day. After an animated and prolonged debate, they passed the following resolutions:—"1. That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant. 2. That the rule of a Romish prince had been seen by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Protestant religion." The peers concurred in the second of these resolutions without a division, but many of them were strongly opposed to the first, because it violated their favourite doctrine of the indefeasible right of kings. This party desired a regency, under which the nominal right of James would be maintained, while a repetition of his misgovernment would be guarded against by shutting him out from the actual exercise of the kingly office. Conferences between the two houses followed. William sent for the leaders of both parties in the Lords, and acquainted them that, while he had no wish to influence their decision, the time had come when he held it to be his duty to acquaint them, that if parliament decided on a regency, they must not look to him to fill the office of regent, nor could he accept the crown if the offer of it were to be clogged with the condition that he should fill a place in the government subordinate to that of his wife. If parliament thought well to offer him the crown for life, with the first place in the government, he would accept it; otherwise he would return to his native country. Further conferences ensued between the two Houses, the ultimate result of which was a resolution to tender the crown to William and Mary jointly. But, warned by the too confiding policy and practice of that earlier Convention which had inaugurated the Restoration without taking securities for a legal course of government, the second Convention, in giving a legal sanction to the Revolution, made the offer of the crown to William and Mary conditional on their assent to a Declaration of Right. This document sets forth the crimes and errors of the late reign, and reaffirms the ancient rights and liberties of the nation. Its more important enunciations may be thus summarized: The king cannot lawfully suspend the laws, or dispense with their application at his pleasure; courts of high commission, such as had been charged with the government of the church in James's reign, are illegal and pernicious; taxes cannot be levied without consent of parliament; it is a right of the subject to petition the king, and prosecutions on account of such petitions are illegal; an army cannot be raised or kept up without consent of parliament; elections should be free from all control on the part of the crown; words spoken in parliament are privileged from action in the courts of law; excessive fines, exorbitant bail, and barbarous punishments ought not to be inflicted; parliament should be called at frequent and regular intervals for the redress of grievances. The debates and conferences on the Declaration were brought to a close on the 12th of February. On the same day the Princess Mary arrived from the Continent, and took up her residence at Whitehall. On the following day both Houses waited upon their highnesses, to make their offer of the vacant throne. The prince and princess took their places under a canopy of state in the great Banquet Hall. Halifax, in the name of the Convention, requested their highnesses to listen to the conditions on which the vacant throne was offered for their acceptance. The prince and princess assented. The Declaration of Right was then read aloud, and Halifax asked them to accept the crown, subject to the limitations under which it was tendered by all the estates of the realm. William answered for himself and his wife: "We thankfully accept what you have offered us;" adding, that the laws which he had come over to vindicate would ever be the rule of his conduct. Lords and Commons greeted this response of their new-made king with a loud and joyful shout; expectant crowds outside caught up and repeated the hearty cheering, and within a few minutes the heralds, in all the quaint pomp and pageantry of medieval times, proclaimed at the gate of the palace that the reign of William and Mary had begun in England. Thus was completed the overthrow of despotism, by a revolution which claimed no new rights or privileges for the people, but only defended their ancient inheritance of freedom, as laid down in fundamental laws and charters, from the encroachments of tyranny. Macaulay furnishes the most profound as well as the most brilliant estimate of the character and fruits of this movement:—"And yet this revolution, of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent. It finally decided the great question, whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitzwalter and De Montfort, been found in the English polity, should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develop itself freely, and to become dominant. The strife between the two principles had been long, fierce, and doubtful. It had lasted through four reigns. It had produced seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscriptions, judicial massacres. Sometimes liberty, sometimes royalty, had seemed to be on the point of perishing. During many years one half of the energy of England had been employed in counteracting the other half. The executive power and the legislative power had so effectually impeded each other that the state had been of no account in Europe. The king-at-arms who proclaimed William and Mary before Whitehall Gate, did in truth announce that this great struggle was over; that there was entire union between the throne and the parliament; that England, long dependent and degraded, was again a power of the first rank; that the ancient laws by which the prerogative was bounded would thenceforth be held as sacred as the prerogative itself, and would be followed out to all their consequences; that the executive administration would be conducted in conformity with the sense of the representatives of the nation; and that no reform which the two houses should, after mature deliberation, propose, would be obstinately withstood by the sovereign. The Declaration of Right, though it made nothing law which had not been law before, contained the germ of the law which gave religious freedom to the dissenter, of the law which secured the independence of the judges, of the law which limited the duration of parliaments, of the law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries, of the law which prohibited the slave trade, of the law which abolished the sacramental test, of the law which relieved the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, of the law which reformed the representative system, of every good law which has been passed during a hundred and sixty years, of every good law which may hereafter, in the course of ages, be found necessary to promote the public weal and to satisfy the demands of public opinion."

CHAPTER II.

History of Law and Government from the Restoration, 1660, to the Revolution, 1688.

The revival of kingly government in 1660 was held to cancel and annul every statute which had been passed in the long interval of eighteen years since the final breach between Charles I. and the Long Parliament; and to re-establish the old laws of the realm, down to the last Act which had received the royal assent in December, 1641. The Restoration is the real starting point from which to count the reign of Charles II.; but the courtly lawyers of his time held that the reign began from the moment when his father's head fell under the stroke of the executioner's axe, on the 30th January, 1649. This latter mode of reckoning is conformable to the maxim, "The king never dies;"—another form of asserting that the reign of an hereditary sovereign begins at the moment his predecessor ceases to breathe, and therefore there is no moment of time in which the realm is, or can be, without a monarch. This legal fiction found hearty patrons in all the Stuart kings, and was peculiarly agreeable to Charles II. Hence it is that the date of Charles the Second's actual accession, May, 1660, is called in all legal documents the twelfth year of his reign. The laws passed between 1641 and 1660 had none of them received the royal assent, and hence were held by the crown lawyers to be invalid. Even the laws passed by the Convention, including the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for things done amiss since the interruption of the old form of government, were looked upon as of doubtful authority until they were confirmed by the succeeding parliament elected on the authority of the king's writ. The laws passed in the republican period of English history, that once filled the gap which the collected statutes of the realm now present between 16 Car. I. (1641) and 12 Car. II. (1660), were for the most part of small importance to after-times, and the permanent interests of the country were but slightly affected by the treatment they received at the hands of the Royalists. The Triennial Bill, which obliged the king to issue writs for a new parliament within three years of the dissolution of its predecessor; the abolition of the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber; the reform of the Stannary Courts; the limitation of the forest laws; the declaration of the illegality of ship-money; the exclusion of bishops from the House of Lords, with other considerable constitutional changes, had been effected before the outbreak of civil strife, and had acquired the force of law in strict accordance with the ancient processes of the constitution.

In comparison with the reforms to which Charles I. had given his assent, the changes made in the statute book after the overthrow of the monarchy, the Church, and the House of Lords, were of little account. The period was crowded with events which left little leisure for law reforms. The only material legislative changes in the Commonwealth period were the following:—An Act was passed in 1650, requiring all report books of the resolutions of judges, and other books of the law of England, to be translated into English, and that similar books for the time to come be exclusively in the English tongue. The Act further ordered that all writs, pleadings, rules, orders, indictments, patents, commissions, records, judgments, statutes, entries, and proceedings in all courts of justice, should be in English only, and not in Latin or French; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, and that the same should be written "in an ordinary, usual, and legible hand and character, and not in any hand commonly called court hand." The benefit of this reform, although lost by the Restoration, was so favourably remembered that it was reintroduced in 1730. Another Act of the year 1650 abolished the system of fees exacted by the law courts, from suitors who had causes in them. These payments, under the name of *damna clericorum*, or *damage cleer*, that is, the gratuity payable to the clerks and other officials, had grown into a considerable assessment on all damages recovered in civil suits. The plaintiff was obliged to pay this legal black-mail before the myrmidons of the courts of justice would put in execution the decision of the judge. The Restoration gave back this toll to its old possessors for a few years, but in 1665 the reform was revived by the statute 17 Car. II., c. 6.

In 1653 an Act was passed for the establishment in every parish of a system of registry of births, deaths, and marriages, and for allowing marriages to be effected by mere declaration of the parties before a magistrate that they accepted each other as man and wife. The Commonwealth legislation on this head was the same in substance with the Act of 1836. The period of the Commonwealth was fertile in laws for sequestrating the estates of delinquents, for the sale of royal and church lands, for putting down sports and pastimes, closing the theatres, suppressing the practice of duelling, enforcing a strict observance of the Sabbath, the regulating of printing by a censorship of the press, and for the establishment of the new form of taxation, under the name of excise-duty, on many articles of consumption. The court of Chancery was threatened with extinction by one Act of the Long Parliament; and Cromwell, though not in favour of entire abolition, addressed himself with much earnestness to a sweeping reform in its machinery and routine. These miscellaneous legislative reforms, some of them of very questionable policy, some highly objectionable when measured by the advanced views of later times, and others of undoubted value, were swept away at the Restoration in one common wreck, out of which many a time-honoured abuse gained fresh vigour, and took a new and lengthened lease of baleful life. Later generations, freed from the trammels of traditional prejudice against republican England, and mindful of the sturdy patriotism of public men in the period of the Commonwealth, have gleaned from the cancelled pages of Cromwell's statutes many a pregnant hint for social, legal, financial, and economical reforms. And even the Cavalier parliament of Charles II.'s time, despite its intense hatred of everything savouring of Commonwealth practices, adopted the legislative labours of Puritans and Roundheads as the models of some of its earliest and best enactments.

In building up afresh the shattered monarchical constitution, the parliament of the Restoration reversed not only all the legislation of the revolutionary period, but some of the most important statutes to which Charles I. had yielded an unwilling consent. Thus the Act of 1641 for disabling persons in holy orders from exercising any temporal authority or jurisdiction was repealed in 1661, and the bishops thereby regained their lost seats in the House of Peers, after twenty years' exclusion. In the same year a bill was passed to reverse the attainder of the earl of Strafford. Three years later, one of the principal safeguards of the constitution was cancelled by a bill which repealed the chief provisions of the Triennial Parliaments Act. At the opening of the session of 1664, Charles told both houses that he "would not deny that he had always expected them to consider the wonderful clauses in that bill, which passed in a time very uncareful for the dignity of the crown or the security of the people. He requested them to look again at it. For himself, he loved parliaments; he was much beholden to them; he did not think the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments; but assure yourselves," he added, "if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill." This outburst of royal indignation was aimed at those sections of the Triennial Bill which provided that if the king failed to call together a new parliament within three years of a dissolution, the peers were nevertheless to assemble and issue the writs; if the peers omitted the duty, the sheriffs were to take it upon themselves; and in default of a summons from the sheriffs, the constituencies were empowered to meet and elect representatives without awaiting the authority of a writ. Charles had not miscalculated the temper of the houses; they were still in the glow of unreasoning loyalty, and instead of resenting the dictatorial and threatening terms in which the royal mind unburthened itself, they submissively abrogated the securities in question, on the ground that the Triennial Bill of 1641 was "in derogation of his majesty's just rights and prerogative inherent in the imperial crown of this realm for the calling and assembling of parliaments."

Thus in the earliest years of Charles the Second's reign the crown recovered, step by step, most of the ground it had lost in the contest between his father and the Long Parliament. But its ancient feudal rights of wardship and purveyance, overthrown in the Revolution of 1641, were not only not revived, but were formally and finally abolished by the Convention Parliament. Charles I. had agreed to relinquish his title to wardships and forfeitures, by reason of tenure, fines for alienation, aids, escuages, and all the incidents of tenure in chivalry, for an equivalent of 100,000*l.* a-year. The landed proprietors, who had borne the burdens incident to tenures in chivalry, were large gainers by the removal of the galling exactions of the Court of Wards, and in equity they alone ought to have contributed the commutation to be given to the crown, when for their advantage a fruitful source of royal revenue was closed for ever. A permanent tax on estates relieved from the incidents of tenure in chivalry was the most obvious substitute. A proposal to that effect was submitted to the House by a committee appointed to consider "the means of settling such a revenue on his majesty as would suffice to maintain the splendour and grandeur of his kingly office, and preserve the crown from want." But in lieu of this proposed special land-tax on estates subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards, a moiety of the excise-duty on beer was given to the king and his successors; and thus the community at large was saddled with the burden which appertained of right to the landed aristocracy alone. The selfishness of this arrangement, carried by a majority of two only in a parliament in which few except landowners held seats, becomes the more flagrant when it is remembered that the class specially benefited by the conversion of tenures in chivalry into common or free soccage tenures, retained those old manorial rights which formed part of the ancient feudal tenures, and which in practice were scarcely less oppressive to the inferior tenants than the action of the crown had proved in relation to the tenants in chief.

Notwithstanding the servile loyalty which distinguished the Cavalier Parliament in the earlier years of the Restoration, no countenance was given in either house to the faint efforts of a few over-zealous courtiers to resuscitate the hated Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber. Those oppressive engines of despotic power were accordingly never revived, except for a portion of James II.'s reign, when an ecclesiastical commission was formed after the model of the high court which fell under the vigorous onslaughts of Elliot, Pym, Selden, Mallory, and the other apostles of freedom before the outbreak of civil war.

But the disabilities inflicted on dissenters by the Corporations Act, 1661, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and the Seditious Conventicles Act, 1664, all in flagrant breach of the declaration of Breda, given while Charles was still only a king-expectant, were scarcely less iniquitous, though less ostensibly cruel, than the pains and penalties inflicted by the old ecclesiastical courts in the days of Archbishop Laud. The preceding chapter sets forth the leading provisions of these intolerant enactments. The Five Mile Act, passed in 1665, obliged all persons in holy orders to declare on oath that they held it unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavour to bring about any alteration of government in church or state. Any preacher of the gospel whose conscience forbad him to give his solemn adhesion to this dogma of passive obedience was rendered incapable of teaching in any school, and forbidden to come within five miles of any corporate town, city, or borough sending members to parliament, under a penalty of 40*l.* for each offence. The king himself deserves little reproach for the irrepressible intolerance to which his high-church Commons gave expression throughout his reign. Their hostility to nonconformists sprang rather from political prejudice than religious bigotry. Revenge of injuries sustained when the Puritans were in the ascendant, and a fear of the growth of republicanism with any toleration of dissent, formed the motive power of the church party in all their repressive measures against their former enemies. Clarendon was a thorough bigot, and strenuously encouraged the king's breach of faith towards the fallen church of Calvin and the other forms of Protestant dissent under the arrogant assumption that indulgence to fanatics, as he insultingly called all whose scruples of conscience kept them aloof from the Established Church, was a breach of duty, and that uniformity of religious faith and practice would quickly follow the firm application of repressive measures against nonconformists. When persecution failed to produce the desired reformation, his ready excuse for the failure was that the laws were not put in force with sufficient rigour; in other words, that oppression only failed of success because there had been too little of it. The troubles which culminated in the dethronement of his former sovereign and his own exile of fourteen years had failed to inspire him with forbearance towards opponents. He returned from exile filled with a vindictive hatred of the principles and the party that had overthrown church and state. He incessantly bemoaned the change which had passed over the nation since the earlier years of the first Stuart king. His ideal of good government consisted in bringing back the lost authority of the crown to its old limits as in the days of Elizabeth and James I. "He did never dissemble," as he tells us in his works, "from the time of his return with the king, that the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots till the king's regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated, and till the usurpations in both houses of parliament, since the year 1640, were disclaimed and made odious; and many other excesses which had been effected by both before that time under the name of privileges, should be restrained or explained. For all which reformation the kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the king to it. The present parliament has done much, and would willingly have prosecuted the same method, if they had had the same advice and encouragement." Under Clarendon for premier, and with obsequious parliaments such as that which won his praises, England might, in the space of another ten years, have reached as high a pitch of unlimited monarchy as would have contented even the Stuart kings. When Sir George Downing, one of the tellers of the exchequer, introduced into a subsidy bill in 1665 a proviso that the money raised under that act should be expended on no other purpose than the war with Holland, Clarendon told him, "The king could never be well served while fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind; and that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council without the king's taking notice of it." In the following year, in consequence of well-grounded suspicions of huge waste and misappropriation of money voted for carrying on the war, the Commons passed a bill giving commissioners authority to inspect the public accounts, with full powers of inquiry. Clarendon declaimed most wrathfully against this bill as an encroachment and usurpation that had no limits, and urged the king never to consent to so presumptuous an interference with the course of government. Charles had his own private reasons for detesting the bill apart from the question of prerogative. Pepys says, under date 12th December, 1666, "It was thought that above 400,000*l.* (out of the subsidy for the navy) had gone into the privy purse since the war;" and in the preceding October he states that the proviso in the bill for a committee of inspection on oath of all the accounts of the money given and spent for the war, "makes the king and court mad; the king having given orders to my lord chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the parliament men that were there to go to the parliament presently; but it was carried against the court by thirty or forty voices." Clarendon's contemptuous and insolent language towards the Lower House in the course of the debates on this bill went far to seal his fate. His manœuvres in the Upper House to throw out the bill exasperated the Commons; his many audacious attempts to limit the functions of parliament and to uphold the prerogative at an excessive height were all called to remembrance; a strong coalition of discordant parties quickly compassed his ruin; and the bill appointing commissioners for auditing the public accounts, and investigating the frauds that had taken place in the expenditure of money and the disposal of stores, was passed into a law. From that day forward Charles's parliaments ceased to be submissive and confiding. The revelations of abuse and gross misapplications of public money which were brought to light by the commission gave rise to a jealous watchfulness of the king and his ministers and a persistent assertion of the constitutional principle that supplies granted by parliament are only to be expended for particular objects specified by itself. Thenceforward no government has ever called in question the right of the House of Commons to appropriate supplies to limited purposes, and to satisfy itself by a public audit that supplies have been expended in the service for which alone they were voted.

The scandalous cabal administration which covers the period of five years between the fall of Clarendon in 1667 and the Danby ministry of 1673 offers very little matter for comment in this chapter. Any praise that we may feel tempted to bestow on the tolerant temper of the government, as contrasted with the seven years of Clarendon's sway, must be qualified very seriously by the reflection that the suspension of all penal laws in religion on the sole authority of the king was an exorbitant stretch of prerogative. The Declaration of Indulgence, in which he usurped the function of parliament, is couched in the language of an autocrat, amenable to no authority on earth but his own sublime will. "We do declare our will and pleasure to be, that the executive of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended." On the same grounds ("our will and pleasure") the king might have set aside every law in the statute book, for his supremacy was as much bounded by the legislature in the case of ecclesiastical as of any other statutes. The Commons in the first session of Danby's administration (February 1673) vigorously attacked the enormous assumption put forth in the royal declaration. "The legislative power," they insisted over and over again, "has always been acknowledged to reside in the king and two houses of parliament." Charles bent before the storm, and made no further claims to a wholesale dispensing power.

The Test Act of 1673, imposing on all functionaries in public employments the obligation of taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and of renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation, was aimed expressly against popish councillors of the highest rank. All the dissenting bodies co-operated with the church in setting up this security against the encroachments of the papal party and the perils looming in the future through the king's secret treaty with Louis. Clifford, the lord-treasurer, and the king's brother, the lord admiral, were displaced from office by this efficacious test, and the cabal administration fell to pieces within a few months.

The most celebrated law passed in the second Stuart period is the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679. This has already been described in the political section of this volume (p. 54). The fourth article of Clarendon's impeachment charged that minister with having "advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands, garrisons, and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to produce precedents for the imprisoning of any of his majesty's subjects in like manner." Clarendon's arbitrary proceedings, as indicated in this well-grounded article of the impeachment, gave birth to this famous safeguard of personal freedom. In the next session after his dismissal, a bill was brought in to prevent the refusal of the writ of habeas corpus, as it then existed, but failed to pass. A similar bill was brought forward in 1670, and passed the Commons, but was rejected in the Upper House. The Commons again and again addressed themselves to the question in succeeding sessions. In 1674 they passed a bill for expediting the application for the writ of habeas corpus, and another to prevent imprisonment beyond the seas. These or similar bills were sent up to the Lords, where fresh delays occurred; but in 1679 the two bills were amalgamated, and carried successfully through all stages, under the name of the Habeas Corpus Act. "It is a very common mistake," says Hallam, "and that not only among foreigners, but many from whom some knowledge of our constitutional laws might be expected, to suppose that this statute of Charles II. enlarged in a great degree our liberties, and forms a sort of epoch in their history. But though a very beneficial enactment, and eminently remedial in many cases of illegal imprisonment, it introduced no new principle, nor conferred any right upon the subject. From the earliest records of the English law, no freeman could be detained in prison, except upon a criminal charge or conviction, or for a civil debt. In the former case it was always in his power to demand of the court of King's Bench a writ of habeas corpus, directed to the person detaining him in custody, by which he was enjoined to bring up the body of the prisoner, with the warrant of commitment, that the court might judge of its sufficiency, and remand the party, admit him to bail, or discharge him, according to the nature of the charge. This writ issued of right, and could not be refused by the court. It was not to bestow an immunity from arbitrary imprisonment, which is abundantly provided in Magna Charta (if indeed it were not much more ancient), that the statute of Charles II. was enacted; but it cut off the abuses, by which the government's lust of power, and the servile subtlety of crown lawyers had impaired so fundamental a privilege." Earl Russell, in his Essay on the English Government and Constitution, speaks thus of the Habeas Corpus Act:—"The reign of Charles II. was an era of bad government, but of good laws. The Act of Habeas Corpus was the greatest of these laws. It is the best security for liberty ever devised; but it must not be supposed that it was invented during this reign. The writ itself is old, and various laws mention and confirm it, but it never was made capable of certain application till the time of Charles II."

Printing and publishing had been controlled by every government in England since the introduction of the printing press. The laws under this head were even more stringent in the days of the Commonwealth than before. The noblest and most eloquent of Milton's prose writings—his "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,"—seems to have had no weight with the Long Parliament to whom it was addressed. Their Act "for Redressing Disorders in Printing," passed the year before the publication of Milton's magnificent apology for the freedom of the press, was followed by a succession of still more stringent laws and ordinances against unlicensed printing. In September, 1649, a very lengthy Act was passed, enacting "that no person whatsoever shall compose, write, print, publish, sell, or utter any book or pamphlet, treatise, or sheet of news, unless licensed under the hand of the clerk of parliament or of the person authorised by the council of state, or of the secretary of the army for so much as may concern the affairs of the army." For the more easy exercise of the censorship provided by this statute, no printing presses were to be worked anywhere else than in London and at the two universities. Printers in London were to give a bond, with two sureties, to the amount of 300*l*., not to print anything hostile to the government. With such precedents to guide it the government of Charles II. lost no time in imposing similar restrictions on the press. Orders in council in the first instance gave effect to the ancient jurisdiction of the crown in the matter of licensing and regulating the action of the press. In 1662 an Act was passed setting forth that "the well government and regulating of printers and printing presses is matter of public care and of great concernment, especially considering that by the general licentiousness of the late times many evil-disposed persons have been encouraged to print and sell heretical, schismatical, blasphemous, seditious, and treasonable books, pamphlets, and papers, and still do continue their unlawful and exorbitant practice, to the high dishonour of Almighty God, the endangering the peace of these kingdoms, and raising a disaffection to his most excellent majesty and his government." This preamble was followed by numerous clauses, enacting that all books and other publications must be licensed before printing. Books on history and affairs of state, by one of the secretaries of state; books on law, by the lord chancellor or one of the judges of highest rank; books on heraldry, by the earl marshal; all other books, by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London: no master printer to be permitted to keep more than two presses, unless he filled the office of master or warden of the Stationers' Company, in which case he could have three; no new master printer to be licensed until the number already exercising the craft and mystery of printing fell below twenty; and no press to be set up elsewhere than in London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge.

After the Restoration, royal proclamations and orders in council, setting aside or overriding acts of parliament, became of rare occurrence in comparison with the practice of the two first princes of the Stuart line. Very few of the proclamations of Charles II. and James II. encroached on the functions of parliament or infringed the liberty of the subjects. The proclamation dated December 1675, which ordered the shutting up of all the London coffee-houses on the ground that "in such houses and by occasion of the meeting of disaffected persons in them, divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised, and spread abroad, to the defamation of his majesty's government, and to the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm," was promptly recalled when the judges notified to the privy council their opinion of its illegality. Nor was any attempt made to impose taxes on royal authority alone, as in times preceding the Long Parliament. Mr. Hallam pays a striking tribute to the moderation with which Charles II. reduced to practice the exalted notions of the kingly office which he shared in common with all the other princes of his family. "It may seem rather an extraordinary position, after the last chapters, yet it is strictly true that the fundamental privileges of the subject were less invaded, the prerogative swerved into fewer excesses, during the reign of Charles II. than in any former period of equal length. Thanks to the patriotic energies of Selden and Eliot, of Pym and Hampden, the constitutional boundaries of royal power had been so well established that no minister was daring enough to attempt any flagrant and general violation of them. The frequent sessions of parliament, and its high estimation of its own privileges, furnished a security against illegal taxation. Nothing of this sort has been imputed to the government of Charles—the first king of England, perhaps, whose reign was wholly free from such a charge. And as the nation happily escaped the attempts that were made after the Restoration to revive the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, there were no means of chastising political delinquencies except through the regular tribunals of justice, and through the verdict of a jury. Ill as the one was often constituted, and submissive as the other might often be found, they afforded something more of a guarantee, were it only by the publicity of their proceedings, than the dark and silent divan of courtiers and prelates, who sat in judgment under the two former kings of the House of Stuart." It is difficult to reconcile this eloquent opening of the chapter on the state of the constitution under Charles II. with many of the high-handed proceedings of the last two years of his reign, but its substantial accuracy must be admitted.

The unsuccessful attempt of the Upper House to establish a title to an original jurisdiction in civil suits has been fully set forth in p. 37 of this volume. But the right of the Lords to jurisdiction over appeals from any of the courts of law was never questioned after the protracted quarrel between the two houses (1675-7) on the appeal of Dr. Shirley against Sir John Fagg, a member of the Lower House. In the period under review the Commons established the hitherto unsettled question of their exclusive right, not alone of originating, but also of being the sole parties to the framing of any bills, or clauses of bills, which either directly or indirectly impose pecuniary burdens upon the people. In 1661 a bill for paving the streets of Westminster was sent down from the Lords; the Commons rejected it, not on its merits, but solely because it involved laying a charge upon the people. The same question came on again and again, until a date somewhat beyond the period now under review; ultimately the Commons established their exclusive right to empower the king to levy the people's money.

A royal charter in 1673 conferred on the borough of Newark the right of returning members of parliament. This is the latest occasion of the exercise of the prerogative of the crown in the creation of a parliamentary borough.

In 1680 the House of Commons adopted a general resolution for the printing of all votes and proceedings of the House. Up to that time the printing of parliamentary proceedings was occasional only, votes and papers of more than ordinary importance being made the subject of separate and specific resolutions.

The practice of punishing juries by fine or imprisonment for giving verdicts against the direction of the court—in other words, for not submitting their consciences to the dictation of the presiding judge—came to an end in the period now under review. Several judges attempted to revive this scandalous means of coercing or intimidating juries, pleading ancient precedent in their favour. But parliament or the supreme courts of law intervened, and checked the abuse with so much effect that it was never repeated after the case of the acquittal of Penn and Mead the Quakers, in 1670, on the indictment for an unlawful assembly, when the jurors were fined forty marks each for "finding a verdict against full and manifest evidence, and against the direction of the court." In this instance Bushell, a juror, refusing payment of the fine, was committed to prison. He carried his cause into the Court of Common Pleas, where Chief Justice Vaughan ordered his discharge, and decided that a jury could not legally be subjected to either fine or imprisonment for giving a verdict contrary to the judge's direction. Thenceforward bullying and browbeating were the only terrors which even a Jeffreys could bring to bear upon a timid or hesitating jury. In his hands, however, even this means of intimidation proved not less effective at times than the dread of a money fine or a lodging in jail. When quite a young man, practising as a barrister at the Old Bailey, he was a proficient in the art of bullying witnesses, prosecutors, and defendants. "He acquired," says Macaulay, "a boundless command of the rhetoric in which the vulgar express hatred and contempt. The profusion of maledictions and vituperative epithets which composed his vocabulary could hardly have been rivalled in the fish-market or the bear-garden. His countenance and his voice must always have been unamiable. But these natural advantages—for such he seems to have thought them—he had improved to such a degree that there were few who, in his paroxysms of rage, could see or hear him without emotion. Impudence and ferocity sat upon his brow. The glare of his eyes had a fascination for the unhappy victim on whom they were fixed: yet his brow and his eye were said to be less terrible than the savage lines of his mouth. His yell of fury, as was said by one who had often heard it, sounded like the thunder of the Judgment Day. These qualifications he carried, while still a young man, from the bar to the bench. He early became common serjeant, and then recorder of London. As a judge at the City sessions he exhibited the same propensities which afterwards, in a higher post, gained for him an unenviable immortality." . . . . "As soon as he had got all that the City could give, he made haste to sell his forehead of brass and his tongue of venom to the Court." . . . . "Work was to be done which could be trusted to no man who reverenced law, or was sensible of shame." . . . . "To enter his court was to enter the den of a wild beast which none could tame. He frequently poured forth on plaintiffs and defendants, barristers and attorneys, witnesses and jurymen, torrents of frantic abuse, intermixed with oaths and curses." At the trial of Alice Lisle, for giving a night's lodging to a fugitive rebel after the battle of Sedgemoor, Jeffreys was beside himself with fury when it seemed doubtful whether the jury would bring in the verdict he desired. One of the witnesses was scared into a state of utter bewilderment under the terrific volley of oaths and maledictions of Jeffreys. One of the young girls who had presented the standard to the duke of Monmouth, at the opening of the western rebellion, presented herself before Jeffreys on his bloody assize to beg for mercy. The wicked judge met her pitiful appeal with one of those fiendish frowns which had often dismayed stouter hearts than hers. Appalled by the diabolical scowl with which he accompanied his charge to the gaoler to take her away, the poor child fell ill of fright, and died within a few hours. The number of executions under sentences passed by him in the few weeks of the bloody assize largely exceeded the total number of capital punishments for political crimes in the period of almost two centuries that has since elapsed. It was one of the boasts of Jeffreys that he had hanged more traitors than all his predecessors together from the date of the Norman Conquest.

The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, established by James II. without any parliamentary sanction in 1686, violated by its mere existence the statute of 16 Car. I., which not only abolished the old High Commission Court, but expressly provided that no new court should be set up with the like power, jurisdiction, and authority. The new court was framed on the precise model of the Court of High Commission which the Long Parliament, with the consent of Charles I., had overthrown and interdicted for all time to come. Then followed the wholesale exercise of the dispensing power, which set aside the Test Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Corporations Act, the Conventicles Act, and numerous other statutes, and which in all its utterances expressed the settled purpose of the king to hold himself under no obligation to observe any legislative limitations on his royal will. The indulgence was offered "by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve."

The whole of the reign of James II. is barren of law-making of any noteworthy kind, but has a character of its own for law-breaking on the part of the government. Among the bills passed in the two brief sessions of his packed parliament, was one which revived in part the old prerogative of purveyance, by giving the king the right of compulsory hire or seizure of such horses, carts, and carriages as he might have occasion to employ in his journeyings through the country. From the moment that it became evident he could not gain the concurrence of parliament in his projected repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Test Act, he resolved to dismiss it, and to rest on an armed force and a compliant bench of judges as the means of setting aside all irksome restraints and constitutional limitations that stood in his way. He quickly gave the rein to his bigoted and hereditary persuasion of his divine right to govern as he pleased: undeterred by the thought, which could never have been long absent from his mind, that his father had lost his head in maintaining the same theory of kingly power, he perseveringly maintained the notion until it ruined him. This, as Earl Russell says, was "paying dearly for an erroneous theory; but England would have paid a still dearer price had it succeeded."

The great lesson which the crown learned from the Revolution was submission to the law, over which it had before claimed lordship and mastery. Thenceforward, too, a spell was broken which had charmed a large section of the best intellect of the country and produced immeasurable evil. The theory of indefeasible right and paramount prerogative, which for several generations had placed the crown in an attitude of opposition to the people, ceased to be inculcated from the pulpits or disseminated by the press. The crown could no longer be flattered or cajoled by servile preachers of the exploded doctrine of passive obedience—a doctrine which never revived after the rebellion of the English church against the last king of the Stuart line.

CHAPTER III.

History of Religion, from the Restoration, 1660, to the Revolution, 1688.

THE Restoration forms a boundary line between two almost equal periods, which in their religious and moral aspects, as well as in their political characteristics, stand in marked contrast to each other. These periods afford, in all these respects, an apt illustration of one of the primary laws governing the action of forces in the material universe—that *action and reaction are equal and contrary.* In the disruption of the old order of things, the church had shared the overthrow and abasement of the throne, and had indeed been the first to fall. The Puritans, in their day of triumph, wielded a spiritual despotism scarcely less oppressive than the tyranny under which they had themselves smarted when Laud was in the plenitude of his power. Their "instrument of government," 1653, expressly excepted *prelacy* as well as popery from the general toleration otherwise extended to the various religious sects and parties. They drove the Established clergy from their benefices; interdicted the use of the Prayer Book, not alone in churches and chapels, but even in the privacy of the family circle; proscribed the observance of the ordinary church festivals, and put down all public amusements, from theatrical performances to the diversions common among rustics on the village green, or the sports and pastimes of a country fair. Even dancing round the maypole, and the chiming of church bells, not to mention the graver offences of wrestling, horse-racing, and bear-baiting, were subjects of their anathemas. Beautiful cathedrals, churches, colleges, chapels, and even sepulchres, were defaced and despoiled by the more acrimonious of these zealots, who detected in every work of art in sacred places a sinful compliance with popish practices. Nor was it the old-established form of church polity alone that suffered under their oppression. Some excuse may be found for their vindictive treatment of the Established Church, though they would have shown more wisdom in the long run had they requited the intolerance of the hierarchy they had overthrown by the establishment of that general toleration for which they had long contended. Even the unaggressive, non-resisting Quakers suffered under the wrath of the Puritans, as we shall presently have further occasion to note. Prosperity corrupted the Puritans. Before the civil war their blameless moral conduct frequently extorted the unwilling praise of those who hated their opinions and manners. When they gained the ascendant, their favour became the road to advancement. Then crowds of false brethren entered their ranks, adopted all the outward signs of conversion to their creed, and even exceeded in their conformity with externals that strike the eye, all the tokens of godly zeal which marked the genuine Puritan of an earlier date. Macaulay gives a vivid picture of the change which came over the Puritan body, and of the discredit which they suffered through the hypocrisy and worldliness of mere nominal members. "They had been oppressed, and oppression had kept them a pure body. Then they became supreme in the state. No man could hope to rise to eminence and command except by their favour. Their favour was gained only by exchanging with them the signs and pass-words of spiritual fraternity. . . . What were then considered as the signs of real godliness, the sad-coloured dress, the sour look, the straight hair, the nasal whine, the speech interspered with quaint texts, the abhorrence of comedies, cards, and hawking, were easily counterfeited by men to whom all religions were the same. The sincere Puritans soon found themselves lost in a multitude, not merely of men of the world, but of the worst sort of men of the world; for the most notorious libertine who had fought under the royal standard might justly be thought virtuous when compared with some of those who, while they talked about sweet experiences and comfortable Scriptures, lived in the constant practice of fraud, rapacity, and secret debauchery. The people formed their estimate of the whole body from these hypocrites. The theology, the manners, the dialect of the Puritans, were thus associated in the public mind with the darkest and meanest vices. As soon as the Restoration had made it safe to avow enmity to the party which had so long been predominant in the state, a general outcry against Puritanism arose from every corner of the kingdom, and was often swollen by the voices of those very dissemblers whose villany had brought disgrace on the Puritan name."

Then followed a fearful reaction. Stern repression from mere harmless amusements and frivolous pleasures was succeeded by a sudden rebound into the grossest licentiousness. Unblushing vice became fashionable, and to a large extent popular, simply because it expressed emancipation from, and defiance of, the hated rule of mock saints. The court led the van in a crusade against decorum, as appears abundantly in a previous chapter. The restored Church concerned itself far more with punishing and humiliating the Puritans than with stemming the tide of prevalent immorality. "The clergy for a time made war on schism with so much vigour that they had little leisure to make war on vice. The ribaldry of Etherege and Wycherley was, in the presence and under the special sanction of the heads of the Church, publicly recited by female lips in female ears, while the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' languished in a dungeon for the crime of proclaiming the gospel to the poor. It is," continues Macaulay, "an unquestionable and a most instructive fact, that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point."

In the whole of the period now under review, religious and political questions are inextricably blended together. The leading topics of debate in parliament, and the chief concerns that agitated society, were either wholly or in part founded on religious considerations. The abortive attempt at a compromise or amalgamation between the moderate Episcopalians of the school of Usher and the moderate Presbyterians of the school of Baxter; the Savoy Conference on the Liturgy; the reinstatement of the old ecclesiastical polity; the Act which obliged members of corporations to renounce the Covenant and receive the sacrament from the hands of an Established clergyman; the Act of Uniformity, which required all incumbents of church livings who had been inducted while episcopacy was in abeyance to accept ordination at the hands of a bishop, and to assent to all the articles and canons of the church on pain of ejectment; the penal statutes against nonconformists; the Five Mile Act; the Declaration of Indulgence, suspending by royal prerogative the action of the penal statutes; the Test Act; the Popish Plot; the Exclusion Bill; the cruel treatment of the Scottish Covenanters; the fierce persecutions of dissenters just after the bloody assize; the assumption of absolute power, for the purpose of overcoming all obstacles to the establishment of the Romish religion; the formation of a new court of Ecclesiastical Commission; the royal order commanding the clergy to publish from their pulpits, after Divine service, the declaration of the king's suspension of all penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs; the prosecution of the seven bishops; the severance of the bond which had made the church the firmest bulwark of the throne; these and collateral topics, that have occupied an earlier chapter, sufficiently illustrate the intermingling of religious and political, spiritual and secular life during the whole of the period now under discussion. A few only of these numerous topics demand any further notice beyond what has already been given to them in preceding pages.

The Presbyterians of England and Scotland had borne an important part in bringing back the king. For this great service they had substantial reason to anticipate frank and friendly treatment at the hands of their new allies, the Episcopalians. Charles had pledged his royal word to give them not liberty of conscience alone, but to use his best endeavours to bring about a compromise between opposing sects. He expressed a wish to see the spiritual jurisdiction divided between synods, as among the Presbyterians, and bishops, with some modification of their functions, as exercised in the Church of England; in other words, an amalgamation of the two churches. The divergence between the moderate men of each church was wholly unconnected with matters of faith. While Calvinism was the accepted system of the Presbyterians, it was not disavowed by the English church. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, in its 55th canon of the year 1603, solemnly acknowledged the Church of Scotland as a branch of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, notwithstanding that it was a church without episcopal ordination or government. Neither church claimed absolute authority, like the Church of Rome, nor admitted the unlimited right of private judgment, in the interpretation of the Scriptures, like the Independents. Both held in common the same fundamental points of doctrine, and claimed no further warrant for its teaching than the Scriptures as interpreted by the church. Their differences concerned external forms and ecclesiastical government almost exclusively. The great national crisis which had united them in the common task of restoring the ancient civil polity of the kingdom seemed to moderate men of both churches to present the occasion for mutual concession and agreement, on the basis propounded at an earlier date by Archbishop

Usher, and known by the name of reduced episcopacy. That scheme, as submitted to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in 1643, is explained in Vol. II. p. 743 of this work. It closely resembled the Scottish system of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, except in this particular, that it reserved to the bishops the position of *ex-officio* presidents of these church courts, instead of leaving the office of president to be filled up by election among the members of each court.

The leading Presbyterians were invited to meet a select body of Episcopalian divines at Clarendon's house, to confer in the presence of the king on the proposed basis of agreement. Calamy and Baxter were the chief speakers on the side of the Presbyterians; Gunning and Morley on that of the Episcopalians. But the day for compromise was past, by fully a year; for although the Convention Parliament, in which the Presbyterians were strong, had not yet ceased to exist, the Cavalier and high-church parliament was even now a portentous coming event, casting its shadow before, depressing the losing side and elating that which had gained the ascendant. The Anglicans rejected every proposal with a promptitude and decision that left no room to doubt that they were carrying out foregone conclusions. The only immediate fruit of the conference—if indeed it also ought not to be included in the decisions formed in advance—was the "healing declaration," in which the king pledged himself to appoint an equal number of divines of both persuasions to revise the liturgy, and to resort to the advice of a national synod, which, in the words of the royal declaration, "shall be duly called after a little time and a mutual conversation between persons of different persuasions hath mollified those distempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguished those jealousies, which make men unfit for those consultations. And, upon such advice, we shall use our best endeavours that such laws may be established as may best provide for the peace of the church and state." The Presbyterians were, however, quickly disabused of the flattering prospects with which they had deluded themselves. Their party in the Convention brought in a bill for giving the force of law to many of the specific pledges of the "healing declaration," but this was lost by a considerable majority, which included every member of the Commons who filled any government employment, and justified the inference that Clarendon, and even the king himself, were at the bottom of the opposition. A few weeks after the rejection of the Declaration Bill, an Act was passed for restoring to their benefices such clergymen as had been displaced during the late troubles and had not subsequently approved the late king's dethronement and death, nor declared against infant baptism. This Act drove hundreds of clergymen from livings into which they had been inducted during the Commonwealth, and some six or seven earlier years. Among those thus expelled was Baxter, who, as vicar of Kidderminster, was held in the highest esteem by his parishioners.

The national synod promised in the "healing declaration" was convened at the residence of the bishop of London, at the Savoy Palace, under authority of royal letters patent dated 25th March, 1661. The synod or conference was empowered "To advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, . . . and to take into their serious and grave consideration the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said book of Common Prayer contained; and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and, if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his Majesty's government and protection; and to certify and present to his Majesty in writing under their several hands the matters and things whereupon they shall so determine, to be by his Majesty approved and established." Bishop Sheldon opened the conference on the 13th of April, with a brief speech, in which he expressed the content of the commissioners on the part of the English church with the old order of things, and stated that it only remained for the other side to bring forward its proposals for changes. He requested that all the desired modifications should be brought forward at once, not by way of oral debate, but in written propositions. The rigid formality of this mode of conference was objected to by the Presbyterians. After some preliminary discussion, it was settled that the business should commence with written propositions, to be followed by oral debate when thought requisite. The following passage is from Burnet's account of the conference: "Papers were upon this given in. The Presbyterians moved that Bishop Usher's reduction should be laid down as the groundwork to treat on; that bishops should not govern their dioceses by their single authority, nor depute it to their lay officers in their courts, but should, in matters of ordination and jurisdiction, take along with them the counsel and concurrence of the presbyters. They did offer several exceptions to the liturgy, against the many responses by the people; and they desired all might be made one continued prayer. They desired that no lessons might be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation. They excepted to many parts of the office of baptism, that import inward regeneration of all that were baptised. They insisted mainly against kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly against the imposing it, and moved that the posture might be left free; and that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of godfathers being the sponsors in baptism, and of the holydays, might be abolished. . . . Sheldon saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied. But nothing gave so great an advantage over them as their offering a new liturgy. In this they were divided among themselves. Some were for insisting on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be easier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. Baxter, who was a man of great piety, and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. . . . He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity, but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in everything. There was a great submission paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded them that from the words of the commission they were bound to offer everything that they thought would conduce to the good or peace of the church, without considering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have in irritating the minds of those who were then the superior body in strength and number." In the end nothing was settled in this most unamicable and inconclusive conference, and the breach between the opposing parties was rather widened than healed by a heated theological controversy extending over four months. Soon after the separation of the abortive synod, convocation was empowered by royal authority to revise the Book of Common Prayer. The most considerable of the very numerous emendations then introduced were the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, the General Thanksgiving, and the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament. The epithet "most religious," as applied to Charles II. in the last-named prayer, "gave offence, and occasioned," says Burnet, "much indecent raillery."

Among minor changes were not a few that rather aggravated than appeased the objections raised in the Savoy conference. For among theologians in convocation, as among uncompromising Cavaliers in the parliament then sitting, there were many who, in the words of a brilliant and graphic historian, "loved the episcopal church because she was the foe of their foes;" and who "valued a prayer or a ceremony, not on account of the comfort which it conveyed to themselves, but on account of the vexation which it gave to the Roundheads; and were so far from being disposed to purchase union by concession, that they objected to concession chiefly because it tended to produce union." Then followed the Act of Uniformity, obliging all clergymen to use the amended Prayer Book, and publicly declare their unfeigned assent to the same, and their approval of everything contained in it. Other clauses of the Act of Uniformity required all incumbents of church livings to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, to submit forthwith to episcopal ordination, if not so qualified already, and take the oath of non-resistance. The sole intent of this Act was to weed the Established Church of the large Presbyterian element then welded into it. This purpose, as elsewhere narrated (p. 8.), was effectually accomplished, and Episcopacy and Presbyterianism thenceforward made no fresh attempts at fusion. National feeling in England supported the action of parliament and the restored national church in this exclusion of Calvinistic theories of ecclesiastical polity. In Scotland, on the other hand, the heart of the people was so thoroughly enlisted in sympathy with Presbyterianism, that the reinstatement of Episcopacy in that kingdom did violence to the national sentiment. But Scotland under the Commonwealth had been reduced to the condition of a conquered province, in which the strong government of the neighbouring and dominant kingdom had little difficulty in giving effect to its arbitrary rule in church affairs as well as in secular. Moreover, Presbyterianism gained the greater hold in the northern kingdom from the almost entire absence of rival forms of Puritanism; whereas in England a multiplicity of rival yet cognate dissenting sects each did its part to discredit all the rest in the popular mind. In the northern kingdom, therefore, as a writer in Knight's "Pictorial History" remarks, the setting up of Episcopacy and the extinction of the Presbyterian national church, "instead of being carried by the national voice, was an act of mere force and violence done by the government against the almost unanimous wish of the country. It was an act which a native government, however anti-popular in its constitution and sympathies, never would have attempted; for, even with the nobility and higher classes in Scotland, the re-establishment of Episcopacy was the reverse of being generally an object of desire, jealous as they were of a church in which they apprehended they would find a rival political power, without being attached to it by any of those bonds of habit and a common interest which had in England so long connected the church with the aristocracy." Ireland presented even less difficulty; for whereas it was indulged with the semblance of national government, its parliament, having no element of independence, promptly registered the wishes of its rulers in a unanimous declaration of adhesion to the latest form of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which had acquired the force of law in England. Thus uniformity, in name at any rate, was now firmly established in the three kingdoms.

One comprehensive national establishment, which might have embraced Episcopacy and Presbyterianism in a single fold, appears at first sight a grand conception, the failure of which can never be too much regretted. There is however an immense countervailing benefit in the gain to civil freedom and liberty of conscience which ultimately sprang out of this refusal of church and kirk to be bound together. All the religious sects and parties of that time were alike intolerant, and prompt to do to others as was done to them. Even Milton, the most advanced apostle at that time of civil and religious freedom, would have withheld liberty of worship from the Romanists, whom he regarded as idolatrous. Had the Presbyterians coalesced with the Episcopalians, so powerful a league would have crushed the minor sects. Toleration and freedom of conscience would have been postponed another century in the absence of powerful minorities to uphold the theory which seldom finds favour among a party which is dominant on the strength of its overwhelming numbers. But the Presbyterians outside the pale of the Establishment soon came round to the conviction which they would never have cherished except in the cold shade of adversity—that minorities are entitled to the protection of the law. They were soon driven by persecutions to make common cause (in some measure) with their fellow-sufferers, the Independents, the Baptists, and other Protestant sects; and when, a quarter of a century later, mortal antagonism sprang up between an intolerant church and an intolerant king, each became eager to outbid the other in the offer of terms of accommodation for the support of the nonconformists.

An article by Sir J. D. Acton in the Home and Foreign Review for July, 1862, has thrown some fresh rays of light on the secret attachment of Charles II. for the Church of Rome, and his intrigues with the object of reconciling his three kingdoms to the Holy See. "The two queens," says Sir John, who founds his article on documents to which he has had access in the library of the Gesu at Rome, "knew that Charles was at heart a Catholic, and they pressed him to declare himself. He was now firmly seated on his throne; the Established Church had recovered its supremacy, and was not only profoundly loyal, but still strongly impregnated with those Catholic tendencies which had hastened its fall; the Puritans and Independents were yet prostrate beneath the ruins of their political system, and the great body that reverenced Baxter as their chief was comparatively tolerant. Charles, believing that the step which would have prevented his return might now be taken without involving the risk of a new revolution, resolved to feel his way towards a reconciliation with the Holy See. Sir Richard Bellings carried to Rome proposals for the submission of the three kingdoms to the Church, and presented to Alexander VII. the king's profession of faith. Charles declared that he was willing to accept the creed of Pius IV., the decrees of the Council of Trent, and all general councils on faith and morals, . . . saving the particular rights and customs of the nation, as is the practice in France and in other countries, and provided always that no new laws should be imposed upon his realm, and he should be free to complete in his own way the work of reconciliation. He declared that he renounced and detested all the heresies which had involved his country in ecclesiastical and civil troubles, and made England the most distracted state in the world. He undertook to restore the hierarchy as it was under Henry VIII.; and added that the Protestants should have toleration as long as they did not disturb the peace. . . . The answer of Alexander was probably not very encouraging, for the negotiation was broken off. . . . . The scheme was not resumed for several years. Times were not propitious. The Dutch War, the Plague, the Fire, the Triple Alliance, intervened. Public animosity was inflamed against the Catholics."

The duke of York's public profession of the obnoxious creed, his marriage with a princess of the same religion, the king's foreign policy, and his declaration of indulgence in behalf of the Catholic worship, all operated still further to inflame public opinion, and to frustrate the royal conspirator's designs. He gave up the task in despair, "and recalled the warning which his father, on the scaffold, had intended to impress on his son as well as on Juxon, by the famous word, 'Remember'—that if ever he came to the crown, he should so govern his subjects as not to force them to extremities. He declared (in 1674) that he was too old to go abroad again, and that he left that to his brother, if he had a mind to try it. For the ten remaining years of that reign, James took the lead in all the schemes for the restoration of the church." One of the agents in this passage of the secret history of the period under review is shown by Sir John Acton to be the eldest of the numerous illegitimate progeny of Charles II. "In the spring of 1646, during his first residence in Jersey, Charles fell in love with a young lady of high rank, who became the mother of a child, who enjoyed the prerogative denied to all the other natural children of the king, of bearing his father's name. . . . Unlike the Clevelands and Portsmouths, who afterwards disgraced his court, the lady who was the object of his earliest attachment obtained of her royal lover the concealment of her fault, and her name has never been divulged." The youth whose name, as Acton says, "has never yet been pronounced by history," entered himself as a novitiate of the Jesuits' College at Rome in April, 1668, under the designation of James de la Cloche. In the following August, Charles wrote to the general of the Jesuits to send him his son, "whose presence he needed for the good of his soul." The novice went to the English court under the name of Henry de Rohan, and in the disguise of a French cavalier. A few weeks later he returned on a secret mission to the Jesuits at Rome, to prepare the way for his father's contemplated perversion. This is the last authentic trace of the mysterious James Stuart, whose name is thus associated with royal plots for undoing the work of the Reformation in the British islands. At the period of these obscure intrigues, the pope and his advisers entertained the notion that legislative toleration for their co-religionists in England was not to be desired, even if it could be obtained, if the Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters must share the benefits of such toleration. They preferred to rely solely on the power and favour of the king, to be exerted in the use of his dispensing power, the benefits of which they hoped to monopolize. Charles gained great credit at Rome for his opposition to the measure for Catholic relief, which was brought forward in July, 1662, the chief promoters of which rejected the doctrine of the temporal authority of the pope, and pledged themselves to oppose with their lives and fortunes the pontiff himself, if he should ever attempt to execute that pretended power. Equally grateful to the Holy See and the college of Jesuits was Charles's refusal to countenance an address from leading Irish Catholics, who in like manner rated the obligation of patriotism higher than was held consistent with the allegiance due to Rome.

Quakerism claims special mention in this section, from its prominence in the religious persecutions of the period. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, was born in 1624, at Drayton, Leicestershire. His father followed the lowly calling of a weaver, and George was brought up in the equally humble occupation of a shoemaker.

The following transcriptions from his journal set forth in his own words some of the peculiar notions out of which the sect, which acknowledges him for its head and founder, was shaped. At the age of nineteen, in a fit of remorse for his share in a convivial meeting at a tavern, he records: "I returned home, but did not go to bed that night, nor could I sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and prayed and cried to the Lord, who said unto me, 'Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be as a stranger unto all.'" He thereupon betook himself to a course of solitary wanderings and meditations, reading the Scriptures continually, and gleaning from them new conceptions of religious faith and practice, under the immediate teaching and illuminating help of the Holy Spirit, as he firmly believed. With reference to this period he says, "When the Lord sent me forth into the world he forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to THEE and THOU all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people good-morrow or good-evening; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one, and this made the sects and professions to rage." His first public ministration as a preacher and teacher of spiritual things was in 1647, at Dukinfield, in Cheshire, where also members of his congregation quickly put in practice, on his encouragement, the speaking in public assemblies *as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*

Fox at this time held it to be obligatory on him, as a faithful teacher of spirituality, to attend at parish churches and interrupt with his protests the ordinary course of Divine service. In the midst of a sermon to which he was an uneasy listener at Nottingham, in 1649, when the clergyman told his hearers that they must try all doctrines by the Holy Scriptures, "Oh, no," cried Fox, standing up and addressing the astonished congregation, "it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which opinions and religions are to be tried; for it was the Spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it." Successive acts of this kind brought him into trouble; he underwent several imprisonments and durance in the stocks, as a disturber of the peace. Many of his followers, of both sexes, claiming the same inward light, "disturbed public worship by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical representations of some impending calamity; they also took the liberty of giving ministers the reproachful name of hirelings, deceivers of the people, false prophets, &c. Some of them went through divers towns and villages naked, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation."*

It would be unfair to charge the Quakers with all the extravagances of the many fanatics and visionaries who called themselves disciples of George Fox, but were in reality disowned by him and his followers. But even under the government of the Protector, when the Independents were in the ascendant, and a large approach was made to general toleration of all religious sects, the Quakers were often in tribulation. A writer of their own communion thus describes the sufferings which, he omits to add, were commonly the fruit of their excessive zeal and the aggressive character of their religious system in its pristine earnestness: "A Christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office; an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets was styled a breach of the peace; and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a contempt of authority; hence proceeded fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods. Nay, so hot for persecution were some magistrates that, by an unparalleled misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of men and women of good reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of Quakers."*

An account presented to parliament in 1657 showed that in the previous six years nearly two thousand Quakers had undergone imprisonment and other punishments in Republican England. But the sufferings their indiscretions brought upon them at home were insignificant in comparison with the merciless persecution which they endured at the hands of the puritan colonists of New England, where fugitives from religious bigotry in the land of their birth set up a fiercer persecution of heretical opinions in their own chosen sanctuary of religious freedom than that from which they themselves had fled. The State Church of New England in the days of the Commonwealth was a form of Independency. Orthodox puritanism in Massachusetts, the chosen field of its unfettered development, "was every day becoming more fierce and rampant; the despotic majority, which imposed all its own whims and prejudices upon the whole community, now came to hold that the wearing of uncropped hair was an offence against the word of God, and that to put a pipe of tobacco in the lips was nothing less than to inhale the smoke of the bottomless pit. Upon the latter piece of daring profanity a penalty was actually imposed by the government. There were, besides, laws by which whosoever should not communicate with the State Church was deprived of all civil franchises; by which the worship of images was made punishable with death; and by which banishment was proclaimed against heresies of every description. Under the last-mentioned law a hot persecution against the new sect of Quakers was begun in 1656. . . . Afterwards some additional laws were made, specially directed against Quakerism. It was enacted that any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, should lose one of his ears, if a woman, should be severely whipped; for the second offence should, if a man, have his other ear cut off; if a woman, should receive another severe whipping; for the third, whether man or woman, should have the tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. Even these severities, however, being found insufficient to eradicate the obnoxious sect, it was at last enacted that every Quaker returning to the country after banishment should be put to death; and several persons were actually executed under this monstrous law."†

An ordinance of the state of Connecticut under date 1658, declares that, "Whereas there is a cursed sect of heretics lately sprung up in the world, commonly called Quakers, who take upon them that they are immediately sent from God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, who yet speak and write blasphemous opinions, despise government, and the order of God in church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities," &c.;—therefore any person bringing a Quaker or other blasphemous heretic into the colony should forfeit the penalty of fifty pounds; any Quaker of his own accord coming on civil business, except on a formal licence from a magistrate, and with a custodian always with him, at his own cost, to watch all his actions, should suffer, for the first offence, whipping, hard-labour, and solitary confinement; for the second, should be branded in the hand, and be imprisoned; for the third, should be branded in the other hand, with a further term of hard-labour and imprisonment; for the fourth, should have the tongue bored through with a red-hot iron, with another term of hard-labour and imprisonment. The Restoration was looked forward to with hope, and welcomed with exultation by the Quakers. Fox says in his Journal, "I had a sight and sense of the king's return a good while before, and so had some others. I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know that, while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When some forward spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset House, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so, for I then foresaw the king's coming in again. . . . They that had got possession were exceedingly high, and great persecution was acted by them that called themselves saints. . . . In my great suffering and travail of spirit for the nation, being greviously burdened with their hypocrisy and falsehood, I saw God would bring that a-top which they had been a-top of. . . . There had been tenderness in many of them formerly, when they were low; but when they were got up, had killed and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others; so that we had much to do with them about our hats; and saying THOU and THEE to them. They turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness, and many of them were like distracted men for this last honour. . . . Great spoiling also there was of Friends' goods for tithes by the Independent and Presbyterian priests and some Baptist priests that had got the steeple-houses." Shortly after the Restoration, when he was in Lancaster jail on a charge of being an enemy to the king, he wrote an earnest disclaimer, adding, with reference to the king's return, "It is of the Lord he is come in, to bring down many unrighteously set up; of which I had a sight three years before he came in. . . . I have been often imprisoned and persecuted these eleven or twelve years by them that have been against both the king and his father; . . . but not by them that were for the king." Charles quickly became convinced of the friendly disposition of the Quakers towards his person and government, which he requited by liberating the many hundreds of them who were imprisoned, and by sending out orders to the New England States to stop the infliction of further corporal punishments upon them. While the Convention was sitting, Fox tells us, "Some Friends were admitted into the House of Lords, and had liberty to declare why they could not pay tithes, swear, nor go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship, and they heard them moderately. And there being about seven hundred Friends in prison in the nation, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (as they call them), when the king came in he set them all at liberty. There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty, because they were sensible that we had suffered as well as they under the former powers."

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* See Neal's "History of the Puritans," vol. ii. pp. 576-7.

* Gough's "History of the Quakers," i., 140.

† Knight's "Pictorial History," iii., 809, and foot-note quoting authorities.

Several bodies of sectaries entertained the same leading opinions with the Quakers as to an inward illumination and a voice from heaven speaking within the soul, and added to these characteristics other peculiarities of their own, often the wildest delusions. Among these were the Millenarians or Fifth Monarchy-Men, who expected the early advent of Christ to reign on earth for a thousand years. Venner's followers, who raised a mad insurrection under the visionary persuasion that the time had come for the kingdom of the saints on earth, were of this fanatic sect. As a precautionary measure for staying the progress of these insane enthusiasts, Charles's government imprisoned indiscriminately Fifth Monarchy-Men, Seekers, Muggletonians, Vanists, Ranters, and Quakers, all of whom, beyond the limits of their respective communities, were popularly confounded as fanatics of the same or similar stamp. The panic under which this summary and comprehensive precaution was adopted against an expected attempt to overthrow the new government, is thus noticed by Fox: "Upon this insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy-Men great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after; and hardly could man or woman go up or down the street to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds. Now were the prisons everywhere filled by the Friends and others, in the city and country. . . . We heard of several thousands of our Friends that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation." They were released on the subsidence of public alarm, but on other pleas, as narrated in a previous chapter, they shared from time to time with other nonconformist and Roman Catholics a prolonged term of disabilities and oppressions.

In a memorial to the king on the sufferings of his co-religionists in 1662, Fox addresses his majesty as "Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions," and encloses a "List of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers." In James's reign the celebrated William Penn, a man of great wealth, who moved in the first social circles, and was quite a favourite at court, occupied the position of a leader and an apostle of Quakerism. His powerful advocacy with the king procured the liberation of fifteen hundred Quakers, and a yet larger number of Roman Catholics, whose sole crime was that of refusing to attend the parish churches, or to take the customary oaths in proof of orthodoxy and conformity. James evinced an exceptional kindness for the sect which alone, among the dissenters, shared with the Established Church the profession that it is the duty of subjects to submit meekly to all the extravagances of absolute power—that no excess of tyranny on the part of a prince gives warrant for resistance on the part of his subjects.

Among the numerous brood of minor sectaries that came into prominence within or just before the period under review were some who may, without any breach of charity, be termed crazy fanatics, who pretended to have been favoured with visions and extraordinary revelations and messages from heaven, and whose behaviour was at times so outrageous that measures of severity would, even in our day, be looked upon as indispensable to repress such mad freaks as they indulged in. Naylor, one of the earliest followers of Fox, in what Howitt calls "the effervescence of his mind under his religious zeal," received from some deluded people at Exeter homage similar to that paid to the Redeemer on his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. His blasphemy was punished with almost as much rigour under the government of Cromwell as was ever bestowed on the stubbornest heretic under a sentence of the Court of Inquisition. His extravagances, and the discussion on the fittest punishment for them, kept the House of Commons in debate for a full fortnight. The punishment had the merit of being remedial; he was cured of his hallucinations, declaring in a written statement during his confinement in Bridewell, "All those ranting wild spirits which gathered about me at that time of darkness, with all their wild arts and wicked works against the honour of God and his pure spirit and people, I renounce; and whereas I gave advantage, through want of judgment, to the evil spirit, I take shame to myself." This recantation was accepted by the Quakers as a sufficient condonation of his error; they received him back into membership, and he shortly afterwards died.

The Behmenists derived their name from Jacob Behmen, who taught the doctrine of inward illumination somewhat earlier than Fox. They were closely akin to the Quakers. The Muggletonians, followers of "the two last prophets and messengers of God," were fierce opponents of the Quakers and Behmenists, although like them they laid claim to the inward light, but rejected the doctrine that the Deity is an incorporeal being. They taught that God inhabits a body not exceeding the stature of a man; that in it he visited the earth under the name of Christ, leaving Elijah to act as his vicegerent in heaven. Muggleton and a partner called Reeve, associated with him in his new system of theology, claimed to be the two witnesses named in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Revelation. They also claimed to have a special revelation of the place and nature of heaven and hell, angels and devils. Their truculent fulminations against their rivals and opponents in religious novelties remind one of the papal excommunications of earlier days. The following is from one of Muggleton's milder "Sentences of Damnation," in which William Penn is denounced as one that "hath been more zealous for the spirit of Antichrist than the former that went before him; for this he is damned, both soul and body, to eternity; and it will not be long before he shall possess the reward of his blasphemy, which is this: his soul, which he saith cannot die, it shall die two deaths; it shall pass through this first death, which is natural and appointed unto all men once to die, and enter into the second death, where he shall never die nor never live in comfort, even a living death and a dying life; this is the second death which God hath prepared for the seed of the serpent, such as Penn and others that despise such a God as hath a body, form, and shape like man; and he shall remember that he was told so by me." The Quakers of Cork made a formal protest against Muggleton's heresies, for which he retaliated by consigning them to perdition in the following truculent sentence of damnation: "Inasmuch as God hath chosen me on earth to be the judge of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, therefore, in obedience to my commission from the true God, I do pronounce all those twenty-six persons whose names are above written cursed and damned in their souls and bodies, from the presence of God, elect men, and angels, to eternity." Little regret can be felt that Ludovick Muggleton, who was more of an impostor and trading prophet than a crazy fanatic, was subjected among better men to the discipline of the pillory, to which Jeffreys consigned him in 1677, on a charge of blasphemy.

With such gross excrescences cropping up in thick profusion in the ranks of sectarianism, and in an age when the idea of religious liberty was a new conception, when all the regular churches of Christendom, all statesmen and rulers, and, it may be added, the people at large in all nations, held that it was a duty incumbent on Christian communities to suppress and extirpate error by force—in such an age there is much to explain and even to extenuate the severity of English Parliaments in the days of the two last Stuarts towards all religious sects and parties beyond the pale of the Established Church. The severe laws of those times against nonconformists and Roman Catholics expressed the general voice of the community. Throughout the period the court would gladly have tolerated all kinds of Protestant dissent, if under cover of general toleration it could have gratified its secret leaning towards the Romanists. But parliament and the people at large, hating popery for its old offences against the nation, dreading its insidious approaches under the fostering influence of court favour, and resenting the severities and gloomy *régime* of puritanism in the days of its rampant power, were at one in their purpose of curbing alike the revival of popery and the development of sectarianism.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Literature, Science, and Art, from the Restoration, 1660, to the Revolution, 1688.

The foregoing chapters exhibit the force of anti-puritan reaction in the political, moral, and religious feelings and practices of the nation, which set in with the accession of the "merry monarch." The deepest and most abiding expression of that reaction yet remains to be discussed. Poetry, and especially the dramatic form of it, had been well-nigh buried under the ruins of monarchy. From the days when "civil dudgeon first grew high," until the utter collapse of the Commonwealth, a prolonged drought and dearth afflicted the whole domain of literature in all its diversified fields, only relieved by a thin sprinkling of memorable authorship to redeem it from the discredit of entire sterility. Then follows a longer term of years, teeming with a luxuriant, but withal a rank and noisome growth, in which noxious weeds are interlaced with flowers of sweetest perfume. For the Restoration, while it retained the censorship of the press, and a control over public entertainments, put an end to the grim rule of austere censors who had long frowned upon and scared away the muses, and in their room installed a licenser whose prudishness, if he had any, was exercised exclusively on political opinions, and whose failings certainly cannot be said to have leaned to virtue's side. Thenceforward no morose bigot, "deeming each harmless art a crime," could impose his leaden yoke on the sportive play of the fancy, mulct playgoers for attendance at the Globe, the Rose, or the Fortune, consign players to the discipline of the scourge, or shut up the playhouses. But it may fairly be questioned whether literature suffered greater injury under the chilling and numbing rule of triumphant Puritanism than under the worse evils which fell upon it as a blight on the re-establishment of monarchy, when it indemnified itself for recent restraints by breaking down all the barriers of decorum, and setting at defiance all the trammels of homely, old-fashioned virtue. The grace, purity, and elegance of Cowley remained, it is true, for some years after the Restoration, to shed the lustre of his name on a degenerate age; for he who had "lisped in numbers" in the closing years of the first James's reign, continued to delight the readers of his time with ever-fresh scintillations from his sparkling fancy, down to the premature end of his life, in 1665. Waller also, "maker and model of melodious verse," ceased not, throughout the second Stuart period and beyond it, to pour forth copious streams of ingenious thought, dressed in elegant, easy, and witty expression. And, greater far than these, or than all other poets in the long roll of fame—save one who fills the loftiest place—Milton yet remained: he whose own years of infancy and childhood overlapped the riper season of Shakespeare's earthly pilgrimage, "tried at once by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around him, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold."* But these all belong to that earlier and purer age which listened to the first outpourings of their genius, and in which they severally lived and moved and had their being, even after it was swallowed up in the deluge of an era when polite literature became the medium of profanity, licentiousness, and scandalous vice. Butler's "Hudibras," which ranks among the most celebrated literary productions of the Restoration period, is not entirely free from the blemish of indecency. This poem is a grotesque caricature of the rigid manners and extravagant formalism of the Puritans in the days of their political ascendancy. It sparkles in every page with brilliant humour and pungent wit; but with every allowance for the licence befitting a burlesque or broad farce, the greatest admirers of "Hudibras" would have preferred that the vigorous and fertile genius of Butler had never been sullied by indecorous phrases and thoughts, such as too often tarnish the pages of his immortal poem. Butler is supposed to have gained his insight into the austere peculiarities of the ungainly zealots whom he ridiculed and satirized by a service of some years as a clerk to a Puritan justice of the peace in Worcestershire, followed by a similar engagement under Sir Samuel Luke, one of Cromwell's scoutmasters in Hertfordshire. Luke is supposed to be the original of Sir Hudibras. The first part of the poem came out in 1663, and at once secured for its author a wide-spread popularity. The second and third parts followed in 1664 and 1678 respectively. King Charles highly appreciated its inexhaustible fund of humour, and not unfrequently quoted its unique couplets. Butler, however, reaped no substantial reward for the great service his brilliant comic genius conferred on the royal cause, when he overwhelmed the stern precisians, its enemies, in irretrievable contempt. He died in poverty in 1680, and was buried at the expense of a friend in St. Paul's Churchyard, Covent Garden.

Gems of beauty in thought and expression are at times, though certainly not often, to be found interspersed with Butler's broad-grins and ludicrous conceits.

Thus his burlesque sketch of night—

> The sun grew low and left the skies,
> Put down, some write, by ladies' eyes;
> The moon pulled off her veil of light,
> That hides her face by day from sight—
> Mysterious veil, of brightness made,
> That's both her lustre and her shade—

reminds the reader, by the sudden transition from the ridiculous to the chaste, of some of the choicest bits in the "Ingoldsby Legends." The following lines, descriptive of Sir Hudibras himself, are fair samples of the whole poem:—

> He was in logic a great critic,
> Profoundly skilled in analytic;
> He could distinguish, and divide,
> A hair 'twixt south, and south-west side;

---

* Macaulay.

On either which he would dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute.
He'd undertake to prove, by force
Of argument, that man's a horse;
He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
And that a lord may be an owl;—
A calf,—an alderman; a goose,—a justice;
And rooks, committee-men and trustees.
He'd run in debt by disputation,
And pay with ratiocination:
All this by syllogism, true
In mood and figure, he would do;

* * * * *

For his religion it was fit
To match his learning and his wit.
'Twas Presbyterian true-blue,
For he was of that stubborn crew
Of errant saints, whom all men grant
To be the true church militant;
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire, and sword, and desolation,
A goodly, thorough reformation.

The sect to which Sir Hudibras belonged were said by our author to—

Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to;
Still so perverse and opposite
As if they worshipped God for spite;

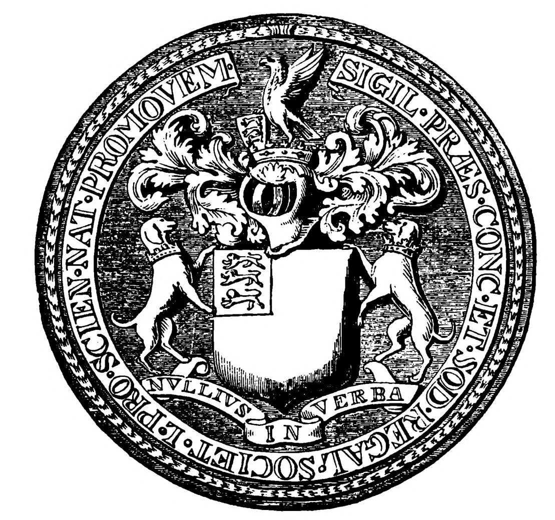
* * * * *

Rather than fail, they will defy
That which they love most tenderly;
Quarrel with mince-pies, and disparage
Their best and dearest friend, plum-porridge;
Fat pig and goose itself oppose,
And blaspheme custard through the nose.

The newly-founded Royal Society was looked upon by the wits of the time as fair game for ridicule, on account of the whimsical character of some of its earlier speculations. Butler satirized the learned members in a poem in *hudibrastic* measure, bearing the title of "The Elephant in the Moon."

If Milton be regarded as not properly belonging to this period, but rather as a noble fragment of an earlier stratum, cropping through the incumbent mass of later deposit, then Dryden ranks at the head of the literati of the time, covering the whole of it, and stretching into the next, with his long array of poems, plays, and versified translations, prologues, epilogues, odes, lyrics, and some prose writings. John Dryden was born in 1631, at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire. His earliest poem, written at the age of eighteen, was after the style of Donne, full of quaint and fantastic conceits. He, however, soon attained a style of his own, distinguished for ease, vigour, smoothness, flexibility, and fervour, and has been eclipsed by very few of his successors as a master of English verse. Like Waller, who dedicated his muse to Cromwell, and afterwards to Charles II., Dryden signalized the death of the Protector in heroic strains of panegyric; and two years later passed promptly over to the prosperous side, with the offering of "Astræa Redux; a poem on the Restoration," with other productions of the same character, and with the same transparent purpose. The "Annus Mirabilis" commemorates, in quatrain stanzas of alternately rhyming heroics, the great events of 1666—the calamitous fire, and the prosperous war. Among his later and best works, "Absolom and Achitophel," a keen and polished political satire, occupies a foremost place. In this poem the story of the intrigues of Shaftesbury and his party to supplant the duke of York, and advance the duke of Monmouth to the place of heir-apparent, is told in the similitude of the Scripture narrative of Absolom's rebellion. It was written at the instance of the king, to bring discredit on the exclusionists at the time of their greatest popularity. The allegory assigns the names that figure in the Scripture story to persons in and about the English court, or otherwise connected with the exclusion scheme. Thus Absolom stands for the duke of Monmouth; Achitophel for Shaftesbury; King David for Charles II.; Michal for Queen Catherine; Pharaoh for the king of France; Saul for Cromwell; Bathsheba for the duchess of Portsmouth; Shimei for Slingsby Bethel, a sheriff of London; Zimri for the duke of Buckingham; and so on with the rest of the five-and-twenty personages of the satire. The parallels drawn are for the most part wonderfully apposite; and the whole poem is the most finished satire in any language, elevated, trenchant, flowing, accurate—all the portraits possessing the boldness of full-lengths in combination with the exquisite finish of miniatures. The first edition disappeared in a few weeks. Dr. Johnson relates, on the testimony of his father, who was a bookseller, that both for rapidity of sale and popularity with the reading public, the "Absolom and Achitophel" attained a success quite unparalleled until the publication of Sacheverel's "Sermon." The following lines portray with great force and precision, and with no less incisive sarcasm, the character of the able but unscrupulous Shaftesbury:—

Some by their friends, more by themselves, thought wise,
Opposed the power to which they could not rise.
Some had in courts been great, and thrown from thence,
Like fiends were hardened in impenitence.
Some, by their monarch's fatal mercy grown
From pardoned rebels kinsmen to the throne,
Were raised in power and public office high;
Strong bands, if bands ungrateful men would tie.


SIGIL·PRÆS·CONC·ET·SOD·REGAL·SOCIET·L·PRO·SCIEN·NAT·PROMOVEM
NVLLIVS IN VERBA

SEAL ROYAL SOCIETY.

Of these the false Achitophel was first,
A name in all succeeding ages curst:
For close designs and crooked counsels fit;
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace:
A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
A daring pilot in extremity;
Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
He sought the storms; but for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.

* * * * *

In friendship false, implacable in hate,
Resolved to ruin or to rule the state.
To compass this, the triple bond he broke;
The pillars of the public safety shook;
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.

Elkanah Settle, a small poet of the day, with whom Dryden had many quarrels and some controversies, figures as Doeg in the "Absolom and Achitophel," and is thus depicted:—

Doeg, though without knowing how or why,
Made still a blundering kind of melody;
Spurred boldly on, and dashed through thick and thin—
Through sense, or nonsense, never out nor in;
Free from all meaning, whether good or bad,
And, in one word, heroically mad,
He was too warm on picking work to dwell,
But fagoted his notions as they fell:
And, if they rhymed and rattled, all was well.
Spiteful he is not, though he wrote a satire,
For still there goes some thinking to ill-nature.
He needs no more than birds and beasts to think:
All his occasions are to eat and drink.
If he call rogue and rascal from a garret,
He means you no more mischief than a parrot:
The words for friend and foe alike were made;
To fetter them in verse is all his trade.

The attack on Shaftesbury was repeated in "The Medal; a Satire against Sedition." Shortly after the accession of James II., Dryden followed the lead of some courtly perverts, and embraced the religion which was then the surest passport to royal favour. In 1687 he published an allegorical poem, "The Hind and the Panther," setting forth all that can be said in behalf of the ancient faith which he had just embraced. The Church of Rome is represented by the "Milk-white Hind," to imply spotless purity; the Church of England by the "Spotted Panther," the spots denoting error; the "Bloody Bear" stands for the Independents; the Quakers are figured under the "Quaking Hare;" the Anabaptists are represented by the "Bristled Baptist Boar;" "False Reynard" personifies the Unitarians; the "Buffoon Ape" stands for the Free-Thinkers; the "Wolf" for Presbytery; and his majesty, James II., is typified by the "British Lion!" These denizens of the forest are assembled in a theological synod, in which, to quote the judicious criticism of Bell, the editor of a recent edition of Dryden's works, "they display so much learning and earnestness about heresies, texts, and interpretations, that we are compelled to put the interlocutors wholly out of the question, and concentrate our attention exclusively upon the subject in debate, if we would escape the ludicrous associations of ideas suggested by their combination." With some further remarks to the same effect on the absurdity of the machinery of this zoological allegory, the critic continues:—"If we discard the structure, and confine ourself to the arguments of which the hinds, panthers, bears, hares, and apes are merely the vehicles, we shall have as much occasion for admiring the skill with which Dryden has conducted the debate, as, on the other hand, to condemn his grotesque machinery. In this poem he exhibits his great power of rendering verse subservient to every possible process of reasoning. There is no form of argument which is not here illustrated with a brevity and completeness, a sententious weight of thought, and a vigour and animation of expression unparalleled in our language. He has not only exhausted the controversy, but placed every separate particle of it in the clearest light. His lines supply texts on both sides—but especially on his own There is no weakness or negligence anywhere. His logic is close, searching, and conclusive." The aim of the poem being the vindication of the newly-espoused creed of the poet, we may regret, but without feeling much disappointment, that the poem can lay no claim to fairness or impartiality in its argument. With the zeal of a new convert Dryden gave his Hind the best of the argument, and depicted the Church which he had deserted, and all the Protestant sects, in the most unlovely colours.

A few brief extracts from "The Hind and the Panther" are subjoined.

A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,
Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;
Without unspotted, innocent within;
She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.
Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds,
And Scythian shafts, and many winged wounds
Aimed at her heart; was often forced to fly,
And doomed to death, though fated not to die.
Panting and pensive now she ranged alone,
And wandered in the kingdoms once her own!
The common hunt, though from their rage restrained
By sovereign power, her company disdained;
Grinned as they passed, and with a glaring eye
Gave gloomy signs of secret enmity.

* * * * *

The bloody Bear, an independent beast,
Unlicked to form, in groans her hate expressed.
Among the timorous kind the quaking Hare
Professed neutrality, but would not swear.
Next her the baboon Ape, as atheists use,
Mimicked all sects, and had his own to choose;
The bristled Baptist Boar, impure as he,
But whitened with the foam of sanctity.

* * * * *

The Panther, sure the noblest, next the Hind;
And fairest creature of the spotted kind;
Oh, could her inborn stains be washed away,
She were too good to be a beast of prey.
Her faults and virtues lie so mixed that she
Nor wholly stands condemned, nor wholly free.

Dryden wrote nearly thirty plays; the tragedies in rhyme and the comedies in prose. None of these rank very high as dramas, and most of them have the serious blemish of bad morality and gross impurity of expression. But at that date, as at the present time, a successful play brought its author a higher reward than any other form of literary composition; and as Dryden had no other income beyond his official salary as poet laureate and royal historiographer, he was tempted by his necessities into the more lucrative branch of literary labour, although fully conscious that the drama was not his proper vocation. His rhyming plays are after the French models of his time, consisting of a string of declamatory recitations in the form of dialogue. His best works were produced when he was thrown entirely on his own resources by the loss of his official income on the change of dynasty. His translation of Virgil, Juvenal, and Persius; the adaptations from Chaucer and Boccaccio, bearing the title of Fables; and the magnificent Ode to St. Cecilia, commonly called "Alexander's Feast," were written after the Revolution. The Virgil brought Dryden about twelve hundred pounds, the "Fables" two hundred and fifty guineas. His publisher, Tonson, urged him to dedicate the Virgil to King William; but the aged poet resolutely declined the task, having now shaken off some of that earlier pliancy of conscience with which he is justly chargeable. Tonson thereupon made the engraver "aggravate the nose of Æneas in the plates into a sufficient resemblance of the hooked promontory of the Deliverer's countenance."

In the ranks of the court wits of the period were several who hold a respectable grade among minor poets. Sedley wrote plays and poems that were in high repute with his contemporaries. His taste and accomplishments, and his complete mastery of all the graces of conversation, won the heartiest admiration of the king and all the throng of courtiers. Charles paid him the high compliment of saying nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's viceroy. The duke of Buckingham, himself a poet, compliments Sedley's "Witchcraft;" and Rochester, also a votary of the muses, talks of his "gentle, prevailing art." In his maturer years he ranged himself among the opponents of the court. King James, while duke of York, had seduced his daughter, the homely-visaged Catherine, of whom Charles used to say, in allusion to her ugliness, that she had been imposed by the priests as a penance upon his royal brother. When James came to the throne he presented Catherine with a patent of nobility, creating her countess of Dorchester. Her father excused his adhesion to the side of the Prince of Orange by the memorable witticism:—"I hate ingratitude; and as the king has made my daughter a countess, I will endeavour to make his daughter a queen." Rochester, the most dissolute among the profligate courtiers of the Revolution, wrote some elegant short poems and songs, with others too gross for publication. He has happily hit off the character of Charles II. in the single line:—

A merry monarch, scandalous and poor.

Among lesser stars in the galaxy of a tuneful throng, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Dorset hold respectable places. The "Rehearsal," a satirical comedy by the former, and the lively song "To all you Ladies now on Land" by the latter, are the best-known specimens of their writing. Charles Cotton, the friend of Izaak Walton, wrote some lively and humorous, but coarse and indelicate, travesties of Lucian and Virgil; a good translation of Montaigne's "Essays;" and a continuation of his friend Walton's celebrated "Treatise on Angling." His shorter poems, including the "Ode to Winter," stood high in Wordsworth's favour.

The earl of Roscommon, another noble author of the time, merits, but should not quite monopolize, the praise bestowed by Pope on his exemption from the prevalent taint of coarseness and impurity of language:—

——In all Charles' days
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays.

His poem, entitled "An Essay on Translated Verse," is said to have suggested Pope's "Essay on Criticism." Andrew Marvell deserves similar credit for the moral purity of his poetry. Besides those already enumerated, the other principal dramatic authors of the period are Davenant, Otway, Nathanial Lee, Southern, Crowne, Etherege, Wycherley, and Shadwell. Davenant wrote some five and twenty masques, comedies, and tragedies, none of them of much account. He was a most efficient manager of one of the two licensed companies of players. He added female actresses to the permanent attractions of the stage, and was the first to employ moveable scenery in theatrical performances. He was unsparing, too, in the use of appropriate decoration in placing his pieces upon the stage. Otway is still remembered for his "Venice Preserved," which is even yet performed occasionally. He wrote, in all, six tragedies and four comedies, most of which are, however, disfigured with the prevalent indelicacy of language. He excels all his contemporaries in masterful rendering of the passions, in tenderness and pathos.

Lee wrote eleven tragedies, distinguished for tenderness and fervour: the two best are "Theodosius" and the "Rival Queens." Crowne produced seventeen pieces, samples of which are printed in Lamb's dramatic specimens. Etherege wrote three successful comedies, "The Comical Revenge," "She would if She Could," and "The Man of Mode, or Sir Topling Flutter." Wycherley followed in a similar style of polished, easy, fluent dialogue; he and Etherege are regarded as the originators of a new style of comedy, characterized by a vein of lively humour and witty dialogue, which was afterwards successfully developed by Congreve, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh. Wycherley's four plays are, "Love in a Wood," "The Gentleman Dancing-master," "The Country Wife," and "The Plain Dealer." Southern's plays belong mostly to the period following the Revolution; but his tragedy of "The Loyal Brother" and his comedy of the "Disappointment" preceded that event. Shadwell, who became laureate on the dismissal of Dryden, wrote seventeen comedies, which have but very slender claims to literary merit. Nahum Tate, a sort of literary cobbler, belongs to this period. He will not soon be forgotten while his version of the Psalms is bound up with the Anglican Liturgy. Dryden hired his services as a journeyman rhymester, writing to order, in the second part of his "Absolom and Achitophel." He succeeded Shadwell in the laureateship—not certainly on the score of superlative literary merit. He and Elkanah Settle —Dryden's "Doeg, whom God for mankind's mirth has made," must be reckoned among the mechanical playwrights of the time. Mrs. Behn, authoress of seventeen plays and some tales and novels, many of them replete with grossness as coarse as the worst pollutions in the pages of her male contemporaries, is entitled to a conspicuous place in the black list of celebrities and notorieties of the period.

Clarendon is entitled to a high place among the prose writers of his age. His "History of the Rebellion," though not free from considerable and even glaring faults, is yet an invaluable repertory of historical and biographical details. His style reminds one rather of a fluent speaker, hurried away by a copious flow of ideas into lengthy, involved, meandering sentences, than of the polished writer whose utterances are regulated by a strict deference to grammatical canons. His portraitures of the leading men of a stirring time are always graphic and forcible, but often tinged by a strong partisan colouring, for which, however, the reader readily makes for himself the necessary allowance, under the ever-present reflection that Clarendon never attempts to conceal his strong royalist prepossessions. Among his miscellaneous works are a reply to Hobbes's "Leviathan," an "Essay on an Active and Contemplative Life;" "Contemplations on the Psalms of David;" a "Vindication" of himself from the charges on which he was banished; "Dialogues on the Want of Respect due to Age," and sundry other essays and dialogues, including one on Education.

The following single sentence, from a passage descriptive of the demonstrations in Edinburgh in 1637, against the adoption of the English Liturgy, affords a fair sample of his loose and negligent structure of sentences, coupled with wonderfully lucid power of exposition. "That people, after they had once begun, pursued the business vigorously, and with all imaginable contempt of the government; and though in the hubbub of the first day there appeared nobody of name or reckoning, but the actors were really of the dregs of the people, yet they discovered by the countenance of that day that few men of rank were forward to engage themselves in the quarrel on the behalf of the bishops; whereupon more considerable persons appeared every day against them, and, as heretofore in the case of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 50), 'the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women'—the women and ladies of the best quality declared themselves of the party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the bishops, as introducers of popery and superstition, against which they avowed themselves to be irreconcilable enemies; and their husbands did not long defer the owning the same spirit; insomuch as within few days the bishops durst not appear in the streets, nor in any courts or houses, but were in danger of their lives; and such of the lords as durst be in their company, or seemed to desire to rescue them from violence, had their coaches torn in pieces, and their persons assaulted, insomuch as they were glad to send for some of those great men who did indeed govern the rabble, though they appeared not in it, who readily came and redeemed them out of their hands; so that by the time new orders came from England, there was scarce a bishop left in Edinburgh, and not a minister who durst read the Liturgy in any church."

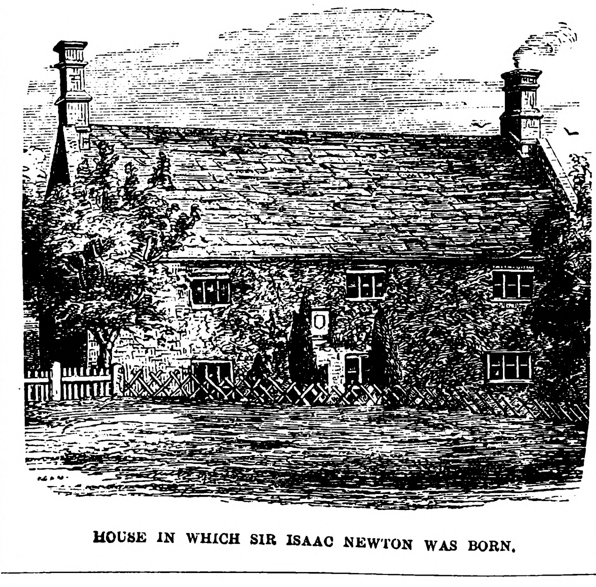
Dryden wrote elegant prose, but produced no lengthy or elaborate compositions under this head. The prefaces and dedications to his plays and poems, and his occasional critical essays, written to accompany his more important poetical productions, are replete with interest both for manner and matter. His style is graphic and picturesque, yet always natural. Sir William Temple, a leading diplomatist and philosophical statesman of the time, holds a place also among its most elegant prose writers. Dr. Johnson said of him that he was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose. "Before his time they were careless of arrangement, and did not mind whether a sentence ended with an important word or an insignificant word, or with what part of speech it was concluded." His works are of the miscellaneous sort, comprising among them essays distinguished alike for brilliancy and depth of thought, such as those on Ancient and Modern Learning, Poetry, Heroic Virtue, Gardening, Health and Long Life, Popular Discontents, the Origin and Nature of Government. His other writings are memoirs and political tracts on matters of temporary interest. In the "Essay on Gardening," occurs the well-known passage in which Temple records Charles's vindication of the English climate: "I must needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the king say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a king of England that loved and esteemed his own country. 'Twas in reply to some of the company that were reviling our climate, and extolling those of Italy, and Spain, or at least of France. He said, he thought that was the best climate where he could be abroad in the air with pleasure, or at least without trouble and inconvenience, the most days of the year, and the most hours of the day; and this he thought he could be in England more than in any country he knew of in Europe."

Evelyn ranks among the most pleasing prose writers of the age. His Diary furnishes invaluable contributions towards the history of the period, domestic as well as public. Under the promptings of a genuine patriotism he wrote a valuable work entitled "Silva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions," in which he inculcated the duty of landed proprietors to plant and rear an abundance of oak-trees with a view to feeding the navy with timber. The plantations made in deference to Evelyn's able treatise proved of the greatest national importance a century after his death. The Diary of his friend Pepys deserves mention here, not for its merits in a literary point of view, but as a most entertaining repertory of gossip on current events and topics, small details of social and domestic life, amusements, public and private, and the conduct of official business. Izaak Walton, author of the "Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," and of some biographical sketches in an intensely charming style, adorns the period under notice. Thomas Fuller, the quaint and jocular writer of the "Worthies of England," and of a most entertaining if not very valuable "Church History of Britain," is another invaluable contributor to our knowledge of his own times and those immediately preceding it. Butler wrote some prose "Characters" as pungent as his verse. He describes an antiquary as "One that has his being in this age, but his life and conversation is in the days of old. He despises the present age as an innovation, and slights the future, but has a great value for that which is past and gone. He has a great veneration for words that are stricken in years, and have grown so aged that they have outlived their employments. These he uses with a respect agreeable to their antiquity and the good service they have done. He is a great time-server, but it is of time out of mind, to which he conforms exactly, but is wholly retired from the present. His days were spent and gone long before he came into the world; his only business is to collect what he can out of the ruins of them. He has so strong an affection to anything that is old, that he may truly say to dust and worms, 'you are my father,' and to rottenness, 'thou art my mother.' He esteems no customs but such as have outlived themselves, and are long since out of use; as the Catholics allow of no saints but such as are dead; and the fanatics, in opposition, of none but are living." Of a small poet he says, "When he writes, he commonly steers the sense of his lines by the rhyme that is at the end of them, as butchers do calves by the tail. For when he has made one line, which is easy enough, and has found out some sturdy hard word that will but rhyme, he will hammer the sense upon it, like a piece of hot iron upon an anvil, into what form he pleases."

Some of the greatest names in theological literature adorn the period which is otherwise characterized as irreligious and immoral in the extreme. Tillotson, Barrow, South, Stillingfleet, and Sherlock on the side of the Established Church; Baxter, Howe, Bunyan, Owen, Calamy, Flavel, and Matthew Henry on the part of the leading sects of nonconformists; with Fox, Penn, Ellwood, and Barclay on the part of Quakerism, sufficiently illustrate the abounding fecundity of this department of literature and learning. Our restricted limits forbid even a bare list of the leading productions of these distinguished writers; but this is of the less consequence inasmuch as the names of the authors, and of some at least of their masterpieces, are familiar as household words to all English ears. Dugdale, Aubrey, Ashmole, and Anthony Wood made extensive and valuable additions to antiquarian and biographical literature. The relics, manuscripts, books, and coins heaped up with indefatigable industry by these laborious collectors are among the chief treasures of the most famous museums and libraries still existing in England. Sir Matthew Hale, a distinguished judge, held also a high reputation for miscellaneous writings on law, divinity, and natural philosophy. Sir George Mackenzie, among Scotchmen, held the foremost place as a writer of elegant English essays. He is also the author of some political, historical, and legal disquisitions of very great merit. He founded the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. His contemporary and countryman, Leighton, archbishop of Glasgow, merits a place in the front rank of theological writers of the time.

Newspaper literature retrograded rather than progressed after the Restoration in comparison with its initial stages as described in an earlier chapter (Vol. I., pp. 754, 755). This result is due to the increased stringency of the laws affecting printing and publishing, under which a government jealous of the slightest approach towards freedom of political disquisition allowed no public criticism of its measures. "The Kingdom's Intelligencer," which was started in 1662, gave a stinted modicum of news, with advertisements, but carefully eschewed politics. In the following year, a paper under the editorship of Roger Lestrange, and bearing the title of "The Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the People," took up the advocacy of all the aims and acts of the court, and added a fair medley of entertaining news. This was discontinued two years later, when the government commenced the issue of the "London Gazette," the earlier numbers of which were published at Oxford, whither the court and parliament had betaken themselves to escape from the plague, which at that date had commenced its ravages in the metropolis. Several scores of small bi-weekly newspapers, none of them containing more in their whole space of two small pages than the matter now contained in one column of any ordinary London daily newspaper, came out in the course of the succeeding fifteen years. In 1680 most of these were extinguished under a proclamation, issued at the instigation of Lestrange, who had then attained the official post of licenser of the press. This proclamation justified the suppression of unlicensed newsbooks (as the two-page sheets were then called), because it had become "a common practice for evil-disposed persons to vend to his majesty's people all the idle and malicious reports that they could collect or invent, contrary to law; the continuance whereof would, in a short time, endanger the peace of the kingdom: the same manifestly tending thereto, as has been declared by all his majesty's subjects unanimously." The venial Lestrange was permitted to fill the void caused by this wholesale suppression; his new venture bore the name of the "Observator." Other journals soon sprang into being, under the official license; but the restrictions of a rigid censorship left them so little scope for materials to fill their space that they were driven to the expedient of leaving a portion of their meagre space entirely blank; and, making a virtue of necessity, they drew the attention of purchasers to the convenience of this blank space, whereon "they might write their own private business, or the material news of the day." One of the news-letters of James II.'s reign advertised among its merits, "This letter will be done up on good writing-paper, and blank space left, that any gentleman may write his own private business. It will be useful to improve the younger sort in writing a curious hand." The "Caledonian Mercury," which continued in existence till 1867, commenced its existence in 1660, in the form and size of its contemporaries, already described.

Science and philosophy were adorned in the period under review by three names of unsurpassed eminence, whether measured against earlier or succeeding times. Locke, Boyle, and Newton were alike distinguished by elevated piety and an earnest devotion to the cause of truth, religion, and virtue, as well as by their profound knowledge of science. Locke's writings were for the most part published after the Revolution, but several of them were elaborated before that event. Mackintosh remarks on this head, "Almost all his writings, even his Essay itself, were occasional, and intended directly to counteract the enemies of reason and freedom in his own age. The first letter on Toleration, the most original perhaps of his works, was composed in Holland, in a retirement where he was forced to conceal himself from the tyranny which pursued him into a foreign land; and it was published in England in the year of the Revolution, to vindicate the Toleration Act, of which the author lamented the imperfection." His celebrated "Essay on the Human Understanding" was also completed before his return from Holland in the fleet which brought over the princess of Orange. Boyle improved the air-pump and applied himself with great success to experimental philosophy, after the methods pointed out by Bacon. The earlier volumes of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society contain many of his treatises on scientific subjects, chiefly pneumatics and chemistry, in which he made some profound researches and not a few valuable discoveries. His earnestness in the cause of Christianity, abroad and at home, occasioned a proposal similar to that made on the same grounds to Locke, namely, that he should enter the church and dedicate his great abilities to the cause of religion. Newton's splendid discoveries in astronomy, optics, and other branches of mathematical and physical science, give him an undisputed pre-eminence, not alone over the greatest of his contemporaries in science and philosophy, but also over the greatest philosophers of all time. Most of his works belong to the succeeding period, but his most famous achievement, the discovery of the law of gravitation, and its application to the motions and figures of the planetary system, the paths of comets, and the causes of the tides, no less than to the falling of the smallest body upon our earth, was given to the world in 1687, in his Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy. His epitaph, in recording that he was a diligent and penetrating interpreter of nature, antiquity, and the sacred writings; and that in his philosophy he maintained the majesty of the Supreme Being, and expressed in his own manners the simplicity of the gospel, fairly epitomises, without flattery or exaggeration, his claims on the admiration of mankind. Flamstead and Halley, who filled in succession the post of astronomer-royal in the years of Newton's most brilliant discoveries, enlarged the bounds of astronomical science, and extended the theory and art of navigation. Barrow and Wilkins were hardly less conspicuous as mathematicians than as profound theologians and able preachers. Gunter, whose name is commemorated by the useful scale which he invented; Gregory, the first constructor of a reflecting telescope; Wallis, author of an English Grammar, some theological works, and several treatises against Hobbism; with others of almost equal eminence in mathematical and applied science, belong to the same prolific period, and assist to atone for the degradation of polite literature in their time. The marquis of Worcester, author of the "Century of Inventions," invented and constructed a rude steam-engine, by which he threw lofty jets of water from a fountain in his garden at Vauxhall. This engine was the germ of that stupendous power, built up step by step in two succeeding centuries, which in our day enables schoolboys to traverse, in a summer vacation, vastly greater spaces than were comprised in the grand tour which formed the finishing stroke of a high-born gentleman's education, and consumed two years of his life, almost down to the commencement of the present reign. Now the scenes of classic story, chivalry, and song, the shores of the Red Sea and the Bosphorus, Canadian and Scandinavian lakes, the Pyramids which overlook the land of the Nile, or the prairie cities a thousand miles inland from the American seaboard, are severally within the compass of a school vacation. And battalions more numerous than those which filled the dread Armada in the days of Elizabeth now pass with the speed of a race-horse from Britain to regions beyond the farthest limits of Grecian or Roman conquest, by the agency of the docile giant steam, whose infantine gambollings and playful frolics first excited the amazement of our ancestors in the days of Charles II. And, with a speed almost as marvellous, are daily circulated through the length and breadth of the three kingdoms and neighbouring continents, massive heaps of merchandise, with the ponderous minerals from a thousand mines, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, the heaviest yield of a hundred fisheries, and throngs of people more numerous than the united population of many famous cities of two centuries ago. Such are the farther samples of the never-ceasing work performed in these later days by the agency of that illimitable power of which the toy-engine of the marquis of Worcester gave the first indistinct glimpse to the bygone generation that filled the period now under review.



HOUSE IN WHICH SIR ISAAC NEWTON WAS BORN.

Natural science was greatly advanced in this period by the laborious researches of Ray, Willoughby, Lester, and Woodward. Ray is entitled to the merit of being one of the founders of the science of botany; his General History of Plants fills two folio volumes, and he edited and enlarged his friend Willoughby's work on Birds and Fishes, and cultivated with no little success the allied departments of Zoology and Entomology. Woodward, founder of the professorship of geology at the University of Cambridge, gave to his times the earliest exact notions of geological truth, mixed up, however, with not a little pardonable error. His "Natural History of the Earth," in which he overhauls earlier notions, and supplies in their place more rational theories, on shells and fishes imbedded in rocks, and on minerals generally, although not published till a date some years beyond the range of this chapter, was but the formal and methodical enunciation of views for which he was already well known to the scientific world in the days of the two last Stuart kings.

The progress of science in this period was greatly advanced by the establishment, in 1662, of the Royal Society, which owes its beginning to meetings of a small body of experimental philosophers and other lovers of science, sometimes at one of their residences, then at apartments in the city, afterwards at Gresham College. Most of the distinguished men whose names have been enumerated in foregoing paragraphs, beginning with Newton, Locke, and Boyle, were enrolled among the first members of this eminent body, and some of the greatest contemporary names in various departments of literature and art find a place in its earlier lists of members; as Dryden, Cowley, Waller, Barrow, Aubrey, Wren, Wilkins, Wallis, Sprat, and Evelyn.

The Fine Arts were at a low ebb throughout both the reigns now under review. Painting had dwindled in its native seats to a low mediocrity; and in England it was a mere exotic, exercised by a few foreigners under the patronage of the court. Conspicuous among these was Verrio, a Neapolitan, one of the same school with D'Arpino and Luca Giordano, who in Italy covered large spaces of church-walls, and the ceilings and staircases of palaces, with a jumble of scriptural, allegorical, mythological, and historical subjects, in which quality was utterly sacrificed to quantity. Some of Verrio's work yet remains on ceilings and staircases at Chatsworth, Burleigh, and Windsor. Walpole rates him "An excellent painter for the sort of subjects on which he was employed; that is, without much invention, and with less taste, his exuberant pencil was ready at pouring out gods and goddesses, kings, conquerors, and triumphs, over those public surfaces on which the eye never rests long enough to criticise, and where we should be sorry to place the works of a better master,—I mean ceilings and staircases. The New Testament and the Roman History cost him nothing for ultra-marine; that, and marble columns and marble steps he never spared." Verrio's decorations of St. George's Hall and the Chapel Royal at Windsor were swept away as worthless in the course of some renovations effected at the commencement of the present reign. He painted a staircase at Hampton Court in the reign of William and Mary so badly that he was afterwards accused of spoiling it on principle, as it was well known he bore no good-will towards the new government. Jacques Rosseau and Charles de la Fosse, of the same school with Verrio, assisted him in the decorations which are still to be seen on staircases and ceilings at the British Museum. Isaac Fuller, an Englishman who adopted Verrio's style, painted, among other pieces, the dome of St. Mary Abchurch in the city of London, which is still in a fair state of preservation. He did similar work in some of the great taverns which have been demolished. The theatre at Oxford exhibits a similar performance by Streater, another native adopter of the prevalent foreign fashion, and whose works in several departments, including historical painting and still-life, give the impression that he was a fertile genius. Sir Peter Lely, a native of Westphalia, who commenced his career as a landscape and small historical painter, stimulated by the great success of Vandyke in portraits, devoted himself exclusively to that branch, and attained pre-eminent success in it under the patronage of the English court. The well-known beauties of the court of Charles II., in the Hampton Court collection, are among Lely's masterpieces. He succeeded best in the portraiture of ladies, and never hesitated to sacrifice likeness by the addition of graces and delicacies not really belonging to his subject, but on that score never very sturdily resented. A certain mannerism runs through the whole series of his exquisite portraits, a pervading delicacy and softness in the tint and tone of the flesh, in the graceful posing of the heads, the elegant turn of the hands, the broad and graceful folds of the drapery, the trailing fringes and embroidery, and the landscape backgrounds of meadow and stream. Gascar, Huysman, Netscher, Sunman, Soest, Duval, and Wissing, with many other foreigners, found employment as portrait-painters in England in the same period; but Lely continued till his death to occupy the first place in his art. Kneller, who belongs more properly to the next period, succeeded Lely as first favourite in the circles that employed and encouraged artists. Many native imitators of Lely's style also found occupation in the same period. Of these Wright, a Scotchman, painted portraits of judges for the Guildhall, London, and of Lacy the actor, in three characters, which are still to be seen at Windsor. Greenhill, Flatman, and Anderton, with Hayls, who painted Pepys's portrait, and was looked upon as a successful imitator of Vandyke, also claim honourable mention in the list of English portrait-painters contemporaneous with Lely.

Paintings of still-life were in great request in this period, and gave employment to many Flemish and Dutch artists of eminent ability. The most distinguished of these were Varelst (pre-eminent in flowers), Vansoon, Hoogstraten, and Roestraten. Some of their countrymen found ample encouragement in landscape, as Vosterman, Danker, Griffiere, and Lankrink. The last-named supplied the backgrounds for Lely's portraits. To these must be added the animal painter, Hondius, and the two Vandeveldes, father and son, both of the highest celebrity for their sea-pieces. The elder Vandevelde was invited to England by Charles II., in consequence of the fame he had gained in Holland, his native land, by his noble pictures of the recent sea-fights between the Dutch and English.

Architecture has but one representative of eminence in the reigns now under notice, and even he, the great Christopher Wren, belongs more properly to the succeeding period, in which his genius exhibited its most mature fruits. His plan for rebuilding London after the great fire proved too grand a conception for the times in which his lot was cast, and his first and favourite design for rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral was overruled by his employers, in favour of a less magnificent second plan. The stupendous edifice which forms the crowning glory of his genius, although commenced in 1678, was not completed till many years after the Revolution. Spires, towers, and domes; nearly a dozen palace-like churches in London; with Chelsea Hospital; the Greenwich Observatory; the Monument, in memory of the Great Fire; Temple Bar; the Royal Exchange, which perished by fire in 1838; the Custom House; the towers of the west front of Westminster Abbey; Marlborough House; portions of Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, and Greenwich Hospital; the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and some buildings at Cambridge and elsewhere, continue for the most part to this day to attest the fertile genius of Wren.

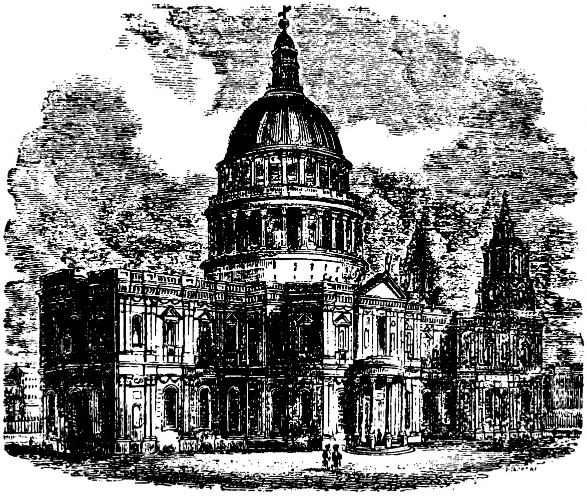
Sculpture and statuary can boast no native name of eminence throughout the century following the Restoration. Gibbons, though born in London, was of Dutch parentage. Evelyn found him in an obscure retreat at Deptford, engaged in the carving of St. Stephen's martyrdom, after Tintoretto, and lost no time in bringing the artist and his work under royal notice at Whitehall. Charles appointed Gibbons to a place in the Board of Works, and found him employment, chiefly in carving, but to some extent also in sculpture. His principal works were the marble statue of Charles II. at the Royal Exchange, the bronze statue of James II. in the rear of Whitehall, with some of the finest decorations in woodwork in many of our churches and palaces. Windsor, Chatsworth, Petworth, Burleigh, St. Paul's Cathedral, and many of Wren's churches, exhibit to this day the exquisite festoons, foliage, birds, and flowers, which sprung from the graceful fancy and unrivalled delicacy of touch of Grinling Gibbons. Caius Gabriel Cibber, a native of Holstein, shared with Gibbons the first rank as a sculptor. His statues emblematic of Melancholy and Raging Madness (placed originally as adornments of the outer entrance to Bedlam, and now included in the South Kensington collection), his bas-reliefs on the pedestal of the Monument in London, with much of the decorative work at Chatsworth, are worthy memorials of his high artistic powers.

Engraving, though principally in the hands of foreigners, finds its best representative in this period in an Englishman. William Faithorne was excelled by no engraver of his time, abroad or at home. Walpole enumerates a hundred and fifty of his works, chiefly portraits, in which he has scarcely ever had an equal for his happy blending of force and delicacy, softness and freedom. He also practised drawing in crayons, which he had learned in France in the Commonwealth times. Among the foreigners who shared with him the patronage of his countrymen, were Loggan, from Dantzig, who engraved views of public buildings in Oxford and Cambridge; with Booteling, Vanderbank, Hollar, and Valek. Robert White, one of Loggan's pupils, attained eminence in his profession. In this period Prince Rupert introduced the knowledge of mezzotint into England, where it has since flourished more than in any other country.

The coinage of the period bears the impress of the taste and skill of the brothers John and Joseph Rotier, both excellent medalists, the sons of a Dutch banker who had accommodated Charles with loans during his exile. The guinea, which dates from 1662, was so called because made originally from gold imported from that part of Africa of which it bears the name. The earliest guineas bore the stamp of an elephant under the head of Charles II. Miss Stewart, to whom the king paid most ardent but ineffectual suit, and who hardly escaped his importunities by the hasty match which elevated her to the rank of duchess of Richmond, was the first model for the Britannia which still figures on our coinage. She is the lady described by Pepys in his account of the dresses worn by the ladies of the court who formed part of the royal suite when the king and queen "rode abroad with the ladies of honour to the park." In his official capacity, as secretary to the admiralty, he enjoyed the privilege of frequently paying his respects at court, and on this occasion he passes with the bevy of court beauties into Whitehall, and, as he adds, "into the queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. It was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauty and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But above all Mistress Stewart, in this dress, with her hat cocked, and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress: nor do I wonder if the king changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine." Burnet also dwells on the intense admiration with which this model for the Britannia had inspired the licentious monarch; and adds, that while the court and parliament were at Oxford, in the year of the plague, the king even talked of "legitimating his addresses to her," —a conclusion which can only mean that he purposed divorcing his wife, to whom he had then been barely three years married. The impression of this lady's face and figure on the coinage of the realm occasioned no little scandal and disgust among his majesty's sedater subjects. The farthings coined in the last year of Charles's reign, and throughout that of James the halfpence also, were made of tin with a centre of copper. Some of James's coinage, issued in Ireland after his dethronement, was formed from brass cannon, pots, pans, and other utensils of any available metal.

The merry monarch did much for the encouragement of music. One of his earliest cares on coming to the throne was to restore the ejected professors of the calling to their old appointments in the musical establishment of the crown. Child, Low, and Gibbons, surviving members of the old staff of gentlemen of the chapel-royal, were appointed organists in it. Of the other old members, Cook, who had borne arms as a captain in the service of Charles I., became master of the children of the chapel-royal; Rogers was made organist of Eton; Wilson, composer of glees and part-songs, became organist of Westminster

Abbey; Byrne took the similar post at St. Paul's; and Lawes, whom Milton commemorates in a sonnet, filled the post of clerk of the cheque. The organs, silenced and removed under a parliamentary ordinance in 1644, again became vocal; the old choirs were again filled up; the universities bore their part in promoting the study of church music; and the king's chapel soon turned out some of the ablest composers ever known, up to that period. Several of the boy-choristers under Captain Cook produced pieces of church music which held their place a century afterwards in collections of church music. Among Cook's pupils who attained distinction in their art were Blow, Humphrey, Wise, and Purcell, many of whose compositions, both sacred and secular, have never ceased to be held in high estimation by cultivators of music. Musical services drew large and fashionable audiences. To attend a lady to hear the afternoon anthem at St. Paul's, "was esteemed," says Hawkins, in his "History of Music," "as much an act of politeness as it would be now to lead her to the opera." Pepys, a frequent attendant at the chapel-royal services, mentions, under date 1663, a new anthem for five voices, "made by one of Captain Cook's boys, a pretty boy, and they say there are four or five of them that can do as much." The graver Evelyn, another frequenter of the same services, records some few months earlier his disgust at the innovation of violins, which to the number of two dozen had just then been introduced by the king as an accompaniment to the organ, in imitation of the practice then in vogue at the French court. His words are: "Instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind-music accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church. That was the first time of change; and now we heard no more the cornet which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off, in which the English were so skilful." Tom D'Urfey, a facetious writer of the time, pointed his shafts at the violins, in the song, "Four-and-twenty Fiddlers all in a row." The obnoxious performance was not of long continuance. Music rapidly assumed a prominent place in theatrical entertainments. Adaptations of standard dramas were made by leading authors of the time, for the express purpose of fitting them for abundant musical accompaniment and illustration. Thus even Dryden hesitated not to lay sacrilegious hands on Shakespeare's "Tempest" and "Midsummer Night's Dream," in order the more effectually to fit them for Purcell's musical manipulation. A general musical furore permeated all ranks of society, as if in revenge for the long proscription to which gloomy puritanism had condemned mirth, and sport, and song. The reverend heads of houses, with fellows and grave divines at Oxford, formed a society for the study and practice of harmony, vocal and instrumental. A new organ, harpsichord, violins, and manuscript copies of the works of composers in high repute were forthwith purchased for the music school at the university. Houses for musical entertainments rapidly came into vogue. The most remarkable of these was that originated by Tom Britton, a man in a low condition of life, whose concerts, in a mean street in one of the least fashionable quarters of town, drew rank and beauty and genius within his humble threshold. Incredible as this statement may appear, it rests on very high authority. Hawkins, the laborious and voluminous historian of music, already quoted in this section, thus narrates the fact, which he had industriously gleaned from trustworthy sources:—"It was in the dwelling of Thomas Britton—one who gained his livelihood by selling about the street small coal, which he carried in a sack on his back—that a periodical performance of music in parts took place, to which were invited people of the first consequence. The house was in Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell; the room of performance was over the coal-shop; and, strange to tell, Tom Britton's concert was the weekly resort of the old, the young, the gay, and the fair, of all ranks, including the highest order of nobility."



ST. PAUL'S.

Matthew Lock preceded Purcell in one department of his art—that of music adapted to the drama. He is best remembered for his music to "Macbeth," or rather to Davenant's adaptation of that drama. His other productions are numerous, including anthems, a church service, the music to Shadwell's opera of "Psyche," and many song tunes. Italian music began to come into favour in the latter years of Charles's reign, but the choicer native productions of the period are held by some critics to excel any of the imported music, whether of France or Italy. Our national anthem, "God save the King," is believed to have had its origin in the reign of James II. The Royal Society's earlier volumes of "Philosophical Transactions" abound in contributions by eminent men of the day on the theory and art of music, thus adding to the many other indications of the large measure of interest and importance to which this science had attained in the very earliest years of the period.

CHAPTER V.

History of Industry and Commerce, from the Restoration, 1660, to the Revolution, 1688.

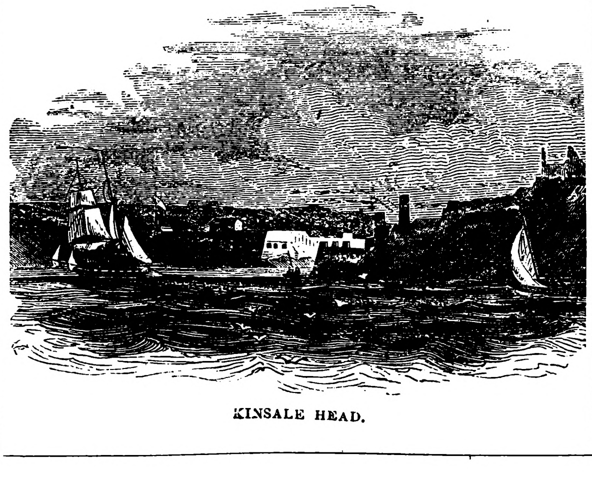
THE period under review, when compared with any equal term of years preceding it, is characterized by unexampled progress in the trade and industry of the kingdom, the development of its manufactures, and a general expansion of its material resources. The springs of this prosperity are to be sought in those troubled times when commerce and all the productive industries of the land were rudely shaken, and in some branches entirely suspended, by the shock of war, or by the social upheavings that preceded the actual outbreak of civil convulsion. The abolition of innumerable monopolies quickened the activity of mercantile speculation, and afforded scope to manufacturing industry; but the fruits of this reform were not fully apparent until quiet times came in and favoured the action of productive enterprise. Other grounds for this marked national prosperity are set forth with admirable force by the Dutch minister, De Witt, in his book, published in 1669, entitled "The Interest of Holland." His testimony is the more valuable inasmuch as he was by no means prepossessed in favour of the English. He says: "When the compulsive laws of the Netherlands' Halls had first driven the cloth-weaving from the cities into our villages, and thence into England, and that by the cruelty of the duke of Alva, the say-weaving went also after it, the English by degrees began to vend their manufactures throughout Europe; they became potent at sea, and no longer to depend on the Netherlands. Also, by that discovery of the inexpressibly rich cod-bank of Newfoundland; those of Bristol in particular made use of that advantage. Moreover, the long persecution of Puritans in England has occasioned the planting of many English colonies in America, by which they drive a very considerable trade thither; so that this mighty island, united with Ireland under one king, seated in the midst of Europe, having a clear deep coast, with good havens and bays, in so narrow a sea, that all foreign ships that sail either to the eastward or westward are necessitated, even in fair weather, to shun the dangerous French coast, and to sail along that of England, and in stormy weather to run in and preserve their lives, ships, and merchandise in its bays, so that England now, by its conjunction with Scotland, being much increased in strength, as well by manufactures as by a great navigation, will in all respects be formidable to all Europe."

The returns of customs duties, which exist for each year of the period, afford the truest index of the growth of trade and the general increase of wealth, as measured by the purchasing power of the nation. In the first year after the Restoration these duties were about 360,000*l.*; five years later they had grown to more than 509,000*l.* in the twelve months. The plague, the great fire, and the first Dutch war, so far crippled the purchasing power of the people that the revenue from customs fell in 1666 to 303,766*l.*; in 1667 it went up to 408,324*l.*; in the following year it expanded to close on 700,000*l.*, a total largely in excess of the average on each of the next five years, viz. 581,429*l.* After that a pretty regular progression brings the average on each of the five years ending with 1685 to 722,933*l.*, and for each of the years of James's reign to 815,874*l.* Exports as well as imports were steadily increasing through the two reigns, but with fluctuations similar to those noted in the customs revenue. The total value of imports and exports for any given year in the period cannot be ascertained with precision. Some authorities state the total under these heads for 1663 at 6,038,083*l.*, a sum which is either very greatly below the reality as indicated by the customs revenue of upwards of half a million sterling, yielded by the commerce of that year, or else the burdens on commerce were at that date exorbitant and oppressive in a degree that is simply incredible in the absence of complaints in contemporary writings. To realize this fact, we need only contrast the corresponding totals for recent years: *e. g.*, in 1863, exactly two centuries after the date in question, the total value of imports and exports of the United Kingdom was 445,821,429*l.*, and the customs duties in the same year were 24,038,893*l.* If the figures for 1663 be accepted as equally reliable with those for 1863, then the duties paid on imports and exports at the earlier period must have been upwards of fifty per cent. heavier on the average than those with which the commerce of the country was burdened after a lapse of two centuries, and when it carried on its back the national debt of eight hundred and eighteen millions. Sir Josiah Child, one of the principal merchants of the period, and author of "Observations concerning Trade and the Interest of Money," "A New Discourse of Trade," and other valuable contributions towards the science of political economy, furnishes abundant information on the state of the foreign trade of his times. We learn from him that in the early years of Charles's reign our exports to Spain and Portugal had increased to more than threefold their amount in 1640. As a director of the East India Company, he was thoroughly conversant with the traffic conducted by that powerful corporation. The company then employed from thirty-five to forty sail of well-armed merchantmen, of a tonnage from 300 to 600, and each with a crew of from sixty to a hundred men. This fleet supplied for home consumption, calicoes, indigo, saltpetre, pepper, and drugs, to the value of from 150,000*l.* to 180,000*l.* per annum; and similar commodities, of fourfold that value, for the English trade with Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, and other countries, with which, as Child asserts, these imports from India formed the mainstay of our trade: "Those goods exported do produce in foreign parts, to be returned to England, six times the treasure in specie which the company exports from England to India." In his time, and long afterwards, prevalent error held possession, not alone of the popular mind, but of influential politicians and statesmen, to the effect that the trade with India was carried on at a loss to

England, because our eastern customers took very little of our products, and very much of our cash, in payment for their commodities.

Our trade with any nation was thought to involve a loss to ourselves if it carried a balance of specie out of the country. Child frequently argued against this outcry as applied to the trade of the East India Company; but while his views were far in advance of those entertained by most of his contemporaries, he failed to perceive the entire fallacy of the vulgar doctrine of the balance of trade generally, and limited his argument to the defence of the trade with India. He urged that if we gave up the trade, the Dutch would monopolize it, and we should have to pay them much larger sums for the same commodities.

The Dutch were at that time far ahead of the English in some branches of commerce. Their ships regularly visited the ports of China and Japan; ours were rare visitants beyond the Indian Ocean. They had most of the Baltic trade; and when Child wrote, the Greenland whale fishery, and even the white herring fishery of our own shores, had fallen almost entirely into their hands. But our Mediterranean trade, and the rapidly-expanding commerce between the American plantations—as the early colonial settlements were called—and the mother country, more than compensated for the falling off in other quarters. "Notwithstanding the decay of some, and the loss of other trades," observes Child, "yet in the gross we ship off now one-third more of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago." He adds, as other proofs of the prosperity brought about by a flourishing commerce: "We give generally now one-third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before; . . . . new-built houses in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration in the year 1666; and houses immediately before that fire generally yielded one-fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago. The speedy and costly rebuilding, after that great fire in London, is a convincing, and, to a stranger, an amazing argument of the plenty and late increase of money in England. We have now more than double the number of merchants and shipping than we had twenty years ago. The course of our trade, from the increase of our money, is strangely altered within these twenty years; most payments from merchants and shopkeepers being now made with ready money, whereas, formerly, the course of our general trade ran at three, six, nine, and eighteen months' time." Some few years later, Sir William Petty, also an eminent authority on the statistics of his day, published his celebrated "Political Arithmetic," which abounds in matter confirmatory of Child's statements about the prosperous condition of trade, and the rapid growth of the national wealth. He tells of the multiplication of houses in Newcastle, Norwich, Exeter, Yarmouth, Portsmouth, Dublin, Kinsale, Londonderry, and especially in London; that the Newcastle coal trade employed 80,000 tons of shipping in 1676, and had grown in forty years to fourfold its earlier amount; that the royal navy had increased in an equal ratio; that the Guinea and American trade absorbed 40,000 tons of shipping; that the customs dues had increased threefold; that coaches, equipages, and similar indications of wealth had greatly multiplied in the same period. Davenant, another writer of equal eminence on political and social economy, furnishes similar testimony. In his "Discourses on Trade," published a few years beyond the close of the period, after tracing the expansion of the national resources from the first years of the century down to 1666, he affirms that since that year the price of land had grown from twenty up to twenty-six or twenty-seven years' purchase in the best counties, and in others from twelve up to seventeen or eighteen. Taking 1666 as his point of departure, he continues: "From that year there were apparently more improvements made in land than had been known in fifty years before, by enclosing, manuring, taking in of waste ground, and meliorating what was poor or barren; and yet great improvements had been made in the crown lands during the civil war. He then shows, by comparing the ancient subsidies with the present aids and taxes on land, that the rateable property of the kingdom had increased its yearly rental from six millions in the year 1660, to fourteen millions in 1688. Reckoning the average price of land at twelve years' purchase for the first of these dates, and at eighteen for the second, then the whole of the landed property of England was worth only 72,000,000*l.* in the first year of this period, and 252,000,000*l.* in its closing year. Tonnage in the same term had increased twofold for merchant shipping, and in nearly the same proportion for the royal navy. "As to the common people," adds Davenant, "there is no country in the world where the inferior rank of men were better clothed and fed, and more at their ease, than in this kingdom, nor, consequently, where they propagate faster. As to buildings, during that time, not only many stately edifices, both public and private, have been erected, but farm-houses have been kept up, and besides, from the books of hearth money, and for other reasons, it appears that of smaller tenements, from 1666 to 1688, there have been about 70,000 new foundations laid, of which the country has not wanted its proportion." Further on he notes the action of causes which retarded for a time the expansion of the material resources of the country: "A stop was put to our career by the great plague of 1665; by the fire of London, which


KINSALE HEAD.

consumed a great part of the present stock; by our wars abroad; and by our growing luxuries, which drew to other uses what formerly was left wholly to run in the channel of trade."

The Navigation Act of 1651, which limited to English ships the carrying of all commodities imported from Asia, Africa, or America, into any territory belonging to the English crown, and all European goods, either to English ships or to the ships of the country yielding the goods in question, was re-enacted, with some modifications, in the Convention Parliament. The new Act (12 Car. II. c. 18) extended to the export trade from England to European nations the same restrictions as were laid on imports; in other words, freight from English ports could only be carried in English bottoms, or else in ships belonging to the country that took freight from England, whether native or imported goods. Under Cromwell's Navigation Act, the master and a majority of the sailors working in an English ship were required to be Englishmen; Charles's Act fixed the minimum of native sailors at three-fourths of the whole crew. This and other similar laws, passed by both the English and Scottish parliaments, transferred to English shipping a large part of the carrying trade which the Dutch had previously held. The consumer paid the price of this propping and shelter of the mercantile marine, inasmuch as English shipowners, relieved from competition with the abundant shipping of the Hollanders, obtained higher prices for freights. But increased cost of carriage obliged the merchant to look for higher prices for his goods. The impolicy of impeding the free action of commerce by restrictive enactments, springing from national jealousies and misconceptions of national interests, was only faintly discerned by a few master minds here and there, until very long after the period under review. It cannot, however, be denied that the naval strength of the country was fostered by a policy which encouraged the development of its mercantile shipping and the employment of native mariners. This consideration is a fair set-off, in the exceptional circumstances of an age when a neighbouring and hostile nation enjoyed the lion's share of the carrying trade of the world, against the loss entailed upon the consumer by a protective policy. But the exclusion of Dutch shipping from its accustomed share in the carrying of freights to and from English ports increased the competition against English merchants in quarters where they enjoyed no exclusive privilege. This accounts for the decrease of English shipping, and the corresponding increase of Dutch, in the Baltic and other trades, narrated in Child's treatise, and commented upon by contemporaneous croakers as signs of the decadence of their native land. The national susceptibilities on the score of popery, aggravated by mingled hatred and fear of Louis XIV., by whose efficacious aid the English royal family was suspected of seeking to destroy the liberties of the nation, expressed itself at the time of the Popish Plot in a fierce ebullition of prejudice against the use of French goods. Petitions and memorials were presented to the king, the privy council, and both houses of parliament. Out of these sprang the Act of 1678, prohibiting the importation of French wine, brandy, vinegar, linen, cloth, silks, salt, grapes, or other produce or manufactures of France. This Act remained in force till 1685, and for fully a century afterwards was often extolled by advocates of protection to native industry as a most salutary and patriotic measure. But Davenant, with increasing clearness of insight into the prevalent delusions about the balance of trade, on which this prohibiting Act was based, lays bare the misconceptions of the day in his very able First Report to the Commissioners of Public Accounts. "As to the importations and exportations of commodities between the respective kingdoms, so far it is beyond contradiction, that all the while England flourished and grew rich by an extended traffic (which was by Queen Elizabeth's reign down to the year 1640), the two countries did not load one another with prohibitions of, or high duties upon, each other's products or manufactures, which that country would certainly have done that had found itself any considerable loser by their mutual dealings, which must have been seen and felt in so long a tract of time; so that during this space it is rather to be presumed both kingdoms reciprocally found their account by the commerce that was between them. During the above-mentioned period, the strength and power of France was not become formidable, and the prodigious growth of the House of Austria was what employed all our fears; but, as you know, about the year 1660, the face of affairs in Europe, changed, the Spanish monarchy declined, and France became the rising empire. And it rose so fast as to beget just apprehensions in England for our future safety. In the meanwhile, several good patriots seeing the court then fatally running into French interests and measures, and finding it would be difficult to engage the people (then newly come out of a civil war) to follow and join with them in more national councils by speculations merely political concerning the progress of the French arms and power, they thought the best course to awaken Englishmen was to alarm them about the danger they were in to lose their trade, and for this reason nothing was so common as to cry that England was undone by the prodigious overbalance the French had upon us. . . . . . This balance against us of a million yearly, which has been asserted in several books and in memorials laid before the king and council, and both houses of parliament, must have been chimerical, for by-ends advanced by some, and ignorantly followed by others." The legal rate of interest through this period was fixed by statute, 12 Car. II. c. 13, at six per cent., being the same as that fixed in 1651 by Cromwell's parliament.

The trade with the North American colonies and Jamaica was rapidly expanding through the period, and towards the end of it amounted to the yearly value of 400,000*l.*, in exports of household furniture, hardware, clothing, and miscellaneous, and in imports to nearly a million, the items embracing timber, fish, furs, tobacco, sugar, cotton wool, ginger, &c.

The East India Company lost no time in applying to the restored king for a renewal of the charter granted by Cromwell in 1657. Charles not only confirmed their old privileges, but conferred on them still ampler rights and powers, under which they wielded a sovereignty limited only by some moderate reservations in behalf of such Europeans as might straggle uninvited and unlicensed within the extended confines of their large dominion. They now gained the right of erecting forts at their own discretion, in India and St. Helena; of appointing judges to try civil and criminal causes within the limits of their jurisdiction; of declaring war and making treaties of peace or alliance with Asiatic princes; and finally of seizing and sending home any English subjects who should intrude within their bounds. Charles handed over to them the island and port of Bombay, which formed part of the dower brought to him by his bride, Catherine of Braganza; he also re-granted to them the island of St. Helena, on its recovery from the Dutch, who had captured it in 1665, and held it for seven years. The great prosperity of the company in the years following these marks of royal favour may readily be inferred from the price of its shares, which in 1676 fetched in the market 245 per cent. In the year preceding, the company sold in London for 860,000*l.* imported goods which had cost them only half that amount. These imports, consisting of calico, raw silk, indigo, saltpetre, &c., not only satisfied the requirements of England, but gave her merchants the materials for a profitable commerce with Mediterranean ports and the settlers in America. The trade which the company permitted its own factors and other employés to carry on for their separate account, in diamonds, pearls, ambergris, musk, &c., brought in further returns to the value of over a quarter of a million sterling per annum. Child expatiates with great unction on the benefits the India trade conferred on England. He remarks: "The pepper I reckon at eightpence per pound, so necessary a spice for all people, which formerly cost us three and fourpence per pound, being nowhere to be had but in India, and, were we obliged to have it from the Dutch, they would probably raise it as high as they do their other spices; yet, supposing it so low as one and fourpence per pound, it would be a further annual expense of 6000*l.* to the nation. Saltpetre is of that absolute necessity, that without it we should be like the Israelites under the bondage of the Philistines—without the means of defending ourselves. Possibly, even if we had no Indian trade, we might, in time of peace, purchase it, though it would cost us double what it now does. But in case of war, where could we have sufficient? Not surely from our enemies. Or would our gentlemen, citizens, and farmers, be willing to have their cellars and rooms dug up, as in King Charles I.'s reign, and be deprived of freedom in their own houses, exposed and laid open to saltpetre men? Which method would be besides by no means equal to the affording us the necessary supplies. Raw silk we might possibly be supplied with from other parts, though not so cheap as from India. And Indian wrought silks serve us instead of so much Italian or French silks, which would cost us almost treble the price of Indian silks, to the kingdom's loss of above 20,000*l.* yearly. Calicoes serve instead of the like quantity of French, Dutch and Flemish linen, which would cost us thrice as much; thereby 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* is yearly saved to the nation."

The muslins of India and the teas of China were occasionally included in the company's list of imports. The Dutch were the first to bring to the notice of Europe the beverage which the Chinese had used from remotest antiquity. No public notice of the use of tea in England occurs earlier than 1660. In that year it was enacted (12 Car. II., c. 23) that "for every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, and tea, made and sold, to be paid by the maker thereof, eightpence." The tax continued to be levied upon the liquid, as sold at the coffee-houses, till after the Revolution. The first regular importation of the leaf by English ships occurred in 1669. This consignment was for the especial use of the directors of the company, as a refreshment for use in their committee rooms. Gradually, however, the "cup that cheers but not inebriates" extended its claims on public attention; and tea became eventually the most lucrative item of commerce in the prolonged monopoly of the company. Pepys tasted tea for the first time in September, 1661, as appears from an entry in his diary: "I sent for a cup of tea (a Chinese drink), of which I had never drank before." And Waller, in a birthday poem to Queen Catherine, honours the beverage with the following lines:—

> "The Muse's friend, Tea, does our fancy aid,
> Repress those vapours which the head invade,
> And keeps the palace of the soul serene,
> Fit, on her birthday, to salute the queen."

The company obtained a new charter in 1677, under which, in addition to their former powers and privileges, they acquired the right to coin money in Bombay and other stations. In 1683 they lost their footing in Java, in the course of some native hostilities, in which they took one side and the Dutch the other. Their factory at Bantam fell thereupon into the hands of their old rivals; but they quickly established a fortified factory at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, and by that means retained their hold on the pepper trade. In 1683 they obtained a further charter, giving them power to exercise martial law in their garrisons, and to try crimes committed on the seas within the limits of their trade. In 1686 they quarrelled with the Nabob of Bengal, and after some fighting, shifted their establishment in 1687 from Hooghly to Sootanutty, a village twenty-three miles lower down the river, which has since expanded into the colossal city of Calcutta, the capital of our eastern empire.

The Board of Trade dates from 1668, when Charles II. appointed a commission under the name of the council of commerce.

The Post Office, which commenced in the reign of Charles I., and was considerably improved under the Commonwealth, exhibits signs of vigorous development in this period. In 1663, the profits of this branch of the public service were settled on the duke of York by 15 Car. II. c. 14. At that time they were farmed at a yearly payment of 21,500*l.*, but in 1685, when he came to the throne, the clear profits were reckoned at 65,000*l.* per annum. The charge for any distance up to eighty miles was twopence a single letter, with a scale of increase according to weight and distance. Remote parts of the country had one mail a week; the busier portions were indulged with a post every other day; wherever the court went, a daily post served its needs; the shipping in the Downs was in this respect on a level with the court; and in the season for resort to Tunbridge Wells and Bath, those favourite haunts of fashion and dissipation were similarly privileged. The mail-bags were carried on horseback. Besides the conveyance of letters, the Post Office of that time had the exclusive right to furnish travellers with post-horses. The penny post for London alone took its beginning in 1678. William Dockwray organized a service for the frequent delivery of letters and small parcels within the city, but this being an infringement of the duke of York's monopoly of profit in the postal business, was quickly taken out of his hands. Tolls and toll-gates began in 1663, when an Act was passed for imposing tolls to defray the expense of repairing the ancient highway and post-road leading from London to York, and so into Scotland, and likewise from London into Lincolnshire. The preamble of that Act sets forth that in many places the road, "by reason of the great and many loads which are weekly drawn in waggons, as well by reason of the great trade of barley and malt that cometh to Ware, and so is conveyed by water to the city of London, as other carriages, both from the north parts, as also from the city of Norwich, St. Edmondsbury, and the town of Cambridge, to London, is very ruinous, and become almost impassable, insomuch that it has become very dangerous to all his majesty's liege people that pass that way." Internal trade laboured under the hindrance of roads that in bad weather denied all transit of goods to the markets. Until the toll-gate system was started, the repair of all highways fell to the parishes through which they passed, a system to which we have reverted in the metropolis, and which is extending in other quarters. Tolls on travellers and goods, in lieu of a parochial rate for road mending, sprang out of the obvious consideration that traffic which wears the roads should bear the cost of maintaining them. It was seen to be unjust to impose on the rural parishes that skirted the great highways the cost of mending roads which were destroyed by a large and thriving traffic that brought them no benefit, but was a source of wealth to the great towns. Stage-coaches improved their pace with the improvement in the roads. In 1669, the coach between Oxford and London first achieved the feat, then thought not a little wonderful, of traversing the whole route in a single day. Before that time passengers on that journey used to sleep a night at Beaconsfield. The vehicle that first surmounted the difficulties of passing from Oxford to London in the interval between six in the morning and seven at night, being at the rate of five miles per hour, expressed in its name of the Flying Coach the pardonable pride of its originator in reducing to a single day a journey that had hitherto required two. The flying coaches on the other great roads rarely accomplished more than fifty miles a day in summer and thirty in winter. At the very close of this period the journey from York or Exeter to London consumed four days when daylight was abundant, and six in the months when it was scanty. And this was swift in comparison with the stage waggons which carried goods and the poorer sort of passengers on all the best highways of England, or with the sluggish pace of the posting system in continental countries.

The roads then thought good would now be deemed execrable; the deep ruts, the precipitous inclines, the sharp bends, forbade at frequent intervals any progress beyond a creeping pace. On such roads a top-heavy vehicle would meet with constant disasters. Outside places were, therefore, not then dreamt of, and six was the greatest number that any vehicle could carry inside. Even these moderate facilities for locomotion had their opponents among classes whose interests were thought to be imperilled by the adoption of new appliances for transit. City companies and corporate bodies in provincial towns addressed memorials to the government, deprecating the innovation as hurtful to many public and private interests. The author of a pamphlet published in 1673, under the ambitious title of "The Grand Concern of England, explained in several proposals offered to the consideration of parliament," puts in a sturdy protest against the injurious effect of stage-coaches on employments connected with the use of saddle-horses. He urges "that the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans now travelling upon the roads may all, or most of them, be suppressed, especially those within forty, fifty, or sixty miles of London, where they are no way necessary. . . . Formerly every man that had occasion to travel many journeys yearly, or to ride up and down, kept horses for himself and servants, and seldom rid without one or two men; but now, since every man can have a passage into every place he is to travel unto, or to some place within a few miles of that place he designs to go unto, they have left keeping of horses, and travel without servants. . . . There are stage-coaches that go to almost every town within twenty or twenty-five miles of London, wherein passengers are carried at so low rates, that most persons in and about London, and in Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, gentlemen, merchants, and other traders, that have occasion to ride do make use of them,—some to keep fairs and markets, others to visit friends, and to go to and from their country houses, or about other business,—who, before these coaches did set up, kept a horse or two of their own, but now have given over keeping the same." He says elsewhere, after a similar passage on the obnoxious innovation: "In these circumstances, will any man keep a horse for himself and another for his man, unless some noble soul that scorns and abhors being confined to so ignoble, base, and sordid a way of travelling as these coaches oblige him unto, and who prefers a public good before his own ease and advantage?" The same author takes note of the large perquisites exacted from passengers by the drivers of these primitive coaches. After telling that the fare from Exeter, York, or Chester to London was forty shillings in summer and forty-five shillings in winter, he adds: "In the journey they change four times, and there are few passengers but give twelve pence to each coachman at the end of his stage; . . . and at least three shillings comes to each passenger's share for coachmen's drink on the road." Saddle-horses and mounted guides could be had at the posting-houses by travellers who preferred that mode of journeying, and those who wished to go rapidly continued to use that mode of transit. On occasions of great public emergency, despatches were in this way conveyed great distances with a celerity that was never exceeded until the days of railway travelling.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (a sort of charter of toleration to Protestants) drove many thousands of artisans from France into London and other large towns. Great numbers of them were silk weavers, who established themselves and their handlooms in Spitalfields; and that quarter of London continues to the present day to retain its silk-weaving, and to exhibit distinct traces of the French origin of its inhabitants, more especially in their names. Similarly, the Flemish element in the factory operatives of Lancashire and Yorkshire, dating back to the days when Edward III. and his wife Philippa of Hainault invited a colony of Flemish cloth-workers to settle in England, is still perpetuated in the wooden clogs with which their descendants continue to be shod after the lapse of almost five and a half centuries. The iron-works were increasingly active through this period. Yarranton, who was commissioned by some iron-masters to go into Saxony and Bohemia to study the process of tinning sheet-iron, and to choose suitable workmen for introducing their art into England, gives a lively sketch of the briskness of the iron manufacture, among many other industries of which he was a close and intelligent observer. He says: "First, I will begin in Monmouthshire, and go through the forest of Dean, and there take notice what infinite quantities of sow iron is there made, with bar iron, and wire. And consider the infinite number of men, horses, and carriages, which are to supply these works; and also digging of iron-stone, providing of cinders, carrying to the works, making it into sows and bars, cutting of wood, and converting it into charcoal. Consider, also, in these parts the wood is not worth the cutting and bringing home by the owners to burn in their houses, and it is because in all these places there are pit-coals very cheap. Consider, also, the multitude of cattle and people thereabouts employed, that make the land dear; and what with the benefit made of the woods, and the people making the land dear, it is not inferior for riches to any place in England. And if these advantages were not there it would be little less than a howling wilderness. . . . Moreover, there is yet a most great benefit to the kingdom in general by the sow iron made of the iron-stone and Roman cinders in the forest of Dean; for that metal is of the most gentle, pliable, and soft nature, easily and quickly to be wrought into manufacture over what any other iron is, and it is the best in the known world; and the greatest part of this sow iron is sent up Severn to the forges, into Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, and there it's made into bar iron; and because of its kind and gentle nature to work, it is now at Stourbridge, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Sedgeley, Walsall, and Birmingham, and thereabouts, wrought and manufactured into all small commodities, and diffused all England over, and thereby a great trade made of it; and, when manufactured, sent into all parts of the world. . . . And now in Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Derbyshire, there are great and numerous quantities of iron-works; and there much iron is made of metal or iron-stone of another nature, quite different from that of the forest of Dean. This iron is a short soft iron, commonly called cold-shore iron, of which all the nails are made, and infinite other commodities. . . . And in all those counties the gentlemen and others have moneys for their woods at all times when they want it, which is to them a great benefit and advantage; and the lands in most of those places are double the rate that they would be at if there were not iron-works there. And in all these counties now named there is an infinite of pit-coals, and the pit-coals being near the iron, and the iron-stone growing with the coals, there it is manufactured very cheap, and sent all England over, and to most parts of the world." The same writer was an energetic promoter of the linen manufacture, which he sought to fix in such of the rural districts as had no other employment for the poor than husbandry, and were fitted by the quality of their soil for the growth of flax. He was sufficiently sanguine to believe that pauperism might be annihilated by merely furnishing those localities, where the poor were in excess of the available work, with the additional kinds of labours which he sought to establish. The publication in which he gave currency to his schemes professed to set forth "How to set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own lands; to prevent unnecessary suits at law, with the benefits of a voluntary register; where to procure vast quantities of timber for the building of ships;" and other equally ambitious projects. His enthusiasm was doubtless more than a match for his practical sagacity, but his wildest speculations were not without their use in stimulating the zeal of landowners in turning to account the undeveloped resources of their property. Firmin, another practical philanthropist of the time, and, like Yarranton, a London shopkeeper, was ever busy in schemes for the well-being of the poor, chiefly in the direction of finding employment for them. Thus in the plague year, when large masses of the London poor were left destitute by the flight of their employers and the stoppage of numerous channels of industry, Firmin bought up all the flax for which he could procure funds, and distributed it among the poor, to spin it at their own homes. His head-quarters for the management of this domestic manufacture were in Aldersgate Street, where he doled out flax and hemp, and stored up the yarn for sale. After a time he added the spinning of wool and the weaving of coarse woollen, hempen, and flaxen fabrics, to his other benevolent undertakings. He procured a ready sale for the produce of these London looms at the hands of the East India Company and other great merchants, who were always ready to co-operate in this way in his useful enterprises. His labours of this sort brought him into intimate association and friendship with many of the most distinguished of the London clergy, notwithstanding that he was a nonconformist of the Unitarian persuasion. Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester, and Tillotson, who became archbishop of Canterbury, were among his fastest friends. His biographer, after many interesting details, showing how greatly he was esteemed among those farthest removed from him in religious convictions, remarks: "See here a trader, who knew no Latin or Greek, no logic or philosophy, compassed about by an incredible number of learned friends, who differed so widely in opinions from him." His labours of love brought him substantial returns; he employed the profits in works of charity. He had his reward in another form. He would tell his friends that "to pay the spinners, to relieve 'em with money begged for 'em, with coals and sheeting, was to him such a pleasure as magnificent buildings, pleasant walks, well-cultivated orchards and gardens, the jollity of music and wine, or the charms of love or study are to others." Burnet says of Firmin: "He was in great esteem for promoting many charitable designs; for looking after the poor of the city and setting them to work; for raising great sums for schools and hospitals; and indeed for charities of all sorts, private and public. He had such credit with the richest citizens, that he had the command of great wealth as oft as there was occasion for it; and he laid out his own time chiefly in advancing such designs."

The exportation of wool continued to be prohibited throughout both reigns. Jersey and Guernsey began, in this period, to compete successfully with the older seats of the worsted-hosiery trade. Some Flemings brought over to England in 1660 improved processes for the dressing and dyeing of white woollen cloths. The Dutch loom for cloth-weaving was introduced at or near the same date. In the early years following the Restoration, special encouragement was given to the linen manufacture and its allied industries, including tapestry. Under these auspices, some French Protestants established themselves at Ipswich, and manufactured fine linen which sold at fifteen shillings the ell. The Scotch settlers in and about Belfast were, at the same time, steadily advancing the linen manufacture. The printing of calicoes, in imitation of those imported from India, was set up in London in 1676. Machines for ribbon-weaving date from 1680. Prince Rupert brought pinchbeck into notice, and the duke of Buckingham brought over from Venice workmen skilled in improved processes of glass manufacture. To the same period belongs the introduction of the first wire mill in this country; it was started by a Dutchman, at Shene, in Surrey. The finer writing papers began, in the same period, to be made in England; the first workers in this industry were the Protestant refugees, who came over at the same time with the silk-weavers.

It thus appears that the germs and foundations of several new manufactures date from this period, and that the older staple industries of the country were in a progressive and flourishing state. There are, nevertheless, abundant proofs that the unemployed poor were very numerous, wages low, and the burdens of pauperism excessive in proportion to the national income. Tillage and grazing absorbed four-fifths of the labour of the country; but agriculture was applied to only about one half of it, for large tracts were kept in wood or moorland. Unenclosed wastes, undrained marsh lands, besides wide-spread heaths and bogs, continued till beyond this period to cover an extensive area that has since been brought under tillage. Husbandry was therefore confined to comparatively narrow bounds, and the peasantry were in excess of the demands for their labour. Hence wages were low. Farm labourers received fourpence per day besides their food, or eightpence without food. Early in 1685, the rate of wages for labourers in Warwickshire was fixed by the justices of that county, assembled in quarter sessions, at the rate of four shillings per week for the summer half year, and sixpence less per week in the winter half. The rate similarly fixed for Suffolk, was five shillings per week in the winter and six in summer. In Essex, it was six in winter and seven in summer. A private foot soldier in James's reign received eightpence per day. Under Cromwell the rate was a shilling per day, and this had sufficed to attract a better class of men than that composing the mass of our armies in subsequent times. Mechanics generally earned about a shilling per day; artizans in the building trades, two shillings, and even two and sixpence in and about London, where their services were in great request in the large building operations that covered the greater part of the period. Operatives in the woollen trades earned a shilling a day when trade was brisk, but in less prosperous times only half as much. Children were put to knitting and loom-work at the age of six, to increase the scanty family income. A writer of the period dwells with pride on the fact that in Norwich the earnings of children under ten years of age, chiefly by knitting fine Jersey stockings, exceeded the cost of their maintenance by twelve thousand pounds a year.

The price of wheat through the period averaged fifty shillings per quarter; the fluctuations were very considerable, ranging from 3*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* in 1674, to 1*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* in 1687. Wages, on the whole, were not more than half as high as in our times; bread was at nearly the same level with the average price of recent years; meat was much cheaper than now, but too dear for more than a very occasional indulgence in such a luxury on the part of a large section of the labouring poor. Rye, barley, and oats supplied the bread of the poorer classes, whether in town or country. Their beverages included neither tea, coffee, cocoa, nor chocolate, but beer or cider had a place at every meal. Clothing of all kinds was dearer than in after generations. On the whole, the necessaries and conveniences of life were less within the compass of an operative's or a labourer's means in the generation preceding the Revolution than in subsequent periods.

Rates for the relief of the poor formed the most burdensome of all the pecuniary imposts on the taxpayers of the period. The population of England at the close of Charles's reign is usually reckoned at somewhat above five millions. Davenant and other writers of the time estimate the number in receipt of parochial relief at one in five of the population, during at least a part of each year. But inasmuch as the total amount of the poor-rate on any year before the Revolution has never been estimated at more than 900,000*l.*, it follows that the average share of each recipient of parochial relief must have fallen short of twenty shillings in the year. In the latest available returns of this sort, viz., those for the year ended on the 1st of January, 1868, the total number relieved from the poor-rate (exclusive of vagrants, who are separately provided for) was 1,035,000, six-sevenths of them out-door and one-seventh in-door; and the sum shared among them was 6,960,000*l.*, being at the rate of nearly 7*l.* per head. In the same year, and generally in recent times, the ratio of recipients of such relief to the entire population was not more than one in twenty, which contrasts so favourably with the one-fifth in the period under review, as to warrant great hesitation in trusting the earlier reckoning. Before the Revolution, small and casual out-door relief, rather than the entire maintenance of large numbers of the pauper class, must have absorbed the bulk of the levy for the relief of indigence. The total amount of the poor-rate in those times, or at any rate during many successive years, largely exceeded the amount of the revenue derived from either the customs or the excise, and was fully half as much as the entire revenue of the crown. With a population only four times greater, we now expend in poor-rates eight times the total sum disbursed under the same head two centuries ago. That the burden of this tax does not press with twice the force on existing rate-payers, as compared with their predecessors of the earlier generation, is due solely to the prodigious growth of the property on which the rate is levied. The yearly rental of property assessed to the poor-rate is now 110,000,000*l.*, or fully eleven times greater than on an average year in the period between 1660 and 1688.

The personal freedom of the poor was seriously infringed by the Settlement Act passed in 1662. This statute professed to provide for the better relief of the poor, but its true aim would seem to have been to prevent the ingress of the migratory poor into parishes where, as strangers, they were more likely to prey on the taxes than where they were known from their birth. The preamble sets forth that "the necessity, number, and increase of the poor, not only within the cities of London and Westminster, with the liberties of each of them, but also through the whole kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, is very great and exceeding burdensome, being occasioned by some defect in the law concerning the settling of the poor, and for want of a due provision for the regulation of relief and employment in such parishes or places where they are legally settled, which doth enforce many to turn incorrigible rogues, and others to perish for want, together with the neglect of the faithful execution of such laws and statutes as have formerly been made for the apprehending of rogues and vagabonds, and for the good of the poor." Then follow enactments under which churchwardens and overseers were empowered to dislodge any stranger coming within their limits, and to remove him by force to the parish where he was last settled, either as native, sojourner, householder, servant, or apprentice, unless he could give security satisfactory to two neighbouring justices of the peace against the liability of his becoming a burden on the rates. Adam Smith says of this Act, which continued to hamper the labour market for upwards of a hundred and thirty years: "There is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age, I will venture to say, who has not in some part of his life felt himself most cruelly oppressed by this ill-contrived law of settlement." And Sir Frederick Eden, in his book on the state of the poor, says of one section in the oppressive statute, "This single clause of a short Act of parliament has occasioned more doubts and difficulties in Westminster Hall, and has perhaps been more profitable to the profession of the law, than any other point in English jurisprudence." Its demoralizing effects were early demonstrated. Sir Josiah Child, in his "New Discourse on Trade," published in 1668 has a chapter "concerning the relief and employmen of the poor," in which he dwells on "the shifting off sending or whipping back, the poor wanderers to the place of their birth or last abode," and tells how the fraternity of London beggars is recruited. "A poor idle person, that will not work, or that nobody will employ in the country, comes up to London, to set up the trade of begging. Such a person, probably, may beg up and down the streets seven years, it may be seven and twenty, before anybody asketh why she does so; and if at length she hath the ill-hap in some parish to meet with a more vigilant beadle than one in twenty of them are, all he does is to lead her the length of five or six houses, into another parish, and then concludes, as his masters the parishioners do, that he hath done the part of a most diligent officer. But suppose he should go yet farther to the end of his line, which is the end of the law, and the perfect execution of his office—that is, suppose that he should carry the poor wretch to a justice of the peace, and he should order the delinquent to be whipt, and sent from parish to parish to the place of her birth or last abode, which not one justice of twenty, through pity or other cause, will do, even this is a great charge upon the county, and yet the business of the nation wholly undone; for no sooner doth the delinquent arrive at the place assigned, but, for shame or idleness, she presently deserts it, and wanders directly back, or some other way, hoping for better fortune; whilst the parish to which she is sent, knowing her to be a lazy, and perhaps a worse-qualified person, is as willing to be rid of her as she is to be gone from thence." Wanderers from Scotland or Ireland were exempt from the English Act of Settlement, and thus enjoyed a large advantage over their poorer fellow-subjects in England: they were at the same time, however, excluded from the right to parish support, however long they may have been domiciled in England. But their servants, apprentices, and their children born in the place of their sojourn acquired the questionable privilege from which they were shut out. It was not until the close of George III.'s reign that the poor of all parts of the United Kingdom were brought under an equal liability to be removed from any parish where they became chargeable to the place of their birth or of their last-acquired legal settlement.

The unenclosed forest, heath, marsh, and warren, afforded to the poor of those days a resource of which the progress of civilization has deprived them. Fuel was to be had for the gathering, wild fowl could be snared in the fens, and extensive commons afforded to even the peasant class gratuitous keep for flocks of geese, which in due season they could convert into money. Many thousands of them lived rent free in dwellings which they raised on unenclosed land, like squatters in the western wilds of America. Rich cornfields and orchards now fill the space which then was open heath or swampy fen. The squatter finds no footing on land to which the increase of population and the improvement in agriculture have imparted a high value. But large compensation has accrued to the classes that have lost their ancient privileges. The chief of these are admirably summarized in the following passage from Macaulay's chapter on the state of England in 1685: "Of the blessings which civilization and philosophy bring with them, a large proportion is common to all ranks, and would, if withdrawn, be missed as painfully by the labourer as by the peer. The market-place, which the rustic can now reach with his cart in an hour, was, a hundred and sixty years ago, a day's journey from him. The street, which now affords to the artizan, during the whole night, a secure, convenient, and brilliantly-lighted walk, was, a hundred and sixty years ago, so dark after sunset that he would not have been able to see his hand; so ill-paved, that he would have run constant risk of breaking his neck; and so ill-watched, that he would have been in imminent danger of being knocked down and plundered of his small earnings. Every bricklayer who falls from a scaffold, every sweeper of a crossing who is now run over by a carriage, may now have his wounds dressed and his limbs set with a skill such as, a hundred and sixty years ago, all the wealth of a great lord like Ormond, or of a merchant prince like Clayton, could not have purchased. Some frightful diseases have been extirpated by science, and some have been banished by police. The term of human life has been lengthened over the whole kingdom, and especially in the towns. . . . Still more important is the benefit which all orders of society, and especially the lower orders, have derived from the mollifying influences of civilization on the national character. . . . We have become not only a wiser but a kinder people. . . . Our ancestors were less humane than their posterity. The discipline of workshops, of schools, of private families, though not more efficient than at present, was infinitely harsher. Masters well born and bred were in the habit of beating their servants. . . . If an offender was put into the pillory, it was well if he escaped with his life from the shower of brickbats and paving-stones. If he was tied to the cart's tail, the crowd thronged round him, imploring the hangman to give it the fellow well, and make him howl. . . . The prisons were hells on earth, seminaries of every crime and of every disease. At the assizes the lean and yellow culprits brought with them from their cells to the dock an atmosphere of stench and pestilence which sometimes avenged them signally on bench, bar, and jury. But on all this misery society looked with profound indifference. Nowhere could be found that sensitive and restless compassion which has, in our time, extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave,—which pries into the stores and water-casks of every emigrant ship, which winces at every lash laid on the back of a drunken soldier, which will not suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill-fed or over-worked. . . . . Every class doubtless has gained largely by the great moral change; but the class which has gained most is the poorest, the most dependent, and the most defenceless."

By a strange oversight, Macaulay's brilliant and comprehensive summary takes no account of the greatest of all the benefits that have fallen to the poor of this age. He tells of the deterioration, in the time of Charles II., in female education for the higher classes, as compared with the times of Lady Jane Grey and Mrs. Hutchinson, and shows that the literary acquirements of gentlemen were less solid than at an earlier or a later period. But of the provision, in the two periods which he contrasts, for educating the more numerous middle and lower ranks, he says nothing. The idea of a national provision for the education of the working classes found no place among the boldest speculations of the many able thinkers and writers and statesmen of the time of Charles and James. Schools to which the labouring poor could have access were then extremely rare, but the grammar schools supplied intellectual nurture alike to the sons of the gentry, the trading, and the yeoman classes. Youths of humble origin often obtained through this channel access by means of scholarships and exhibitions to the higher seats of learning, and rose to distinction in all the walks of life for which such education fitted them. Some of the great foundations, as Sutton's and Christ's Hospitals (better known in after times as the Charter House and the Blue Coat School respectively), with numerous similar institutions on a smaller scale in the provincial towns, yielded at that time, to some thousands of children of the humbler ranks, the shelter, food, clothing, and education, which in later times have fallen almost exclusively into the possession of more highly-placed social grades.

In almost every instance the old foundations were absolutely restricted by the will of their benevolent founders to poor orphans, or in default of such, then to the most necessitous children. In the years intervening between the Restoration and the Revolution this condition was faithfully observed. But in our age of boasted progress and superiority over the times under review, the statutory qualifications of a foundationer are almost everywhere set at nought, and the higher, and even the highest ranks of society have ousted their poorer brethren from their heritage. This perversion of magnificent educational trusts, this wrenching from dead hands the great gifts bequeathed by pious donors to the humbler social grades, and the bestowal of their splendid birthright on the scions of opulent and aristocratic families, finds its staunchest defenders among the masters of the great schools, and the almoners of their more than princely bounties, which have thus been lifted into the service of ranks far above their original destination. Royal commissions have lately ratified, and parliament has sanctioned, this ungenerous twisting of most of the great benefactions of old English worthies from the service to which they piously and trustfully dedicated their substance. Even if it be established beyond all dispute that the rightful recipients of a founder's bounty have ceased to value the rich gift he bestowed upon them, it would surely be more righteous to give them an equivalent adapted to their present requirements, than to take from those who have but little in order to bestow more on those who already have much. Endowments were never designed to cheapen the education of the rich. The spirit which gave birth to these splendid charities seems already quite extinct—exorcised, perhaps, by the dread of acts of spoliation similar to those which have wrested all the choicest benefactions from the grasp of aspiring poverty and lodged them in the hands of the highly genteel. The burden of a heavy reproach—"ye have despised the poor"—rests on all the parties to this perversion of aids intended for poverty into prizes for those who have no just title to them, and who need them not.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Social Life of the People, Manners and Customs, from the Restoration, 1660, to the Revolution, 1688.

The recall of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors was welcomed, as we have seen in preceding chapters, with a perfect frenzy of jubilation, a very flood of mirth and music, fun and frolic, revelry and song. Gaiety and merriment, after a long term of banishment from public places, indemnified themselves for unmerited pains and penalties by a large expansion of their ancient hold on the English mind. When Charles entered London the loyal populace vented its triumph over the fallen saints by sending showers of missiles through the windows of Praise God Barebones and his brother zealots; bonfires blazed in thick succession along the great line of thoroughfare between the City and Whitehall; rumps of beef, after being exhibited through the streets in mockery of the discarded parliament, supplied the material of a hundred out-door feasts; maypoles, jugglers, and showmen came from their hiding-places and played their part in the general carnival, and the theatres opened their doors to eager throngs. In the succeeding months, bear-baiting and bull-baiting, gambling and racing, with every diversion that had been suppressed by the Puritans, were resumed with redoubled zest. Whatever had been scouted and repressed by those who had governed the country during the interregnum was now eagerly adopted as a badge of loyalty to the restored king. Had Charles been a virtuous prince, and his court an example of purity in its domestic aspects, the reaction of feeling which expressed itself in these wild vagaries might soon have toned down into a quiet, decorous mood, and the old national sedateness have resumed its accustomed sway. But the levity and unblushing profligacy of the court gave a stamp of fashion and high breeding, not alone to mere idle frivolities, but to a train of immoral practices. Profane swearing had been punishable by fines under the Commonwealth; the wits and fine gentlemen now interlarded their conversation with a thick sprinkling of oaths, such as only the most disreputable and abandoned of our times would indulge in. "They never opened their mouths," says Macaulay, "without calling on their Maker to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, damn them." Vol. VIII. of Lord Somers's tracts contains a passage to the same effect, with the addition that young noblemen and gentlemen of family, in the course of their profligate badinage, "laughed at the fopperies of priests, and made lampoons and drolleries upon the sacred Scriptures themselves." Common decency was sometimes violated by men of rank in public places, of which gross instances occur in the biographies of Sedley, Rochester, and Buckingham. Royal concubines took their places with the king, his consort, and her maids of honour, in their public appearances in Hyde Park and elsewhere. The grave Evelyn records a morning call he made on majesty in dishabille, in the dressing-room of the duchess of Portsmouth, where he found a number of court gallants with the king, all standing around the lady, who was habited in a garb by no means suitable for the reception of visitors. Pepys relates, among other samples of wild madcap pranks of ladies and gentlemen of station, that they would at times sally forth in parties, each sex dressed in the garments of the other; and that some of these frolicsome gentlefolks begrimed each other's faces with soot and grease in presence of a mob on an occasion of some public rejoicing, "till most of them were like devils," and then pelted each other and the mob with blazing fireworks. The duchess of Tyrconnel, when resident at court as a maid of honour, went once into the streets in the garb of an orange girl, and cried oranges for sale. Vagaries of this kind nowise damaged high-born damsels in the estimation of the courtiers, who for the most part were libertines like their royal master. Patronage of high offices in all departments of the public service was in effect lodged with the frail beauties who in succession, and sometimes conjointly, swayed the royal mind. Clarendon's fall was hastened, if it was not in fact founded upon, his unbending hauteur towards these female dispensers of the good things in the gift of the crown. He sturdily resisted all their blandishments, held aloof from their society as far as might be, forbade his family to associate with them, and thus incurred their implacable and most potential resentment. Gambling for high stakes went on constantly in the palace, and even on Sundays the basset-tables were in full play. The passion for cards prevailed throughout the upper ranks. Evelyn relates that the duke of St. Albans, when more than eighty years of age and quite blind, was a constant devotee to games of hazard, having always a prompter with him to tell the cards as they were turned up. Every great mansion had its basset-table, at which large sums constantly changed hands. Duelling was of frequent occurrence.

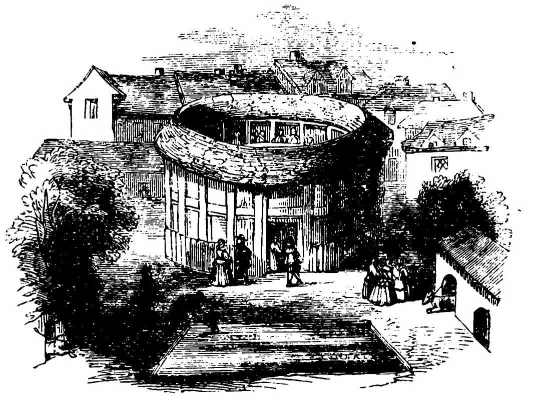
often on trivial provocation. Pepys tells of a silly quarrel between Sir H. Bellases and his friend Tom Porter, that ended in mortal strife. "They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's, where, it seems, people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together; and Sir H. Bellases talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by, said: 'What, are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?' Sir H. Bellases, hearing it, said: 'No,' says he, 'I would have you know that I never quarrel, but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!' 'How,' says Tom Porter, 'strike? I would I could see the man in England that would durst give me a blow!' With that Sir H. Bellases did give him a box of the ear; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by-and-by Tom Porter went out, and meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellases presently; for he knew that, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him, which he would prevent, and desired Dryden to let him have the boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellases goes. By-and-by he is informed that Sir H. Bellases's coach was coming: so Tom went down out of the coffee-house, where he stayed for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellases come out." The narrative proceeds with particulars of the encounter with swords, which took place there and then, the baronet receiving a wound of which he died a few days afterwards. Still more atrocious was the case in which the young and beautiful countess of Shrewsbury, in the disguise of a page, stood by and witnessed the duel between her husband and her paramour, the duke of Buckingham, in which the earl fell dead in her presence, and she received with open arms the blood-stained adulterer and partner of her guilt. Fierce and sometimes fatal conflicts occurred in the streets of London between rowdies of every rank, from scions of aristocratic houses and the members of foreign embassies, down to the city 'prentices, who proved their true religion or their loyalty by tumultuous breaches of law and order. In 1661 Cheapside became the arena of a sanguinary fray between the followers of the French and Spanish ambassadors, on the insignificant question—which nationality was entitled to take the first place in a procession of the respective suites. Many lives were lost on this nice point of precedence, but the Spaniards remained masters of the field, and were greeted by the shouts of the populace, who gloried in the discomfiture of the French. The plays of the period make us acquainted with the names and exploits of troops of well-born roysterers, including the raw young squires and younger sons of the landed gentry, who banded together for brawls and monster frolics. Such were the "dear hearts," the "Hectors," the "Muns," "roaring boys," "heroics," "Bonaventors," and the "scourers." Some of these gangs of genteel ruffians were drawn together by political affinities, and gave constant and uproarious proof of their loyalty by drunken excesses in honour of the king. But sheer love of mischief was the prime ingredient in these associations. Their ordinary nocturnal achievements comprised the wrenching of knockers from street doors, the smashing of windows, tearing down or defacing or transposing signboards, capsizing fruit and fish stalls, thrusting quiet and harmless passengers into the kennels, insulting decent folks of either sex and any age, breaking into taverns, hustling the watch, and often winding up with pell-mell encounters with rival gangs. These roysterers, whose function was to make night hideous, must often have disturbed with their rude jollity and ruffianism the sublime meditations of Milton on

> "Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme."

From them he drew his sketch of one class of Belial's subjects:—

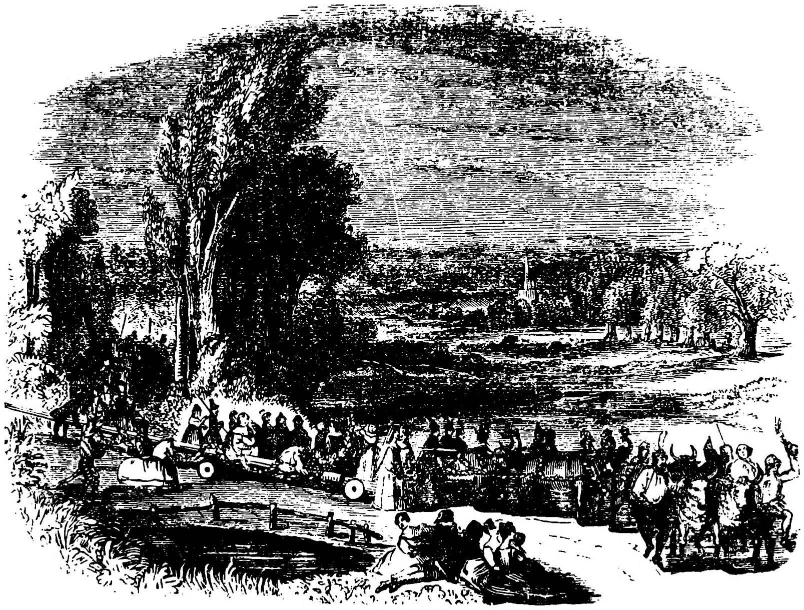
> "In courts and palaces he also reigns,
> And in luxurious cities, where the noise
> Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
> And injury, and outrage; and when night
> Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
> Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine."

The theatres and the bear-gardens were often the scene of feuds between boisterous patrons and factious opponents of a play or other entertainment, its author, or the actors in it. The success or failure of a new drama was not seldom decided by the prolonged and vociferous plaudits, or the incessant hisses and catcalls, of a throng of friends or foes, who crowded into the house when a new piece came on the boards, under the various promptings of personal or political predilection or pique, as the case might be. Buckingham once assembled a party of these gregarious dramatic critics to damn a play by a noble author not belonging to his clique. But he was anticipated by a stronger force of partizans friendly to the piece, and he and his myrmidons were roughly handled, and driven in ignominious flight from the house. Private theatricals, masques, and dancing, were among the favourite entertainments of the higher classes, nor were they too fastidious for such shows and exhibitions as are now only patronised by humble rustics or the great unwashed mobs of towns. Punch and other puppet-shows were then at the height of their popularity, and monkeys in brilliant and grotesque costume



BEAR GARDEN.

attracted crowds of well-dressed spectators to witness their diverting performances. Chariots and sedan-chairs were to be seen at rope-dancing performances, or feats of strength, agility, conjuring, and jugglery, such as now find no sufficient patronage except at races, country fairs, and other gatherings of the humbler grades. A juggler or a fire-eater was not unfrequently hired for the delectation of a select party of guests assembled in a great mansion, and such a diversion was then keenly relished in wealthy and fashionable circles. Swimming and foot-racing were also fashionable sports of the time; skating after the Dutch fashion was brought into vogue by the courtiers who had lived in Holland; bowls occupied the ladies as well as gentlemen,—a faint and rude germ of that enchanting game, with many-coloured balls and mallets, which was destined, two centuries later, to enliven every lawn in the three kingdoms. Aquatic sports were popular; Newmarket regularly drew the king, his court, and a motley throng to its spring and autumn races. Most of the native breeds of horses were then of little worth, but Tangier barbs under English training already gave a foretaste of the after glories of the turf. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting resumed their place among favourite popular amusements, but they had now lost the high prestige they carried two generations earlier, when Edward Alleyn, of pious memory,—he who under privilege of royal letters-patent held office under the crown as "Master of his Majesty's Bears, Bulls, and Dogges" —used to bait before noble and royal company at Greenwich or the Tower, as he tells in his diary that is still extant at Dulwich College. Skittles and tennis were fashionable pastimes; billiards, chess, backgammon, cribbage, and other games at cards were also favourite indoor amusements among the wealthier classes. Social gatherings of grown-up people often found sufficient merriment in the childish pastimes of blind-man's-buff and handicap. Old English holidays revived with the return of the old régime. Milkmaids danced in the streets on May-day, carrying their milk-pails, garlanded and wreathed with flowers and evergreens. On the day dedicated to Saint Valentine, silk stockings, garters, gloves, and jewellery formed the customary offerings to the fair. On New-year's day nobles presented purses of gold to the king, and people of highest station received gifts of homage and respect from their inferiors in social rank. Some unthrifty courtiers, if Pepys can be trusted as a veracious chronicler of contemporary chit-chat, had little other income than the offerings that fell to them on this anniversary. The great London saturnalia resumed its pristine glories in Smithfield at the fair on St. Bartholomew's day; St. Margaret's in Southwark was a miniature copy of the city carnival. Village wakes, and the rustic jollity of harvest homes came back as in days of old. Christmas resumed its ancient glories, and pent-up fun and frolic found vent in the restored holidays of Easter and Whitsuntide. Court pageants and processions retained much of their old allegorical character, but the public mind had enlarged under the tuition of a high order of dramatic entertainment, and was now too critical to be easily satisfied with the mummeries that contented a simpler age. The old popular faith in the virtue of the royal touch for the cure of scrofula—the king's evil—continued in unabated strength; and Charles, with all his scepticism, seems to have entertained the delusion that, in virtue of his kingly office, he really possessed the high attribute for which the vulgar gave him credit,—the divine gift of healing. At any rate he went through the set performance, which included a religious ceremonial, conducted by chaplains in full canonicals. According to the formula practised from the days of Edward the Confessor, he stroked with both hands the face or cheek of each patient, and afterwards placed angel coins of gold upon their necks, performing his part with an edifying gravity that was little in keeping with either his mercurial temperament or his sceptical turn of mind. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was in the very heyday of favour with all ranks. On this head, however, the foregoing chapter affords all the information which space allows in a work not specially devoted to the subject. Parties of pleasure thronged the Thames in fine weather, and in their transit in rowing-boats to and from Greenwich, Chelsea, and the less distant waterside resorts that were not then, as now, absorbed into the giant growth of the huge metropolis, enlivened the



MAY POLE.

river with song and merriment such as are unknown in these days of crowded steamboats and universal bustle. There were yet large masses of the people, especially out of London, who were nowise tainted with the fashionable vices that prevailed at court and in the circles following its lead. Among these the old traditional hatred of the French turned out for this occasion to be a failing that leaned to virtue's side; for the new-fangled fopperies, frivolities, and unblushing profligacy in high places were really exotics, and not of English growth; and the old steady John Bullism of the lesser gentry and classes below them put up its back, so to speak, against the intrusion of novelties, whether in politics, religion, costume, or manners. Unalloyed rustic virtue, as understood in those days, was pitched at a very low level; but with all its rudeness and coarseness it was preferable by many degrees to the heartless profligacy and corruption that pervaded more refined social grades. The country squires of the time seldom visited the metropolis, unless they chanced to have seats in parliament, and very few of them aspired to that enlargement of ideas which is acquired by foreign travel. They spent their lives on their own estates, content with the local importance and dignity that fell to them as justices of the peace, sheriffs, officers of militia, and dispensers of an exuberant hospitality. Literary pursuits were extremely rare among them, but they were great in field sports and in carousing after the events of the day. Temperance was not among their specialities, and their ideal of true hospitality was to ply their guests with overmuch tipple, and to keep them in countenance by their own example. Master and guests were too frequently laid under the table together, and the domestics in the hall, faithfully copying the example of their betters, were often ill-qualified for the duty of helping their masters to bed. Mingling little in society out of their own neighbourhoods, a strong impress of rusticity marked the majority of these smaller landowners. Fielding's Squire Western is the accepted type of the class. Macaulay also has drawn in the compass of a few sentences the portrait of one of these rural magnates, bewildered amid the distractions of London life: "When the lord of a Lincolnshire or a Shropshire manor appeared in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he gazed at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel; hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot; thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, whilst he stood entranced by the splendour of the lord mayor's show; money-droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared the most honest, friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen; painted women, the refuse of Leuckner Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maids of honour. If he asked the way to St. James's, his informant sent him to Mile End; if he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy—of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go; if he rambled into any fashionable coffee-house, he became the mark for the insolent derision of fops and the grave waggery of templars. Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion."

A thick swarm of clubs sprang up in this period, and occupied the void which has since been filled by the development of periodical literature, the newspaper press, and other means for the cheap and rapid diffusion of all kinds of information. Stately palaces, such as now form the glory of Pall Mall, exhibiting samples of all orders of architecture, and replete with all the appliances of princely wealth and unbounded luxury, were not then deemed necessary for the housing and accommodation of even the greatest of the many associations, political, literary, theological, or professional, which formed a marked feature in the history of the period. The whole brood of clubs was nurtured under the shelter of taverns and coffee-houses. The King's Head Club, called also the Green Ribbon Club, from the distinguishing badge of its members (Shaftesbury and the exclusionists), had its local habitation close to Temple Bar: it concerned itself with the various so-called popish plots and delusions, and aimed at shutting out the duke of York from the succession. The members of this club indulged in huge anti-papal demonstrations on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot; and on other occasions, as related in North's "Examen," issued forth into the balcony in front, with hats and no perukes, pipes in their mouths, merry faces, and diluted throats, for the entertainment of the canaille below. Wills's coffee-house, situated between Covent Garden and Bow Street, was the favourite resort of the literati of the time. Wits, players, lawyers, dramatists, theologians, and the patrons of literature had their daily gatherings here. Dryden was long the acknowledged chief at Wills's; his chair filled the cosiest place near the fire in winter, and at the window in summer. Eager throngs paid their homage about his throne, and accepted, as from an infallible oracle, his ever-ready critiques on plays, poems, and other performances of the men of letters of the time. Garraway's was the resort of physicians. Other similar places drew together kindred spirits, who banded themselves together in clubs for the discussion of the news of the day, politics, religion, and the various social and professional questions of every hue. The Exchange in the city was a favourite covered lounge; Spring Gardens, the Mulberry Gardens, and Hyde Park, were also choice resorts for promenading and gossip. London in that age, although not more populous, and certainly far less wealthy and magnificent than Liverpool, Manchester, or Glasgow, in the third decade of the Victorian era, filled a yet higher position than it now occupies in comparison with the other great cities and towns of the kingdom. Norwich and Bristol ranked next to London in wealth and population; but neither of these contained more than thirty thousand inhabitants, whereas the metropolis had a population which is variously computed at from sixteen to upwards of twenty times that number. After the great fire, not only was the old area quickly covered with new and wider streets, but buildings extended in all directions beyond the ancient limits. Fashion now migrated further westward, and relinquished, to a great extent, its old habit of intermingling with the busy haunts of trade and commerce. The streets about Covent Garden and Soho were then occupied with residences of gentry and nobility. Where Regent Street now stands was then open meadow land. Oxford Street, then called Oxford Road, was skirted on each side by hedgerows and green fields, with here and there a mansion lying well back from the highway, surrounded by spacious gardens, orchards, and forest trees. Montague House, which, a century later, became the British Museum, was among the most conspicuous of these old suburban mansions. The sportsman sometimes picked up a snipe or a woodcock in meadows and swamps since covered with the colossal residences of the upper ten thousand in the regions of Belgravia and Tyburnia.

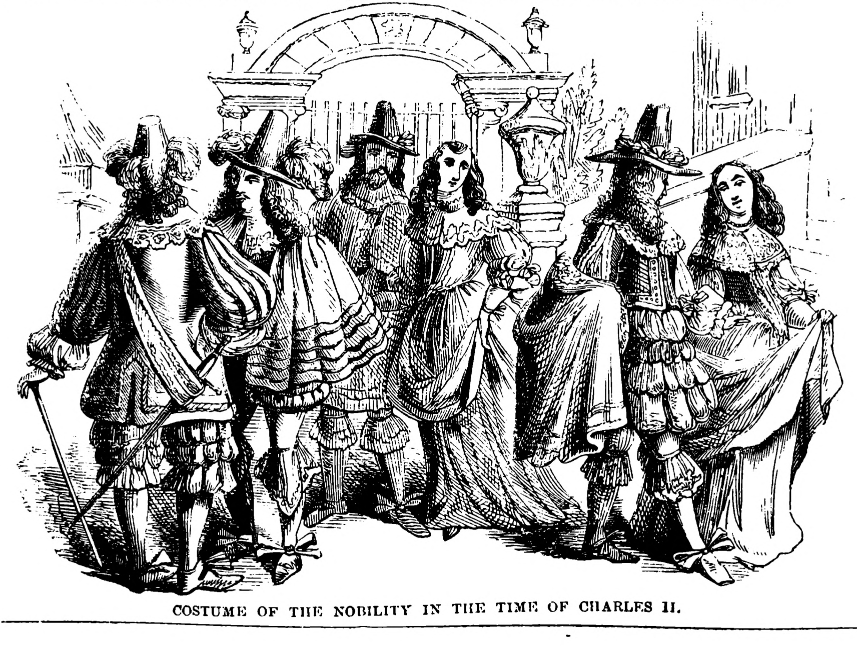
An Act passed in 1662, for certain street improvements in London and Westminster, affords an insight into the undeveloped state of what now forms the very heart of the western portion of the metropolis. The preamble recites that the common highways leading unto and from the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, and other places within the present weekly bills of mortality, by reason of the multitude of houses lately built, and through the stopping and filling up the ditches and sewers, and neglect of timely reparations, are at present, and for some years past have been, so miry and foul, as is not only very noisome, dangerous, and inconvenient to the inhabitants thereabouts, but to all the king's liege people riding and travelling to and from the said cities." Then follow the names of highways and new-built streets to be forthwith repaired, among which are the "street or way from the end of Petty France to St. James's House, up the Highway (now St. James's Street), and one other street in St. James's Fields, commonly called the Pall Mall, and also one other street beginning from the Mews up to Piccadilly (the nameless street here indicated is the present Haymarket), and from thence towards the Stone Bridge to the furthermost buildings near the Bull and the corner of Air Street." Another clause obliged the tenants of houses along the streets, lanes, and alleys, to sweep the parts opposite their houses, which were then the usual places of deposit for "great quantities of sea-coal ashes, dust, dirt, and other filth." Another clause required each tenant of a house to "hang out candles or lights in lanthorns or otherwise in some part of his house next the street," every night between Michaelmas and Lady-day, from dusk until nine o'clock. This Act failed to secure satisfactory results in more than one particular; notably, in respect to cleansing and lighting. The drainage long remained inadequate, the roadways rugged, the gutters choked with filth; and the feeble glimmer of light enforced under the Act was of little further use than just to make darkness visible. Towards the close of Charles's reign a bold speculator named Herring astonished the community with his scheme for lighting the streets on all moonless nights through the winter half-year. After much opposition he secured a contract under which he kept, or engaged to keep, a lighted lamp suspended from six o'clock until midnight opposite each tenth door along the main thoroughfares. It was long, however, beyond the period under review before the streets and pathways became safe or commodious for inoffensive pedestrians after nightfall. A single narrow bridge, with lofty houses on much of its surface, spanned the river. Ferry-boats played a most important part in the transaction of all business between the water-side localities. The greatest merchants and bankers resided at their places of business. Along most of the streets the upper stories projected well over the shops below. The huge towns which now almost equal in population the metropolis of the Stuart period were then of insignificant size. Manchester had only about 6000 inhabitants; the whole tonnage of the port of Liverpool was only half as much as the burden of one of its largest ships in the present day; Birmingham was just beginning to acquire a name for the hardware which it sent to other parts of the kingdom; Sheffield had about one-fiftieth of the population which it numbers after the lapse of two more centuries; and many of the great towns of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and other parts of the three kingdoms, were then small hamlets.

The costly and gorgeous attire of the time of the two earlier Stuart kings gave place to a costume less rich and elaborate, yet scarcely less picturesque, in the period under notice. The dress of a man of fashion at the date of the Restoration is thus described by a contemporary, Randal Homes, whose notes on dress are preserved in the Harleian library:—"A short-waisted doublet and petticoat-breeches; the lining being lower than the breeches, is tied above the knees; the breeches are ornamented with ribbons up to the pocket, and half their breadth upon the thigh; the waistcoat is set about with ribbons, and the shirt hanging out over them." The hat was still high-crowned, as in Vandyke's portraits, and retained the plume of feathers. Falling lace collars, of ample dimensions, also continued in vogue, and long drooping lace ruffles formed the usual pendant to the lining of the petticoat-breeches. A short cloak, with abundance of silk braiding, was slung negligently about the shoulders; high-heeled shoes, with large and spreading ribbon ties, and stockings of silk, completed the dress of a man of fashion. The hair was worn long and drilled into ringlets; in default of sufficient natural growth to keep pace with the fashion, the peruke of the French court came into request, and in the process of naturalization acquired the name of periwig. Pepys duly chronicles the adoption of this novelty by the duke of York, and soon afterwards by Charles, early in 1664. Almost simultaneously with the use of perukes, a low-crowned broad-brim took the place of the tall hat, and the upright feathers were now placed along the brim, which continued bent as before. Charles held the peruke to be an unseemly fashion for the clergy, and took steps to check their too ready conformity with the mode. The sight of a wig on a preacher's head provoked him to put in motion the ordinances touching decency of apparel. What would be his horror to witness those latter days of clerical infatuation for flowing whiskers and luxuriant hirsute pendants from the upper lip. The costume of the Russian ambassador in the early years after the Restoration, which had some oriental peculiarities in it, made so favourable an impression upon Charles, that he adopted it as the groundwork of a fashion which he attempted, but without success, to bring into vogue. With the modification invented by the king, the dress included a long close vest of black velvet or cloth, pinked with white satin; a loose tunic or surcoat over it, of oriental cut; and buskins in the place of shoes. So firmly was the king bent on establishing this garb, that he gravely announced to his council in 1666 his adoption of it, and declared that he was resolved never to give it up. Pepys and Evelyn both note the commencement of the fashion among the courtiers, but it seems never to have been in favour with them. Two years later, the long, close vest had developed into a square-cut coat, and the tunic, reduced in its amplitude of girth, but retaining its former length, passed into the long loose waistcoat that overlapped the whole length of the breeches, with a broad edging of embroidery. Large buttons and button-holes adorned the whole length of both vest and tunic. The sleeves of the tunic reached to the elbow only, where they ended in broad and loose cuffs. The fore-arm exhibited the bulging folds of the shirt, ruffled at the wrist, and ornamented with a profusion of ribbons. At the same time with the larger changes, the band and broad falling collar of lace were displaced by lace cravats, fastened in front with ribbons, the ends hanging down. Silver buckles now began to be worn in shoes, but ribbon ties still held their ground, and the buckle can hardly be said to have come fully into vogue until the reign of Anne. Narrow-brim hats, with feathers all round, were in some degree of favour towards the end of the period.

Shoulder-knots and richly embroidered shoulder-belts belong to the same era with ribbons, feathers, curled and frizzled false hair, and the other fripperies imported from Paris. In the reign of James no considerable change in costume occurred.

Military costume and accoutrements underwent some changes in this period. Defensive armour was pretty nearly discarded. The cavalry, however, still retained a pistol-proof pot helmet, and a breast-piece of equal solidity. Among the foot, pikemen also kept a back and breast-piece, and the pot helmet. Musketeers carried a sword in addition to the musket. Some of the oldest and most famous regiments in the service, as the Coldstream Guards, the Life Guards, the Oxford Blues, the Buffs, date their formation from the early years of Charles's reign. The Scots Fusileers began in 1678; the 1st and 2nd Dragoon Guards and the Welsh Fusileers took their origin in the brief reign of his brother.

Female costume in the higher grades exhibits, in its broad general features in this period, a marked contrast with the straight-laced attire of the preceding generation. The portraits of court ladies have all bare necks and bosoms, with the arms bare to the elbow, but the stint of covering for those parts of the person is amply atoned by full and flowing draperies, with voluminous folds and long trains of rich satin or velvet in the rear. A Puritan writer of the time inveighs against the "monstrous superfluity of cloth or silk that must be dragged after them." The limits of this work forbid any record of the minutiæ of female fashion: a few salient points only can be noticed. Perukes found favour with the ladies two years earlier than with gentlemen. Vizards were much worn by ladies in places of public entertainment or in riding abroad; black patches also were in vogue. In good society beyond the court circle, the earlier fashions, with very little variation, retained their hold through both reigns. The steeple-crowned hat, the stiff stomacher, the farthingale, and the starched ruff, or in its place a laced tippet, held their own against the more voluptuous style of the court; and the same description of dress, with the hood and tippet, long remained in use among the wives and daughters of tradesmen and others of the lower middle rank.



COSTUME OF THE NOBILITY IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

WILLIAM AND MARY, AND ANNE.

CHAPTER I.

The Civil and Military History of the Reign of William and Mary. 1689—1694.

"THAT William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives, and, after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange."

Such was the famous resolution of both Houses of the English Parliament by which William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, were called to rule over the destinies of England. Previous pages record the part which William had taken in delivering Britain from "the perverse and incurable dynasty of the Stuarts;" and how by his firmness and wisdom he had paved his way to its throne. As a Protestant, and the husband of the eldest Protestant daughter of the deposed monarch James II., parliament could not have made a better choice of a monarch to rule over a Protestant nation. It was to that end, when James was seeking to rule over his people with a rod of iron, and with an evident design to restore the Popish religion, that William was first invited over from the Hague; although he had many obstacles to surmount before he could grasp the English sceptre. At length, however, by the famous resolution of the 12th of February, 1689, the prize was won. On that same day Mary the new queen arrived from the Hague at Whitehall; and on the morrow, "their majesties," being seated in the Banqueting House, "accepted the crown and royal dignity of king and queen of England." The 13th of February was Ash Wednesday, and on that day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen in the cities of London and Westminster with great acclamation: bonfires blazing, bells ringing, and great guns booming, in token of the general joy at their accession: this was the era of what is called "the present English constitution."

Although by the resolution of the 12th of February William and Mary were declared conjoint sovereigns, the actual administration was placed singly in the king. The regal power was only to be exercised by him, but at the same time, in transferring the sceptre to their hands it was made an indispensable condition for both to signify their assent to certain articles as the undoubted privileges and liberties of the people of England. Mary was a submissive wife, and therefore no difficulties arose during their joint sovereignty from divided sentiments on matters of state, which contributed to her comfort, and at the same time to the happiness of her country. A proof of her devotion to the husband she truly loved was given on her reappearance in England. She was received with signs of joy and affection; but her demeanour is said to have shocked the Tories and even to have offended some of the Whigs. As she had been called to a throne from which her father had been hurled, it was thought that if she did not display sadness she would at least have assumed an air of seriousness. But Mary was the reverse of this. Evelyn says that when she entered Whitehall to receive her father's crown she seemed transported with joy. For some days she was in high, nay, extravagant spirits. She exhibited an almost delirious delight at becoming mistress of Whitehall: forgetting who had so recently occupied its magnificent apartments. It afterwards appeared, however, that her husband had enjoined upon her to assume an air of cheerfulness; and she certainly did her best to obey him. At the same time it lowered her in the opinion of some whose esteem she valued; nor was it till after her death the truth became known that gaiety at that moment was uncongenial to her feelings.

The opening words of the proclamation which announced to the people of England that William and Mary were king and queen of these realms were these:—"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a merciful deliverance from popery and arbitrary power; and that our preservation is due next unto God, to the resolution and conduct of his highness the prince of Orange." The same "resolution and conduct" which had delivered England from "popery and arbitrary power" had to support the prince who was thus acknowledged as her deliverer. For although the public joy was loudly manifested both in London and the provincial towns at his accession, William was not one of the most enviable of sovereigns.

If he had difficulties to surmount in his pathway to the throne, he had still greater to surmount after he had ascended its steps. Scarcely had the bells ceased ringing, and the embers of the bonfires died out, than the enthusiasm with which he had been hailed king greatly and manifestly abated. William himself, at the moment when his fame and fortune reached its highest point, predicted a reaction, so that when it came he was not unprepared to meet it, but it was a trial that made him anxious and unhappy.

It was in the very nature of things that a reaction would take place. With a common danger staring them in the face, the Whigs and Tories had for a few months been warmly united. But the danger was now over, and their old animosity revived, and even displayed itself with greater fury than ever. Among the Tories there was still a lingering feeling in favour of the deposed monarch. He had been a faithless and a thankless friend to them, but their loyalty had revived by his misfortunes. In truth, they do not appear to have meant to uncrown and banish him, but only to put upon him some gentle restraint. Their chief design was to punish the Jesuits and renegades who had misled him, and to obtain from him some guarantee for the safety of the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the realm. Hence the Tories soon began to murmur. Before William had been a month on the throne, many lords and gentlemen complained that they had trusted too much to his declarations. And they were the more factious because their rivals the Whigs were the stanch adherents of King William. If he had anything to fear from the Whigs, it was from their overmuch zeal. He was the sovereign of *their* choice, and they were loud in their professions of loyalty, declaring they would support him with purse and sword against all his enemies, whether foreign or domestic. But the Whigs loved William as a party leader, not as a king. They expected him to be *their* king, and not of the whole nation. All places of honour and trust under his government were to be given to *them*, to the utter exclusion of the Tories. As they had been devoted to *his* cause, so they required William to be devoted to *their* cause. Now herein William's throne was endangered. He had been raised to it by the united efforts of Whigs and Tories: how then was he to act? If he should show favour to none but Whigs, the Tories would become his bitter enemies; and if he disappointed the expectation of the Whigs, there was every reason for him to fear that their loyalty would be turned into disaffection. Never was a monarch placed in a more perplexing dilemma. Whatever policy he might adopt, it might lead to his destruction. But William was not a man to be frightened by difficulties. If his body was thin and weak, within that frail tenement there was the spirit of a hero. He was determined not to be ruled by any faction. He had been chosen king, and, let the consequences be what they might, he would rule as a king untrammelled by faction. This resolve was exhibited in William's choice of a privy council, and of all his officers, both civil and military.

Evelyn says that the crowds who solicited for and expected offices were innumerable. Every man who had taken part in the Revolution claimed his reward. It was a period when statesmen sought places for gain rather than the gratification of an honourable ambition; for as a body they were treacherous, corrupt, and unpatriotic. During the reign of the Stuarts official salaries were extravagantly large; and it was no part of the policy of the statesmen who brought about the settlement of 1689 to curtail the bounties of the crown. Nor did William dare, as yet at least, to reduce the official salaries. Hence there was a perfect scramble for pensions, places, and court distinctions. But William rewarded those whom he chose to reward, and honoured those whom he delighted to honour, without fear or affection. It was on the 17th of February that he published a list of the privy councillors. At the head of that list was the Prince of Denmark—*Est-il possible?*—who had no claim, except that he was the husband of the Princess Anne. The rest were selected for their influence with the two great parties in the state, and with the subdivisions of the Whig and Tory factions. At the head of the list was the name of Danby, president of the council, who still retained his Tory principles. Halifax took charge of the privy seal. He was one of those selected to tender the crown to William and Mary. Nottingham was appointed secretary of state. His nomination was a propitiation to the High Church party. These three appointments were offensive to the Whigs. Each and every one of them had by their antecedents given them mortal offence. They were, however, somewhat propitiated by the nomination of Shrewsbury to the Council Board as joint secretary. Shrewsbury, then only twenty-eight years of age, had borne a distinguished part in the battle which had resulted in the Whig victory, and was therefore almost adored by that party. The Great Seal was put in commission. By a political device, also, in order to gratify the many, the offices of lord high treasurer and lord high admiral were entrusted to boards. The Great Seal, which in olden times had never been entrusted to lawyers, was now confided to a commission of that body, with Maynard at their head. In the Board of Admiralty Herbert, who had carried the memorable invitation over to the Hague to King William, ranked first commissioner; and among those who sat with him were two celebrated members of the House of Commons: William Sacheverell, a Whig, and Sir John Lowther, a Tory; both possessing influence among their respective parties. Hitherto the Tory party appear to have predominated in the councils and offices of King William. But in the Board of Treasury, where the finances of the country had to be more especially dealt with, the Whigs made the most prominent figure: emoluments perhaps being esteemed by them of more value than honours. At the head of the Treasury was one of their most vehement leaders, Mordaunt; while next to him was Delamere, equally vehement in his politics, who became chancellor of the exchequer. Associated with them were two Whig members of the House of Commons: Sir Henry Capel and Richard Hampden, son of the renowned leader of the Long Parliament. The chief weight of the business of the Treasury, however, was imposed on Godolphin, whose nomination appears to have rested solely on his skill as a financier.

Zealous for no government, but useful to every government, he had made himself by his industry, abilities, and knowledge an indispensable part of the machinery of state; and although he had voted for a regency instead of a king, he was placed at the head of a board where Whigs alone assembled. However King William may have erred in the choice of some of these members of government, it must be confessed that in selecting them he displayed great firmness and sagacity. Parties were so balanced as to be a counterpoise to each other. In the choice of the judges William was still more happy. Burnet says "nothing gave more general satisfaction." Each privy counsellor was ordered to bring a list of twelve, and "out of these, twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen." Thus Somers was made solicitor-general; Pollexfen, chief justice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Holt, chief justice of the King's Bench; Sir Robert Atkyns was appointed chief baron; and Treby, attorney-general. Powell also, who had been disgraced, was restored to his seat among the judges. In the royal household the two chief places were bestowed upon two English noblemen of high reputation: the accomplished Devonshire becoming lord steward; and Dorset, the patron of genius and literature, lord chamberlain. Henry Sidney, brother of the republican Algernon, was nominated a gentleman of the bedchamber. But there were three appointments made in the royal household which formed the subject of deep complaint. William was not only king of England, but he still remained Stadtholder of Holland. The Dutch had manifested great joy at his exaltation to the English throne. He was beloved by the whole nation, save and except the oligarchical party, which had always been hostile to the doctrines of Calvin and the House of Orange. *They* thought that William ought to resign his Stadtholdership; but the great body of the people, proud of the genius and success of their prince, did not share in such feelings. When it became known that the first minister of their commonwealth had been raised to the throne of England all the cities of the seven provinces set up arches of triumph, and lit up bonfires to his honour. William had written to the States-General an assurance that the change in his situation would make no change in his affection for his native land. It was natural that he should love a people who had so nobly stood by him in the many and great dangers through which he had passed; and it was also natural that he should surround his throne in England by some of his countrymen who had most distinguished themselves by their friendship and zeal for his cause. Yet when he gave one place in his household not of political importance, but of friendly companionship, to Bentinck, a second to Auverquerque, and a third to Zuyleisk, there was a loud murmur in England, as though the national feeling had been outraged. This cry was no doubt chiefly raised by place-hunters, and not by the people; but as they were numerous and powerful, William must have felt that his being a foreigner was a circumstance unfavourable to a quiet and peaceable rule over his new country.

Still, in the midst of all his difficulties William ruled with a firm hand, standing "almost alone as the representative of what was heroic in England." He was not a dazzling prince. He was master of seven languages; but he had no powers of oratory wherewith to subdue men to his will. His manners were morose; and as some of his courtiers recollected the charm of the manners of Charles II., his moroseness, or taciturnity, was spoken of by them to his disadvantage. William spoke but seldom, and was never prolix when he did; but when he opened his lips it was to the point. His talents were not used for display, but for service; and during his reign he did England a noble service, for he raised her in the scale of nations, saved her from foreign domination, and kept her safe from domestic tyranny. He it was who first established that liberty of conscience which is the basis of true Protestantism; and, in spite of the grovelling ambition of ignorant factions, then the curse of the country, made constitutional government, hitherto a mere name, a reality.

William made his first speech in the English Parliament on the 18th of February. It was brief, but cogent and full of meaning. He assured the two Houses that he was very sensible of their kindness; that he highly valued the confidence they had reposed in his conduct; and that he would never do anything that might justly lessen their good opinion. The state of affairs abroad, he said, particularly in Holland, was such that unless some speedy care was taken of them, they would run a greater hazard than the English would desire to have them exposed to. The posture of affairs at home would also require their consideration, for a good settlement was necessary both for peace and for the support of the Protestant interest at home and abroad. The state of Ireland especially was such as could not be remedied by any slow or weak measures. William's speech was well received, and the Commons returned a hearty vote of thanks, which passed unanimously. The first question discussed was, whether the convention which had altered the succession should continue to sit as a parliament. On that question opinions were divided in the nation. The Whigs were all for the affirmative; but the Tories, who knowing from the reaction which had taken place in the public feeling that a general election would result in their favour, were for the negative. A bill declaring the convention a parliament was rapidly passed in the Lords, but when sent down to the Commons there was a warm discussion. The question was debated by them upon what were maintained as constitutional principles. The reaction in opinion was such that many desired to unsettle the settlement. The Tories and Jacobites, therefore, insisted that the king's writs should be issued for the calling of a new parliament, which might confirm, or, as they hoped, rescind or modify, what had been done by the convention. But the Whigs had a decided majority in the Lower House, and they would not listen to such a proposition. They maintained that it was not a time to stand upon forms; and that considering what a ferment the nation was in, there would be danger in issuing writs for a new election. In the end the bill was passed, and it was accompanied by a clause which declared that no person should sit and vote in either House of Parliament without taking an oath to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary according to the prescribed form in the Declaration of Rights. This test of loyalty to the new sovereigns was to be made on the first of March. It was then seen who might be reckoned upon as their friends, and who their enemies. Conspicuous among the latter were the archbishop of Canterbury and seven other spiritual peers. Old Serjeant Maynard had declared that he thought the clergy were out of their wits, and he was not far wrong. In their dread of dissent, they had forgotten their cry against the attempts made by James upon the national religion by the reintroduction of popery into his kingdom. Only three bishops took the oaths on the first day, but at the second meeting several other prelates came in. Within a week about a hundred lords had qualified to sit. Others who were prevented from illness subsequently qualified. Some of the lay peers, as Clarendon and others, proved refractory; and there were lords who took the oaths who did not mean to keep them. Among these were Ailesbury and Dartmouth. In the Lower House the refractory were not so proportionately numerous as in the Lords. By the second of March four hundred members were sworn. Among these was Seymour, a Jacobite, whose example was followed, with but few exceptions, by all that party. Among the spiritual lords who refused to take the oaths, five of them were included in the seven sent by James to the Tower for refusing to obey his mandates. The example set by the primate and bishops greatly influenced the clergy. They too, as well as all laymen holding offices, were required to take an oath in lieu of the old oath of allegiance and supremacy. Those of the clergy who did not take the oath before the first of August were to be suspended, and if not taken within six months they were to be deprived of their benefices. Above four hundred of that body refused the oath, and thus began the schism of the nonjurors: a schism which, during three reigns, was a constant source of alarm throughout the country.

Before the day fixed for taking the oaths, a grave question was mooted in the Commons. The large revenue of 1,200,000*l.* per annum had been settled on the last two monarchs of the house of Stuart. William appears to have expected the same princely grant for his life. This, however, was opposed both by Whigs and Tories. Some there were among the former who contended that as the revenues were granted to the late king in his political capacity for his natural life, therefore as long as he continued to live as an exile in a foreign land they should be paid to William and Mary. It was not a very logical argument, but all the eminent Whig lawyers supported it except Somers, who argued that it would be impolitic, as from the bounty first bestowed upon Charles II. the miseries which England had endured might be dated. If he had not been supplied with that large revenue he would never have attempted what he did. And Somers may have been right, for "the love of money is the root of all evil." But he argued more cogently against this view of his learned brothers. He maintained that the word "life" must mean "reign," and that therefore with the deposition of James the grant had expired. The sense of the House was with Somers; and as it was impossible to make a new settlement without due deliberation and inquiry, the Exchequer was ordered to furnish such returns as might enable the House to form estimates of the public expenditure and income. Meanwhile the wants of the new sovereign were well supplied. During the debates he informed the House by a message that the fugitive monarch James had sailed with a French armament from Brest for Ireland. Here was an occasion for the Commons to show their loyalty to the sovereign of their choice, and it *was* shown. At the same time their own personal safety may have been taken into consideration in their liberality, for if James could have succeeded in regaining his throne many of them, doubtless, would have been his victims, and perished on the scaffold. Be that as it may, a temporary vote of 420,000*l.* per month was agreed to, and both Commons and Lords engaged to support King William with their lives and fortunes. Upon a message from William, the Commons even suspended by a temporary bill that chief bulwark of the liberties of the subject—the Habeas Corpus Act. And the Lords were still more complaisant than the Commons. It was known that the government and even the life of William were threatened by conspirators, and "they humbly advised and desired his majesty to take an extraordinary care of his government and person in this conjuncture, by securing all disaffected persons whatsoever." The Lords also declared, notwithstanding an express law to the contrary, that he might retain persons so committed to the first day of the ensuing term. This was a dangerous stretch of loyalty, inasmuch as it laid every subject, innocent or guilty, open to every attack of suspicion, fear, or animosity. But very little harm was done either by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act or by the overstrained loyalty of the peers. William was neither a timid nor arbitrary monarch, and very few persons were arrested. To secure his throne William courted popularity rather than resort to measures of severity: a policy which was both wise and humane. In his march from Torbay to London, when he first arrived in England, crowds of poor people had importuned him to abolish the hearth tax, by which the sum of two shillings a year was levied on every house in the kingdom. William had not forgotten the cry for relief from a tax which had always been odious to the people. Since then "it had been much in his thoughts;" for it was a most unequal tax, pressing heavily on the poor, and lightly on the rich. At the recommendation of William, "hearth money" was abolished, and less oppressive taxes were substituted. But in this recommendation William was not unmindful of himself. In his message it was remarked: "As in this his majesty doth consider the ease of his subjects, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful to the support of the crown." And the Commons were not altogether wanting in this particular. It had been discovered by a careful examination of accounts that the real value of the late king's revenue very far exceeded its nominal amount; and in proceeding with the great question of supply, they now voted 1,200,000*l.* for the current year; one half to be appropriated to the civil list, and the other half to the public service. The hereditary revenue was left untouched. But whatever sums were voted the Commons resolved should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates of the probable expenditure. This principle had been partially adhered to in the reign of Charles II., but had been wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor. From this time, however, the principle has been invariably maintained, and its establishment alone is sufficient to make Englishmen grateful for the Revolution. It has from that time been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the crown; and it is this great and fundamental principle in the English constitution that renders the legislative power of the British parliament truly paramount. Acting upon this principle, the then House of Commons voted distinct sums for the service of the state; every vote having due regard to economy. Thus 700,000*l.* were allowed for the support of the navy for the current year, and 600,000*l.* as compensation for the expense of the Dutch expedition in support of the Revolution. Provision was also made for six months for the army destined for Ireland, now, as will be seen, invaded by the French to restore James to his throne. But in no single instance did the Commons grant William the full extent of his demands: a circumstance which he attributed to a dislike to his person, rather than to their want of patriotism.

If this first parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for the control they exercised over the revenue, it may be doubted if they were equally wise in opposing his wishes in the great questions of religious liberty and religious union. William had lived in a country where men of all sects and religions agreed to differ; where as a body, whatever were their professions of belief in matters of faith, they lived in harmony. He had been bred a Calvinist, and had always expressed his abhorrence of persecution. He could not understand why religion should make men quarrelsome. From his known and recognised principles of toleration, the Presbyterians and all Protestant dissenters considered him as their peculiar protector. They appear indeed to have claimed him as their own, for they entered into his interests with overmuch zeal. Their zeal for his interests, indeed, was unfavourable to his peace; for it caused the friends of episcopacy not only to become jealous of his proceedings, but to employ all their influence in thwarting his measures. But no religious party had real cause to be jealous of him for any particular favours shown to another. As he was resolved not to be the king of the Whigs or the Tories separately, so he desired not to be considered the king of any one section in particular of the religious community. His large-heartedness embraced them all, whether papists, episcopalians, or Protestant dissenters of whatsoever denomination they might be. He desired to treat them all as Christian subjects. Imagining that the great dread of the papists would be removed with the removal of their great patron, James, and that the good-will the episcopalians and dissenters had shown towards each other when threatened by James would lead to some amicable and lasting agreement between all parties, he proposed a repeal of the Test Act. That Act was a blot in the statute book, for it rendered both Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters, however loyal they might be to the kings and queens of England, ineligible to civil offices, and subjected them to what is now justly regarded as persecution. If William's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, the country would have been saved from animosities which disturbed its peace for more than a century. But in this abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men William stood almost alone. The Lords rejected the repeal by a large majority. At the same time the church party in the House of Lords eagerly grasped at a clause recommended by William, which went to dispense with the oaths of the bishops and established clergy to the new government. But in this the dissenters in the Commons joined issue with the churchmen. Neither party showed any regard for each other's consciences. An amendment was moved and carried in the Commons, obliging the established clergy to take the oaths of allegiance under pain of suspension, to be followed in six months by deprivation. This amendment was rejected by the Lords, and a conference ensued, the result of which was that power was given to William to grant during his pleasure a third of their benefices to any twelve clergymen who should incur deprivation by refusing to take the oath. William was astonished at the religious animosities displayed by his new subjects. It was an enigma he could not solve. But he was not so easily turned from his purpose. He still hoped to make all sects live in harmony, as he had seen them do at the Hague. Flattering himself that the church, the kirk, and conventicle might by degrees amalgamate, he attempted to carry a bill of comprehension, but both Lords and Commons united in defeating this project, and all that he could obtain from them was a bill granting toleration to all Christian sects except the Roman Catholic.

Well might King William, in writing to his friend Heinsius, tell him that "matters in parliament here are taking a turn which drives me mad." He had been over sanguine as to the virtues, moderation, and magnanimity among parties in England, political and religious, and he felt his disappointment keenly. And this was not the only instance he was called upon to experience the truth that—

> Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

While his parliament was thus thwarting his views, there were great commotions in England, Scotland, and Ireland, calculated to disturb his repose and to endanger his throne. But during these commotions he was well supported by both houses of parliament, so that while they were factious they were still at least loyal to his person.

The commotion in England arose from a mutiny among the soldiers. France had declared war against the States-General, and the States-General had demanded succours from the king of England, which by the treaty of Nimeguen he was bound to furnish. Accordingly, some battalions were ordered to be marched to Harwich for embarkation to the Continent. But the old soldiers of James were generally in a discontented state, and one regiment selected for service in Holland was especially so. That regiment, now the first of the line, was chiefly composed of Scotchmen. When the order for their march was given, Scotland had not cast off its allegiance to King James. William had not even been proclaimed king of Scotland, but only of "England, *France*, and Ireland." It was for the Scottish parliament to decide which king should reign over them, James of the House of Stuart, or William of the House of Orange. Hence, when the order was given for this regiment to march to Harwich, both officers and men broke out into loud murmurs. They held that if they were absolved from their allegiance to King James, it must be by the Estates at Edinburgh, and not by the Convention at Westminster. And they were the more offended because they were to fight under the command of a Dutchman, and not a Scotchman. Schomberg, one of the bravest warriors of the day, was appointed their colonel; but famous as he was, they preferred a Hepburn or a Douglas, by one or the other of whom they had always been commanded. The mutiny of this one regiment, which had extensive ramifications in other sections of the army, created great alarm in London when the news reached the city. But the danger was averted by the firmness of the government and the parliament. Both Lords and Commons were right loyal on this occasion. An address was unanimously voted, requesting him to take effectual steps for the repression of the rebellion. But an address was scarcely needed. When it was presented, by two peers and two knights of shires, William informed them that the necessary orders had already been given. Ginckel, one of the bravest and ablest officers of the Dutch army, at the head of several regiments of horse and dragoons, was in hot pursuit. Ginckel overtook them near Sleaford, in Lincolnshire. On discovering his near approach they drew themselves up in order of battle, on a spot almost surrounded with pools and swamps; their cannon being placed at the only spot unprotected by natural defences. But it was to no purpose; fortune was against them. Veterans as they were, they could not hope to conquer. The attack was ordered to be made at a point which was out of the reach of the guns, and the dragoons dashed into the water, though it was so deep that their horses were obliged to swim. There was no fighting. Losing heart, the mutineers beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion. They were brought up to London under a strong guard; and had the law been carried out their lives would have been forfeited, for the penalty of waging war against the king was death. But William, though a rigid disciplinarian, adopted on this occasion a politic clemency. A few of the ringleaders were tried and convicted of high treason, but their lives were spared. As for the rest, they were ordered to return to their duty, and they passed over to the Continent, where through many hard campaigns they distinguished themselves by their fidelity to King William, their military discipline, and deeds of valour.

The argument of the mutineers, that they could only be absolved from their allegiance to King James "the seventh" by the Estates at Edinburgh, was soon demolished. The Scottish Convention of Estates met on the 14th of March. It had been so managed by Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair, that its members chiefly consisted of Whigs and Presbyterians. Nothing could be more favourable to the acknowledgment of King William as the king of Scotland, as well as of England, *France*, and Ireland. There were some waverers, but they were influenced by the success of the Revolution in England. The duke of Hamilton, known to be a favourer of the change in the dynasty, was chosen president. There could be no doubt as to the result of their deliberations, but James himself aided in his own dethronement. He had written a letter to the English Convention, which had been rejected without being read. But the Scottish Convention was more respectful. Faithful adherents for a long series of years to the Stuart dynasty, notwithstanding its tyrannical rule, they could not cast its last member off without hearing what he had to say on his own behalf. But better had it been for "James VII." if he had never sent, as he did, a royal epistle to the Scottish Convention. He used the language "of a conqueror and a priest." It was a threatening letter. If they dethroned him they were to be punished in this world by fire and sword, and in the next, damnation. And it was the more offensive because it was countersigned by a man whom the Presbyterians abhorred, Lord Melfort, a furious papist, who was James's secretary of state. No answer was returned, but a letter from King William elicited a most gracious reply. A proclamation was issued, calling upon all men between the age of sixteen and sixty to take up arms for their country and their faith; the sheriffs were ordered to seize all persons bearing arms without the authority of the Convention; and the president was invested with a dictatorial power of securing all persons suspected of still adhering to the cause of King James.

James had numerous adherents in the cradle of his race. If he was hated by the Scottish Presbyterians, he was still loved by the Scottish Episcopalians. The confidental agents of James were Viscount Dundee and the earl of Balcarras. They had the honour of accompanying James in his last walk before he fled from Whitehall, on which occasion he told them that he intended to put his affairs in Scotland under their management. Balcarras was to undertake the civil business, and the "fiery Dundee" was to command his troops. Both, however, for a time appeared to favour the cause of King William. They had swelled the crowd which thronged to greet the Deliverer, and were not ungraciously received. William had been urged by the Scottish Whigs, who assembled in great numbers at Westminster, to proscribe both them and others known to be firm adherents of King James, but he refused to exclude them from the general amnesty. Balcarras often went to his court, and professed deep respect for his highness. He even owned that James had committed great errors, although he would not go so far as to promise that he would concur in a vote of deposition. Dundee, who had served under William on the Continent, was more compliant. He declared himself willing to acquiesce in the new order of things, and having obtained from William a promise of protection, he on his part promised to live peaceably. Balcarras and Dundee were accordingly allowed to return to Scotland. They reached Edinburgh towards the close of February. They were members of the Scottish Convention of Estates, and when it was moved that the letter of James should be read, they were among those who bound themselves not to obey any order it might contain for the Convention to separate, but to remain assembled till the work of securing the religion and liberty of Scotland was accomplished. When, however, that letter was read, and the sitting had closed, Balcarras and Dundee determined to hold a counter convention at Stirling; but Athol was vacillating, and Gordon would not, at Dundee's request, dissolve the Convention by cannon balls from the castle of Edinburgh, so that the danger soon passed away, as the adherents of the House of Stuart were overawed; and there was nothing to fear from the fiery Dundee, as in the midst of the tumult he had scrambled down the castle hill, and remounting his horse, led his fifty troopers westward.

Thus relieved from danger, the Estates pursued their deliberations. Their first business was to send a letter of thanks to William. Many who were still in the interests of the banished king attached their signatures to that letter, but not a single bishop would subscribe his name. The bishops still hoped to see King James restored to his throne. The bishop of Edinburgh had, even at the opening of the Convention, boldly prayed for his safety and restoration, and for a moment the hopes of the Jacobites, low as they had fallen, were somewhat revived. It was the custom of the parliaments of Scotland to entrust the preparation of all Acts to select members, who were called "lords of the articles." In conformity with this usage, the Convention appointed twenty-four of their members to frame a plan for the new government. From their deliberations the Jacobites could have no hope, for the majority of the committee were Whigs, and therefore friends of King William. But while they were deliberating, the duke of Queensberry arrived from London—a man not only of high rank, but possessing great influence in Scotland. Queensberry had sternly opposed the attempts made by James to re-establish popery, but he was an unflinching supporter of the cause of hereditary monarchy. James had not a warmer or more faithful friend in Scotland than Queensberry. When, therefore, he arrived at Edinburgh, the hope of the Jacobites somewhat revived. But their hope rested as much upon the cannon balls stored up in the castle of Edinburgh as upon the influence of Queensberry. If Gordon could only be induced to batter down a few chimneys in Edinburgh, it was conceived that the Estates would adjourn to Glasgow, and then the Royalists might meet in convention, and settle matters all their own way. But it was in vain that Queensberry urged Gordon to open fire upon the town. "He refused to take upon himself such a grave responsibility"—so writes Balcarras to James—"without your majesty's order." And it is doubtful whether, if such an order had been received, Gordon would thus have gratified the Jacobites. It would, in truth, have now been useless, for by this time the Estates had a guard, on which they could more fully rely for protection than on the west country Covenanters. In the Frith of Forth there was a squadron of English men-of-war, on board of which were three Scottish regiments, which had served under William in Holland, and whom he knew would be faithful to his cause. The arrival of these troops, and the determination of Gordon not to open fire upon the city, crushed the last hopes of the Jacobites. There was, however, one chance left—that the settlement might be delayed, and therefore time given for a revival of their power. In his letter to the Convention, William had recommended a union of the two kingdoms—a project which, had it been seriously entertained by any important section of the Convention, would have roused the national and religious feelings of the people, and ruined everything. It was proposed; but the Presbyterians, who formed the majority, refused to listen to such a proposition, and the one chance left to the Jacobites vanished.

The committee appointed by the Estates to prepare the plan of a new settlement of the kingdom were men of spirit and abilities. They came to the conclusion, in plain language, that James had "forfaulted," or forfeited his crown, and that the throne had become vacant: the term "forfaulted" implying a perpetual exclusion of James and his whole race from the crown. As this, however, would have comprehended Queen Mary and the Princess Anne, daughters of James, the committee were ordered to prepare an Act for raising William and Mary to the throne; to consider of the destination of the crown, in the event of their decease, to other heirs; and to form an instrument of government for the security of the people against the grievances of which they complained. The resolution that James had forfeited the crown obtained the ready concurrence of the Convention. When the vote was put, Athol, Queensberry, and some of their friends, withdrew: five only were bold enough to remain and vote against it. Those who had withdrawn reappeared before it was moved that the crown of Scotland should be settled as it had been in England. On this point all seemed agreed. Athol and Queensberry said they had doubted whether they could have justifiably declared the throne vacant; but since the throne had been so declared vacant, the proper persons to fill it were William and Mary. Wise men were these old friends of King James. If they had not displayed the harmlessness of the dove, they now at least displayed the wisdom of the serpent. William's star was in the ascendant, and they were ready to follow it to the south, to the foot of the throne, where it led, if not to worship him, at least to offer him their allegiance. When the Convention had passed these famous resolutions, the new sovereigns were proclaimed. Ascending the octagon tower in the High Street, from which rose the city cross, surmounted by the unicorn of Scotland, a king-at-arms, who was accompanied by the lord provost, nobles, and heralds, with sound of trumpet, announced that William and Mary were king and queen of Scotland. But though the new sovereigns were thus proclaimed, the Interregnum was not at an end. They had not yet been put in possession of the royal authority by a formal tender and formal acceptance. William and Mary had yet to say whether they would or would not accept the instrument which the lords of the articles had drawn up, and the Convention had approved of, touching the rights and privileges of the people which the Stuarts had acknowledged but invaded. That instrument was called "A Claim of Right." However, William did not show much hesitation in accepting the crown of Scotland, with all its requirements of duty. The one objection to its acceptance was found by him in the Scottish coronation oath. Having settled the "Claim of Right," the Convention revised the coronation oath, and when this had been done three members were appointed to carry the instrument of government to Whitehall. Those members were Argyle, who represented the peers, and Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple, who represented the commissioners of the shires and towns of Scotland respectively. It was on the 11th of May that they were introduced at the Banqueting House. They were attended by almost all the Scotchmen of note in London, and around the canopy under which William and Mary were seated there was a splendid array of English noblemen and statesmen. The oath of office was administered after the Scotch fashion, by Argyle, the king and queen holding up their hands towards heaven, as they repeated clause by clause after him, till Argyle read the last clause in the oath. That clause was of very ancient date, and if taken in its literal sense, it would have been William's duty to be careful "to root out all heretics and all enemies of the true worship of God." And in the opinion of many Scotchmen these "heretics" and "enemies" were legion, comprehending all sections of the religious community—Papists, Protestants, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, &c.—who did not hold themselves bound by the Solemn League and Covenant. William had previously apprised the commissioners that he could not take this part of the oath without a public explanation. When, therefore, Argyle reached that clause, William stopped him. He wanted to know whether he was obliged to become a persecutor by that clause: if so, he could not lay himself under such an obligation. The commissioners assured him that it was not so meant. "In that sense, then," said William, "I swear;" and he desired the lords and gentlemen around him to bear witness that he took the oath in that sense only.

Thus William, prince of Orange, was now king of Scotland, as well as of "England, *France!* and Ireland." Meanwhile Dundee, with his fifty horsemen, had retired to his country house in Forfar. It is probable that he might have remained there unmolested, but letters written by James and his secretary Melfort from Ireland recommended that they should not do anything till further orders. But these letters never reached them. They fell into the hands of the dominant party in the Convention, and orders were given for their arrest. And no wonder; for although the letters recommended that nothing should be done without further orders, that written by Melfort expressed regret that some had not been cut off, of whom he and Balcarras had spoken: but that when James was restored to power, "such should be hewers of wood and drawers of water." Balcarras was arrested and brought before the Convention; but when the order for Dundee's arrest was given he had quitted his house, and was soon at the head of a body of highlanders. There was no difficulty in arousing these clans to arm for King James. It was their belief that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from their warlike ancestors, that they had worn the same kind of dress that they wore, and that James, being of their own blood, was by divine right entitled to reign over them. The cause of James, therefore, had a hold upon their affections, and when Dundee appeared among them they gathered around him in hostile array. They were, indeed, in arms when he arrived. The clan which he first joined was at Inverness, and his forces gathered like a rolling snowball. He was soon at the head of five or six thousand daring highlanders, all eager to fight for King James, and equally eager to plunder the lowlands. As a descendant of Montrose, whose deeds were the favourite themes of Scottish bards, the charm of his name was so great, that in some instances clans deserted their hereditary chiefs to fight under his banner. Thus it was with the clansmen of Murray, son of the earl of Athol, whom he had assembled ostensibly to do battle for King James, but in reality for King William. As Murray was reviewing his thousand clansmen, they quitted their ranks, filled their bonnets with water, drank the health of King James, and then marched off with bagpipes playing to join Dundee at Lochaber.

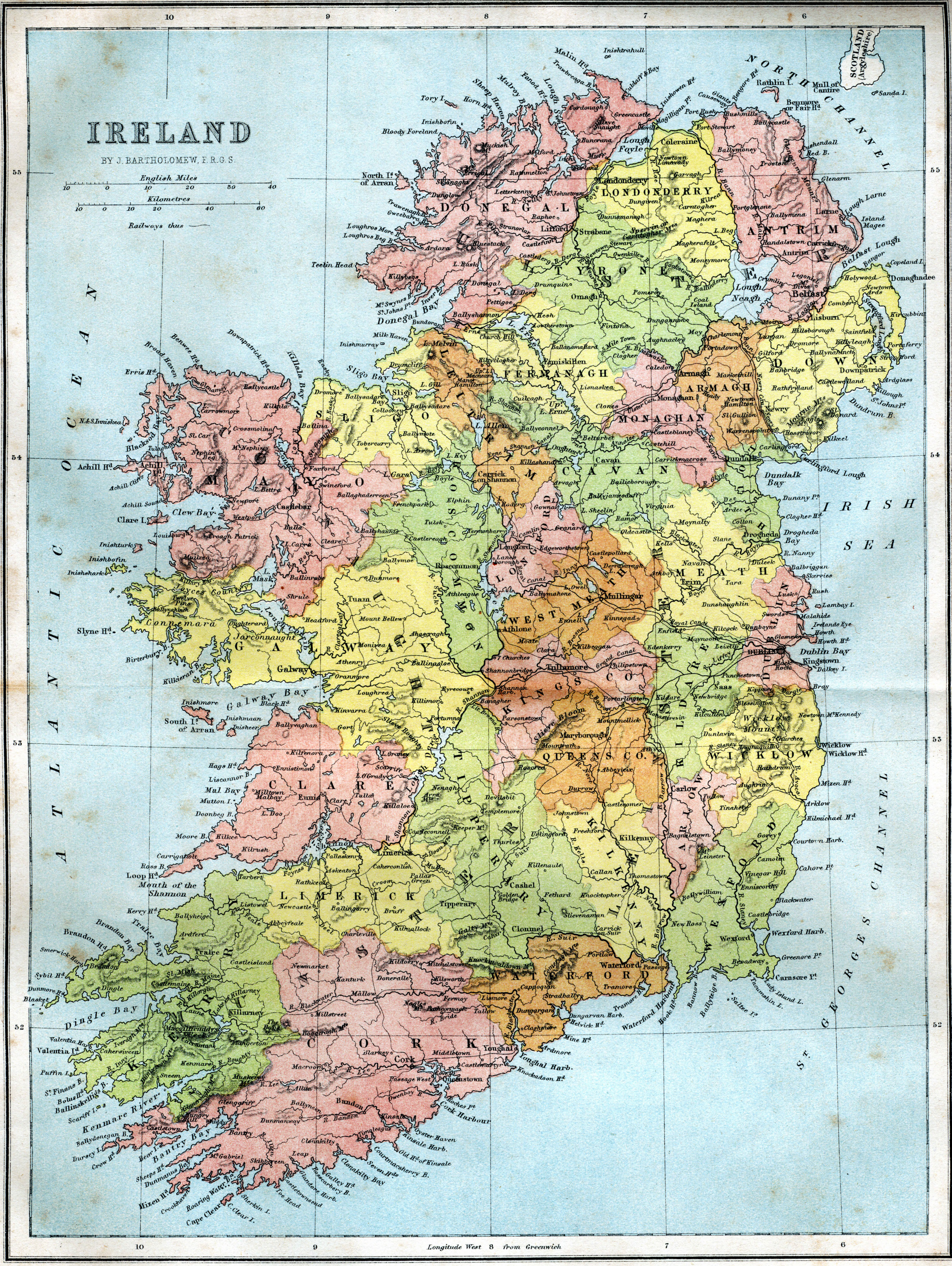
When Hugh Mackay arrived at Edinburgh with his three Scottish regiments, the Convention passed a resolution appointing him general of their forces. On him, therefore, the duty devolved of opposing Dundee's highlanders. Nor was it highlanders alone that he had to encounter, for Dundee had been joined by five hundred men from Ireland. He had received orders from James not to risk a battle till this reinforcement should arrive; but when it appeared it was not very formidable, for the Irish were miserably armed and equipped. It was on his light-footed and half-naked highlanders that he had chiefly to depend. It was towards the end of June that he received the Irish reinforcement. In the mean time Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon, and Mackay was approaching Blair Castle with his "veterans practised in war's game." That castle belonged to the marquis of Athol, who had decided to take part with King William, but was held by his own clansmen for King James. As the key of the northern highlands, it was a most important post, and Mackay was marching through Perthshire to take it. But Dundee with his highlanders was there long before the heads of Mackay's columns were seen approaching. Mackay advanced up the pass of Killiecrankie, near Dunkeld. It was a defile where Dundee might with ease have stopped his way. On one side the river Gary rushed below the difficult ascent; on the other were rocks and wooded mountains. The roadway was so narrow that one horse, or two or three men abreast, only could move along. Mackay was doubtful at first whether he should venture to enter that gloomy pass. Scouts, however, discovered that there was no enemy concealed, and he entered it about mid day.

It formed no part of Dundee's plan to arrest his progress. His purpose was to engage him in the open plains beyond it, while some of Athol's clans should press on his rear, and, occupying the mouth of the defile, oppose his retreat. The defile was passed in safety. But they had scarcely, however, passed through the defiles of Killiecrankie, when a cloud of bonnets and plaids swept from the hills into the plain. Down they came in compact columns, and the battle soon commenced. A volley or two were exchanged, but such a mode of fighting did not suit the highlanders. Throwing their guns and pistols behind them, they raised their war yells, and roused by the music of the bagpipes, they rushed upon Mackay's line with their broadswords. There was but a feeble resistance. The English horse galloped off without firing a shot, and there was a general flight of horsemen and infantry back through the pass of Killiecrankie, the eagles and birds of prey wheeling and screaming at the unwonted sight. There was a great slaughter as they passed through the gorge, but the numbers said to have been slain—two thousand—must have been greatly exaggerated in the Scottish Jacobite accounts. There were no final results of the victory of Killiecrankie, for the highlanders did not follow up their success. In that brief but bloody battle their leader had fallen. He was leading a charge of his small band of cavalry, and as he raised his arm, as a signal for his men to press forward, a musket ball struck him in the part exposed in his movement by the opening of his cuirass, and falling from his horse, the "fiery Dundee" soon breathed his last. The "spirit of Montrose" had led him to his death. The fall of their leader, no doubt, saved the life of many a follower of the brave Mackay. Many were too much disheartened by it to follow them through the fatal gorge. Others also were deterred from pursuing by the booty which had been left on the plain. The highlanders loved plunder, and many were too busy in collecting it to join in the pursuit. Indeed, after they had raised a great cairn of stones, according to their custom, to mark the spot where their leader had fallen, they went back to their mountain homes laden with the spoils of the battle field. There was no more fighting. The Athol clans pressing on Mackay's rear were overcome, and he soon collected the remnants of his army. In truth, the issue of the battle was on the whole favourable to King William. There was an attempt made by the leaders of the Irish troops to renew the war, but it proved abortive. Dispirited by the loss of their leader, the clans by degrees accepted William's proclamation of pardon, and laid down their arms. It was believed by James and his followers that the death of Dundee was an event which alone prevented his restoration to his kingdoms. No doubt Dundee would have fought gallantly for his cause, had he lived, while a clansman was willing to fight under his banner; but the real obstacle to the restoration of King James was his own perfidy. His real intentions towards both England and Scotland were continually oozing out to his disadvantage. He had sent a declaration over to "my Lord Dundee," promising not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all persuasions; but a letter was found in the pocket of his fallen hero, written by Melfort, explaining that the declaration was so worded that the promises given might be broken at pleasure. Balcarras, writing to James, informs him that this letter, so discovered, "did no small prejudice to his affairs;" as no doubt it did, for it was a warning to all those who had taken any part in the Revolution, or had sworn allegiance to William, after his exaltation to the throne, that their safety lay in keeping the treacherous Stuart far from our shores.

But James *was* again within the borders of his forfeited dominions. The Irish were then, as now, a divided people. At that time the Roman Catholic population greatly preponderated; the Protestants were a minority. As was natural, the Roman Catholics ranged themselves on the side of King James—the Protestants on that of William. The latter were a scattered people, their chief seats were Enniskillen and Londonderry. No sooner was it known in Ireland that James had fled from England, than action had been taken in his favour by his Catholic adherents. Tyrconnel, who commanded in that kingdom, did all that lay in his power to preserve Ireland to his sovereign. The Irish nation was called to arms, a flag was hoisted on the castle of Dublin on which was embroidered these ominous words: "Now or never! Now, and for ever!" These words went forth through the whole island, and there was a general rising. At the end of February about one hundred thousand men were in arms, half of whom were soldiers, the rest banditti. Fearful scenes of outrage and wrong were committed. The houses of the Protestant population were sacked; their flocks and herds seized, and their lives sacrificed without a feeling of remorse. Whatever the regular troops spared fell a prey to the bands of marauders who overran almost every district in the kingdom. The Celtic and Roman Catholic population were taught to believe that they never before had, and never would again have, such an opportunity of getting rid of their Saxon Protestant oppressors, and they were resolved to despoil them and drive them out of their island. Their spoils were immense, for the Protestants were almost powerless. While the native Irish, men and women, were enjoined to arm themselves with some weapon, the Saxon stranger was to be unarmed. A day was fixed when all Protestants should bring their swords and firelocks to the parish churches, on pain of having their houses sacked by the soldiers. But the men of Enniskillen and Londonderry dared to arm in self-defence. They boldly defied Tyrconnel's soldiers and gangs of banditti. And thither came Protestants, who were unable to defend themselves, from all quarters. Those of Connaught and Munster found shelter at Enniskillen, and those of Leinster at Londonderry. At both these places, when the news arrived that the English Convention had raised William and Mary to the throne, they were proclaimed with enthusiasm. The Protestants of Enniskillen and Londonderry had been promised aid from England, but it was slow in coming. Although it was universally known that Ireland was our vulnerable part, yet no forces were sent for its protection. Evelyn says that the king was much blamed for neglecting Ireland, "now like to be ruined by the Lord Tyrconnel and his popish party." But the truth is, William, while prince of Orange, had been deceived. During the Interregnum he had opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel, which had some promise of success. Richard Hamilton, the brother of the able and talented chronicler of the brilliant but dissolute court of Charles II., had come from Ireland with troops which Tyrconnel sent to fight for King James; but when he fled from England, Hamilton made his peace with the ruling power. So warmly did he express his adherence to the cause of the Revolution, that he was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve that country to William. He was confident, he said, that if he were sent to Dublin, he could conduct the negotiation which had been opened to a successful issue. There appears to have been some misgivings as to the prudence of sending Hamilton on such a mission, as it was known that his family, which had long been settled in Ireland, were rigid Roman Catholics. His influence, however, was known to be great in Ireland, and his honour had hitherto been unsullied; and when John Temple, a young statesman of high reputation, declared that he would answer for his friend Richard's fidelity, there was no longer any hesitation. Hamilton pledged his word that he would return to London in three weeks; but all was false and hollow. Instead of fulfilling his mission, no sooner had Hamilton reached Ireland than he plotted with Tyrconnel how the Protestants could best be crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its papist king. One part of their project to this end was carried out in the way above recorded. But they did not depend on the native Irish alone. James was at St. Germains, and if he could induce Louis XIV. to send a French army with him to Ireland, then, with the aid of the Celtic population, they conceived Ireland would become a separate kingdom. Accordingly two envoys were sent to the little court of his majesty King James. Each of these envoys bore a different message. One was Lord Mountjoy, who had hitherto been true to James. He was a Catholic, but a man of high principles—a man that never would consent to be a party to the spoliation and oppression of the Protestant population. Among the Protestants of the north of Ireland, indeed, Mountjoy's power and influence were boundless—a proof that he had never oppressed them, and therefore was not likely to become their oppressor. To get rid of him, therefore, was a part of Tyrconnel's and Hamilton's project. He was to go to St. Germains, to represent to James "the moral impossibility of holding out against the power of England;" while the other envoy, the Lord Chief Justice Rice, was to assure the king that he was impatiently expected in Ireland, and that if he would only show himself there with a French force, he might speedily retrieve his fallen fortunes. But the perfidy of these plotters did not end here. Rice was to tell James that Mountjoy was a traitor, who had only been sent by the Protestants of Ireland; hence, when he arrived in Paris he was safely lodged in the Bastille.

It was after Mountjoy had departed that Tyrconnel and Hamilton began to arm the Celtic population against the Saxon. The first part of their bloody drama was being played out while Justice Rice was negotiating with King James, and James with his "brother of France." Kindred spirits were these two monarchs in tyranny. James had met with a very honourable reception at the court of Versailles. On the arrival of the royal fugitive in Paris, Louis XIV. had sustained his personal dignity and the comforts of his royal guest with a most liberal hand. As a legitimate sovereign expelled by rebels, as one of the same faith and kin of the House of Bourbon, he conceived that James was entitled to hospitality and honour. He had a stately palace assigned him, and the household troops were at all times to salute him with the highest honours. But with all his luxuries, the king, who was not fit to rule over a people, pined for a throne. He eagerly grasped at the prospect held out to him by Tyrconnel. But the French monarch was not so eager to help him to the extent he desired. Like a wise man, he counted the cost. He, with his minister of war, Louvois, looked at the matter in a twofold light. First, they considered they had a long war to maintain on the Continent against a formidable coalition, which would dip deep into the French royal treasury, and therefore there would be no money to spare; and next they remembered that James had, while at the head of a great fleet and army, lost an empire, and that he was not likely to recover that empire by the aid of a people whose language he could not understand, with whose manners and customs he was unacquainted, and in whose land he had never set his foot. For these prudent reasons Louis resolved not to supply James with the number of troops he required. Nevertheless the French monarch committed himself with England in the matter, although he knew that to aid him against the power of England was certain to bring down the vengeance of that power on his head. Hence when it became known that Louis resolved to fit out a fleet at Brest, to carry James to Ireland, with about four hundred captains, lieutenants, cadets, and gunners, with arms and ammunition for the use of the Celt against the Saxon, there was a storm of indignation against the French in every part of England. Whigs and Tories alike rallied round the throne of King William. The sense of the nation found expression in parliament. Both Houses pledged themselves to support him against the French king, and William was so touched by their outburst of loyalty, that he exclaimed with an emotion he had never before shown in England, "This is the first day of my reign!"

The fleet which was to carry James from France to Ireland was fitted out at Brest. Everything required for the adventurer's comforts was richly supplied. No mother could have sent her first-born with more tender care on his first campaign, than Louis sent his kinsman James. If he was not supplied with gold in abundance, James had as much, and perhaps more than Louis could well spare. It was five hundred thousand crowns—a small sum, indeed, wherewith to go to war with a nation that could command and would spend millions to defeat the enterprise. But this was not the sum of the French monarch's munificence. His cabin and his camp furniture were luxurious and superb. His


IRELAND
BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.
English Miles
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Longitude West 8 from Greenwich
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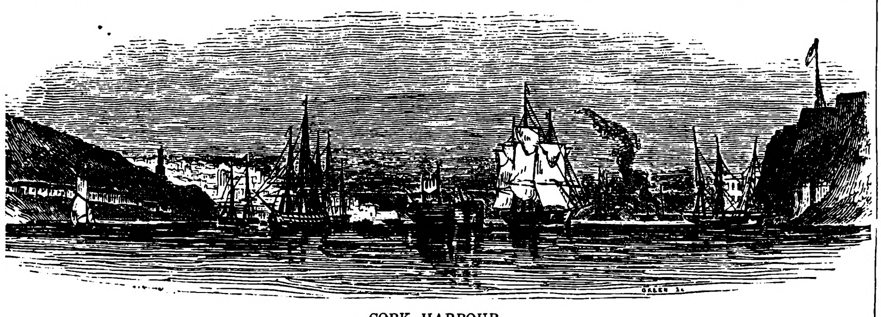
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
DONEGAL
LONDONDERRY
ANTRIM
TYRONE
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
DOWN
MONAGHAN
CAVAN
LEITRIM
SLIGO
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
GALWAY
WEST MEATH
MEATH
LOUTH
DUBLIN
KINGS CO.
QUEENS CO.
KILDARE
WICKLOW
CARLOW
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
CLARE
TIPPERARY
LIMERICK
WATERFORD
KERRY
CORK
Malin Hd.
Inishtrahull
Tory I.
Horn Hd.
Bloody Foreland
Inishbofin
North Id. of Arran
Lough Swilly
Lough Foyle
Rathlin I.
Mull of Cantire
Sanda I.
Benmore or Fair Hd.
Giants Causeway
Port Rush
Port Stewart
Coleraine
Bushmills
Ballycastle
Ballymoney
Londonderry
Strabane
Lifford
Letterkenny
Rathmelton
Buncrana
Moville
Greencastle
Dunfanaghy
Dunglow
Ardara
Killybegs
Donegal
Teelin Head
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
Bundoran
Belfast
Belfast Lough
Lough Larne
Larne
Carrickfergus
Antrim
Ballymena
Glenarm
Lough Neagh
Lisburn
Bangor
Donaghadee
Copeland I.
Newtownards
Strangford Lough
Downpatrick
Dundrum B.
Newry
Carlingford Lough
Dundalk
Dundalk Bay
Armagh
Portadown
Monaghan
Clones
Enniskillen
Omagh
Cookstown
Dungannon
Sligo
Ballina
Killala Bay
Erris Hd.
Broad Haven
Achill Hd.
Achill I.
Blacksod Bay
Clew Bay
Clare I.
Westport
Castlebar
Newport
Croagh Patrick
Inishturk
Inishbofin
Inishshark
Slyne Hd.
Connemara
Joyces Country
Clifden
Lough Mask
Lough Corrib
Tuam
Galway
Galway Bay
Inishmore
Inishmaan
Inisheer
South Id. of Arran
Roscommon
Athlone
Longford
Mullingar
Carrick on Shannon
Boyle
Cavan
Kells
Navan
Trim
Drogheda
Balbriggan
Skerries
Rush
Lambay I.
Malahide
Howth Hd.
Ireland's Eye
Dublin
Dublin Bay
Kingstown
Dalkey I.
Bray
Wicklow
Wicklow Hd.
Arklow
Gorey
Wexford
Wexford Harb.
Carnsore Pt.
Saltee Is.
Enniscorthy
New Ross
Waterford
Waterford Harbour
Tramore
Dungarvan
Youghal
Mine Hd.
Ardmore
Tullamore
Birr
Parsonstown
Maryborough
Mountmellick
Portarlington
Kildare
Naas
Carlow
Kilkenny
Thomastown
Callan
Clonmel
Cashel
Tipperary
Thurles
Templemore
Nenagh
Limerick
Ennis
Kilrush
Kilkee
Loop Hd.
Mouth of the Shannon
Lough Derg
R. Shannon
Kerry Hd.
Tralee
Tralee Bay
Brandon Hd.
Smerwick Harb.
Dingle
Dingle Bay
Blasket I.
Valentia Id.
Killarney
Kenmare
Kenmare River
Bantry Bay
Bantry
Dursey I.
Mizen Hd.
Cape Clear
Clonakilty
Kinsale
Old Hd. of Kinsale
Cork
Cork Harbour
Queenstown
Mallow
Fermoy
Lismore
Macroom
Bandon
Skibbereen
Mitchelstown
Charleville

tents, all in French fashion, were rich in the extreme. Thus equipped and provided for, James prepared to sail for Ireland. He paid his last visit to the court of Versailles on the 15th of February. He was received most cordially. There was a long and private conference between Louis and James in private; but the parting took place before a splendid circle of lords and ladies. The parting words of Louis were: "I hope that we are about to part never to meet again in this world. This is the best wish I can wish for you. But if any evil chance should force you to return, be assured that you will find me to the last such as I have been to you hitherto." But Louis and James met again before he set sail for Ireland. The French monarch appears to have forgotten one thing which James might find necessary, and therefore he paid a return visit to St. Germains. It was a cuirass to defend him from the shots of the enemy, and Louis presented him with his own.

James landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March. The native Irish received him with the utmost enthusiasm. He came like a king, and they received him as such, nothing doubting but he would be to them a gracious sovereign. While at Kinsale James learned that his cause was prospering. The Protestants in the southern provinces of Ireland had been overawed; and although those in the north were still under arms, there was every prospect that they too would soon be brought under subjection. Thus encouraged, James proceeded from Kinsale to Cork. While there Tyrconnel arrived with a still more encouraging tale. He seems to have thought the opposition of Enniskillen unworthy of notice. The most important post held by the Protestants, he said, was Londonderry, but that could not hold out many days. The road from Cork to Dublin, the capital of Ireland, was open to him. There were none to oppose his progress. When therefore James had procured carriages and beasts for his retinue, he left Cork for the capital. He entered Dublin on the 24th of March, in the midst of loud shouts of welcome.



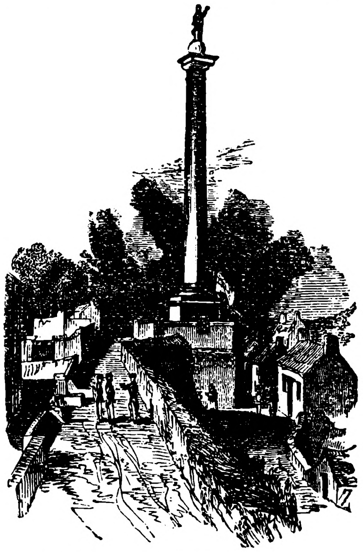
CORK HARBOUR.

Thus far all was well. James had been well received at Kinsale, and Cork, and Dublin, and also in his progress from one place to another. The greeting which he everywhere received might be somewhat rude, but it was cordial and well meant.

Having taken up his residence in the castle of Dublin, James began to play the king. He held a privy council, in which D'Avaux, the French ambassador, and a few other foreigners were sworn members; and issued a proclamation convoking a parliament to meet on the 7th of May. Meanwhile he had many difficulties to encounter. His council was composed of members who held views diametrically opposed to each other. There were those among them—English Jacobites—who, animated by a strong enthusiasm for the family of the Stuarts, aimed at the restoration of James to authority over both England and Ireland. While there were others—Irish Jacobites—who had no particular affection for his race, but whose fixed purpose was rather to break the foreign yoke, to exterminate the Saxon population in Ireland, to overthrow the Protestant Church root and branch, and to restore the soil, of which four-fifths were held by the Saxon stranger, to its ancient proprietors. The English and Scotch lords and gentlemen who accompanied James from Brest to Ireland had no desire to remain in that island. To them it was as much a land of exile as France; and they only accompanied him thither in the hope that it would prove to be a stepping-stone by which they might reach their old hearths and homes in England. James himself had no warm affection for Ireland. His views coincided with those of the English Jacobites; for Dublin Castle was not at all to be compared with Whitehall, or even with St. Germains. The views of James and the Irish Jacobites were on this vital question antagonistic. He wanted to reign at Whitehall, and they wanted him to reign in Dublin Castle; he wanted again to adorn his head with two crowns, and they wanted to separate them for ever. It was their wish when the parliament, which James had convened, met, to obtain a law declaring the crown of Ireland independent: a law which would have resulted in the utter spoliation of the Protestant to the enrichment of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the transfer of ten millions of acres of Irish soil from Saxons to Celts. This was what the English faction in the council of James wished to avoid. And it so happened that at this juncture despatches arrived from Hamilton, who was besieging Londonderry, which led to a trial of strength as to which faction would prevail. There was work for him to do there, if he chose to go and do it. But that was a grave question for his council to settle. On that question the English and Irish factions joined battle. It was whether he was to remain at Dublin, where if he remained when parliament met he would be compelled to assent to a law which should declare Ireland independent, with all its disastrous results; or whether he should repair to Ulster, where, after the fall of Londonderry, he might, if it did fall, in a few hours cross the sea, and join his friends in Scotland with his victorious forces. The discussions on this subject were long and warm, the Irish faction contending for his remaining in Dublin, and the English faction for his marching to Ulster. D'Avaux, the French ambassador, took part with the Irish Jacobites; he exerted all his influence to retain

James in Dublin. The British faction, however, finally prevailed, and James, on the advice of his secretary Melfort, the head of the faction, resolved to march into Ulster.

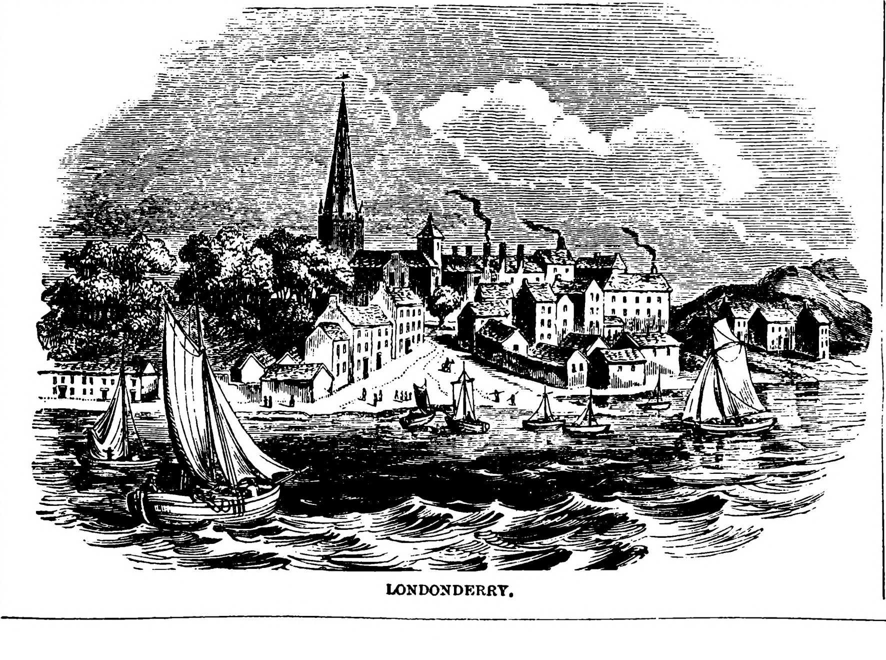
That march is one of the most ridiculous in the annals of warfare. It was commenced on the 13th of April. James was accompanied by D'Avaux, the French ambassador, who, although he was mortified that his advice was not taken, felt bound to follow him wherever he went. D'Avaux had his own game to play, or rather his master's; for it was more than probable that if Ireland was proclaimed independent of England, it would be placed with or without James under the protection of France. D'Avaux, therefore, keenly watching events, kept close by the side of James. Their journey was by no means a pleasant one. The people of the district had fled either to Enniskillen or Londonderry, taking all their movable goods with them; but James had all his luxuries, and the rest, common soldiers and officers, were compelled to find rest and provision where they could. Such was their condition along the road from Dublin to Charlemont. From Charlemont to Omagh it was even worse. There was then added to want of provisions and needful shelter, roads so difficult to travel over, that the horses and baggage waggons had to be left behind. On the 14th of April, also, they were overtaken by a furious storm. It was hoped, however, when they reached Omagh, that they would find a place wherein they might rest a while. But they were miserably disappointed. Its Protestant inhabitants had all fled, and Omagh was left in ruins. All along the road D'Avaux had continually pressed James to return to Dublin, but Melfort was there ready with his counter advice, and he had refused. Comfortable himself, he thought every one else was the same, and his watchword was "Forward!" On arriving at Omagh, however, James was induced to make a retrograde movement. As long as he had not heard of an enemy, he was as bold as a lion; but no sooner had he heard that a strong body of Protestants was in his front at Strabane, than he became alarmed. Sending for D'Avaux, he suddenly announced his resolution to return to Dublin with all speed. Though astonished, D'Avaux was well pleased, while Melfort seemed prostrate with despair. Back, therefore, James and his cavalcade retraced their steps towards Dublin. They had reached Charlemont, when different news to that which had been received at Omagh came by a messenger sent with a letter to the king from the duke of Berwick. In the name of all the general officers he was assured that if he would only show himself before the gates of Londonderry, they would fly open at his approach. James, therefore, again changed his mind. This time Melfort was well pleased, and D'Avaux was prostrate with despair. The French ambassador, indeed, resolved that he would not again set his face northward. While, therefore, James, accompanied by Melfort, went to Londonderry, D'Avaux returned to Dublin, there to watch events. James found his army concentrated a few miles south of the city. He had in his train two French generals—Rosen and Maumont—whom he appointed over the head of Hamilton. Rosen conceived that the mere sight of such an army as they commanded would terrify the garrison into submission. Hamilton knew better. It is true that he was aware James had one important ally within the walls of Derry. Lundy, the governor, was a Protestant, and had proclaimed William and Mary, but he was in secret correspondence with their enemies to surrender. He conceived that the grass-covered walls of the feeble fortifications of the city would not be able to stand the shock of a siege. When, however, a trumpeter was sent with a summons to surrender, Governor Lundy was not there. He had been turned out on suspicion. He had counselled the townsmen to make conditions; but "one Walker, a minister," inspired them with bolder resolutions. Walker was a minister of the gospel of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp. He was aged but energetic, and withal eloquent. At his instigation, while yet the trumpet was sounding the summons, soldiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and artisans rushed to the walls and manned the guns. James had ventured with his attendants to approach the southern gate, but when he had reached within a hundred yards, the sound of "No Surrender" greeted his ears, which was quickly followed with a fire from the bastion, which laid an officer of his staff dead at his side. Unaccustomed to such a rude salute, James fled with all haste back to the camp. He still hoped that the garrison would surrender. Lundy had in reality made that promise, and he seems still to have expected its performance. Having waited twenty-four hours, he again sent his trumpeter to the southern gate. But within that brief space of time the garrison and inhabitants had made preparations for a stern resistance. They had elected two governors, Captain Baker and Walker; Baker taking the chief military command, and Walker the duty of preserving tranquillity, and giving out the supplies from the magazines. When therefore the trumpeter asked whether the engagements into which the governor had entered would be fulfilled, the answer was a bold defiance. The next messenger was Claude Hamilton, Lord Strabane, a Roman Catholic peer of Ireland. He approached the gate with a flag of truce, commissioned to make large promises if the city would surrender to King James. He was met by Captain Adam Murray, who commanded one of the eight regiments composing the garrison. Strabane delivered his message. The citizens were to have a full and free pardon, if they would only submit to their lawful sovereign. Murray


WALKER'S MONUMENT, DERRY.

himself was not only to be pardoned, but rewarded. He was to have a colonel's commission, and a thousand pounds in money. But Murray was not to be tempted. He was made of sterner stuff than Governor Lundy. Strabane was told that the men of Londonderry had done nothing to require a pardon, that they owned no sovereign but William and Mary, and that it would not be safe for his lordship to remain within the lines, or to return on the same errand. Murray politely escorted his lordship out of the reach of danger; and James, convinced that he could not hope for admission within the walls of Londonderry, left Maumont and Pusignan—French generals—with Hamilton to conduct the siege, and accompanied by Rosen, went back to Dublin to hold his parliament.

The siege of Londonderry now began in earnest. Its garrison consisted of seven thousand and twenty soldiers, who were divided into eight regiments, under eight colonels. In the town there were at first about thirty thousand souls, but about one third accepted an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings, so that they were reduced to a less burdensome number. According to Lundy's estimation there were only sufficient provisions for ten days; and as the besieged possessed only twenty cannon, he might well have been faint-hearted. A protracted defence appeared impossible; but there were stout hearts in the city, and able hands to defend its walls. The defenders were sustained in their efforts by the clergy and nonconforming ministers, who joined heart and soul in the general cause, praying for success and deliverance, and exhorting the soldiers to deeds of valour. The city having been completely invested, the bombardment commenced on the 20th of April. It was soon on fire in several places. There was ruin and death in the city. Houses were toppled over, falling on their inmates and crushing them to death. For a moment the garrison was awestruck, but only for a comparative moment. As the work of ruin went on, their courage revived. They even assumed the offensive. A sortie was made on the 21st of April, under the command of Murray, in which Maumont, the French general, with several officers and about two hundred men, were slain. Hamilton now took the chief command of the Irish army, Pusignan being second in command. But Pusignan did not long survive Maumont. In a sally made on the 6th of May by the garrison, he too fell mortally wounded. Many of the besiegers also were killed, and several flags captured. Weeks passed away, and Londonderry was still uncaptured. Many sallies and skirmishes occurred, generally to the advantage of the besiegers. The spirits of the besieged rose higher and higher. Hamilton despaired of taking the city by assault, and turned his thoughts to a blockade. One more grand effort to take the city by assault was made, however, before the hope of reducing the town by force was abandoned. The place selected for the assault was near the southern gate, at an outwork called Windmill Hill. Picked men, who bound themselves by oath to make their way into those works or perish, were engaged in this enterprise. All that they could do to effect this object was done, but it was useless. Captain Butler, the son of Lord Mountjoy, who led the attack, succeeded in reaching the top of the wall near the southern gate, which was only seven feet high, but he with all the sworn men with him were either killed or taken prisoners. At length, after four hundred of the besiegers were killed, the trumpets sounded a retreat. There was now no hope left of reducing the garrison but by a blockade. Brave men, whom the sword could not conquer, were to be conquered by famine. The city was so environed, indeed, that no provisions could be introduced into it for the sustenance of its inhabitants. Every avenue to it by land was closely guarded; while on the banks of the river there were erected numerous forts and batteries which no vessel could pass without peril. More than a mile from the city, indeed, a boom was formed, which must be broken through before any vessel could pass up the river, so that the blockade seemed to have been one of the most effectual man ever devised. There seemed to be no prospect for the brave men of Londonderry but surrender or death. Still they held out bravely.

Meanwhile, when James held his court in Dublin, he learned that a French fleet had arrived in Bantry Bay. There was an engagement with the English fleet, but which was attended with no important consequences. James was compelled to send his secretary on a begging mission to the Pope; but his holiness had no more money to spare than the *Grand*



LONDONDERRY.

Monarque: this only became known after the flight of James to France.

But important events had occurred before that flight, and not the least of these were the decisions of the Irish parliament. In his opening speech James thanked the members for the exemplary loyalty they had shown to his person. While others had "undutifully misbehaved themselves," and had so "basely betrayed him," they had seconded his deputy Tyrconnel in his bold and resolute conduct, for which he could not refrain from expressing his warmest gratitude. But James was not altogether truthful in the speech which he made to his Catholic parliament. Thus he told the members that he had come among them to venture his life with them in defence of their liberties as well as of his own rights. Risk he never meant to incur; but what was a still more glaring falsehood, he affirmed that he had always "been for liberty of conscience," and against invading any man's rights or liberty; having still in mind that saying of Holy Writ, "do as you would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets." James added, "It was this liberty of conscience I gave, which my enemies, both at home and abroad, dreaded to have established by law in all my dominions, and made them set themselves against me, though for different reasons; seeing that if I had once settled it, my people, in the opinion of the one would have been too happy, and in the opinion of the other too great."

These were strange sentiments to come from a king like James, but they were not echoed by the Irish parliament; and despite his sentiments they compelled him to sanction the repeal of his own Act of Parliament, by which the majority of the Protestants of Ireland held their estates. All their broad acres were to be given to the native Irish.

When this bill was introduced, there was great, nay, wild exultation. James was told by the chiefs of the Celtic families, that if he did not give them back their inheritance, they would not fight for his.

All his efforts only brought himself and his authority into contempt. Even when armed bodies of Catholics went forth to seize the property of the Protestants, he had no power to stop them.

But James was not allowed to stop here. The Irish parliament extorted from him the Act of Attainder. By it, two thousand six hundred persons, of all ranks, were adjudged to suffer forfeiture and death; it even affected the real estates of absentees. Days were fixed for proscribed persons to surrender, and if they failed, they were to be put to death, without even the form of a trial.

James and Tyrconnel were to be well rewarded, the former as king of Ireland, and the latter with twenty thousand pounds per annum for his patriotism. With singular inconsistency, however, the Irish parliament passed two Acts, the one granting liberty of conscience, and the other transferring the tithe, for the most part, from the Protestant to the Catholic clergy, thus creating great misery and confusion, both in Dublin and throughout the country. If James, as was represented, had sanctioned these Acts with reluctance, there was another act of his own, equally destructive to the welfare of the nation. The money he had brought from France was but a drop in the bucket, his exchequer was empty, and his soldiers would not fight without pay. In his extremity, he did the very worst thing he could have done. First of all, he fixed by proclamation all the supplies required by the army at the lowest possible price. Then he issued a royal edict for a coinage of brass money, which was to pass for nearly a hundred times more than it was worth; and such was the money the tradesmen were to take, on pain, if they refused, to be hanged by the provost-marshal. It was the royal will, and it must be obeyed. James was as arbitrary as ever. He had learned no wisdom in the school of adversity. The Irish Commons made no remonstrance, so long as James used his power to plunder the English population. But they were not always so quiescent, nor James always submissive when they opposed him. On one occasion, when they complained of the insolence of his secretary Melfort, he charged them with using him basely; and that if he had known they would not let him choose his own secretary, he would never have come among them. James seemed glad when the time came for him to prorogue the Houses, which he did at the close of July, after sitting ten weeks, during which time they had demonstrated to the world, that if the Protestant ascendency had produced evils in Ireland, those produced by Popish ascendency would have greatly preponderated.

It was well that James did not reign much more than a year in Ireland; and in one sense it was well for England he reigned there at all, however brief his tenure of power. The Revolution had been followed by a wide-spread reaction in his favour in England, which his conduct in Ireland effectually counteracted. It was proved by that conduct that he was still the same tyrant as ever; that if he was recalled to England there was no hope of his becoming a better or a wiser king. There was a deep conviction that he was incorrigible; that if he was recalled, he would again have to be deposed. As the news came from week to week, of some new act sanctioned by him for robbing and murdering the Protestants, this conviction became stronger and stronger. It was strengthened also by the continual appearance of Protestant emigrants, who stole across the Channel to escape his tyranny. Those emigrants, despoiled of their possessions, and utterly helpless, found a warm sympathy among all classes of society, from the throne to the cottage. Queen Mary contributed largely to their relief, and the House of Commons, which was then still sitting, placed fifteen thousand pounds for their wants at the king's disposal. But was this all that the English House of Commons could do for the sufferings of the Protestants in Ireland? It was known that the brave garrison and population of Londonderry, with starvation and death staring them in the face, were still bravely holding out against the troops of King James, and was nothing to be done to save them? Were the colonists of Ulster to perish, while England had the power to save them? The voice of the nation, to their honour, answered, No! Whigs and Tories, and even Jacobites who had not lost all sense of love of kindred by fanaticism, even though they might still cling to the Stuart dynasty, were united in sentiment. The

English House of Commons was enthusiastic in the cause of the "brave fellows of Londonderry." There was great agitation in the public mind lest government should let the shame of their destruction fall on the honour of England. That agitation was allayed by the intelligence that a powerful army under the renowned Dutch general Schomberg would be sent before the end of the summer to re-establish the Protestant ascendency in Ireland. Meanwhile an expedition was despatched from Liverpool for the relief of Londonderry. But the people could not understand how the command of that expedition should be given to the man to whom it was given. Of all the men in England he seemed to be the least likely to be zealous in the cause of King William and humanity. Had not Colonel Kirk been a zealous soldier in the cause of King James? Had he not been let loose with his "lambs" upon the mass of Monmouth's followers, to whom he showed no mercy? But whatever misgivings the people may have had concerning his fidelity and zeal, in the final result of that expedition they proved groundless.

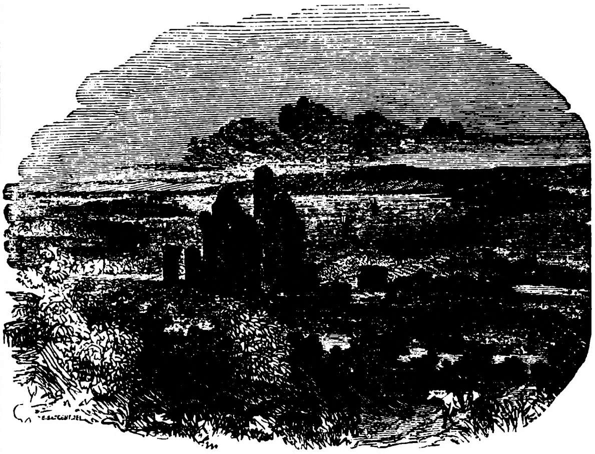
Kirk sailed from Liverpool on the 22nd of May. Before he arrived off Londonderry the situation of its garrison and inhabitants had grown desperate. Hope was fast fading away. They thought nothing of surrender—their only prospect was death. The brave Enniskilleners would fain have carried relief into the city, but they could not find a way through the besiegers. Meanwhile they did what they could to weaken the forces of King James. Detachments of these brave men infested the rear of the blockading army, cut off their supplies, and on one occasion captured the horses of three entire troops of cavalry. Three several times they engaged the royal troops with some success in the open field, and they never ceased to wage a partisan warfare against the native population. The people of Enniskillen were in danger of starvation, but the good swords of the warriors among them were enabled to supply them with food from the stores of the enemy. *They* extracted "honey from the carcase of the lion," but the garrison and people of Londonderry had no such resources. Cooped up within the walls of their city, every hour that passed away seemed to bring them nearer and nearer to the gates of death. The last spark of hope was just flickering away, when suddenly it was rekindled into a bright burning flame.

Provisions fit for human sustenance had for some time been exhausted, and for some days horseflesh and tallow, dogs' flesh and rats, had been the substitutes for ordinary food. Even these were fast failing, and had to be doled out with a parsimonious hand. Famine was doing its terrible work, and pestilence was following in its train. The enemy, also, was drawing closer and closer to the city. Batteries had approached the walls, which poured forth shot and shell by day and night; while the besieged could only return the fire with bricks coated with lead. Such was the situation of the besieged on the 30th of July. It had been known ever since the 15th of June that Kirk had arrived in the Lough with troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions from England, to the relief of the city. A messenger from the fleet had eluded the Irish sentinels, and diving under the boom, had brought the besieged the glad tidings. At the same time Kirk informed them by his messenger that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. But the six thousand men from England came not, and for weeks the ships lay at anchor at the entrance of Lough Foyle, inspiring the besieged with hope mingled with despair. When it was known in Dublin that Kirk was in the Foyle, the alarm was great at the castle. At that time Hamilton was still in the chief command of the Irish forces, but on the advice of D'Avaux he was superseded by the French General Rosen. Rosen, who was reported to have dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc, was sent to Londonderry with all haste to finish this memorable siege. And he did what he could to finish it. On arriving at the camp he issued a proclamation, declaring that unless the city surrendered by the 1st of July he would collect all the Protestants from the neighbouring districts, and drive them under the walls, to starve with the besieged. This savage threat was put into execution. The population, old and young, for ten miles round, were driven in flocks toward the city, to perish for want. Many *did* perish, but the besieged saved the rest by a threat equally as sanguine as that of the infamous Rosen. They had many prisoners within the city, and having erected a gallows within sight of their enemies, they sent a message to their head-quarters, that if their friends were not instantly dismissed, every prisoner within the walls would be hanged. This threat had the desired effect: those who remained of the famished crowd wended their way back as best they could to their native villages. But their deliverance may, in part, be owing to the order of King James—for in justice to him it must be recorded that he directed Rosen not to put such a project into execution, but to send "them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons." Rosen's barbarous project had the contrary effect to that which he desired. It confirmed the besieged in their resistance. Famishing as they were, the general cry was "No surrender." There were not wanting those, indeed, who muttered in their desperation: "First the horses and hides, then the prisoners, and then each other." And all this time the English flag waved in the great estuary. Signals were given and answered, but their language was scarcely intelligible. As for communication between the fleet and the city, it was almost impossible. Divers were every now and then employed to dive under the boom and find their way into the city, but the risk was great. One was shot and another hanged. On the 13th of July, however, one succeeded, who brought a letter sewed up in his garter, on a button, which contained assurances of speedy relief. But more than a fortnight passed away before it came. Many had perished, and many more were on the eve of perishing. Men walked about more like ghosts than men. Their patient endurance was marvellous. Almost their last horse, and their last dog and rat were eaten, and yet there was no thought of surrender. On the evening of the 28th of July, Walker preached in the cathedral.

He exhorted his hearers still to persevere. God, he said, would soon send them deliverance. That deliverance was approaching. Hope took the place of despair. It had been asked in the English House of Commons months before why the boom across the Lough had not been cut in pieces? Kirk seems to have thought it was impenetrable. At length, however, as the six thousand men had not arrived whereby he would have been enabled to attack the Irish army in Ulster, he resolved to make the attempt. Walker had scarcely descended from his pulpit when the lookers-out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels were sailing towards its mouth, two merchantmen and a frigate. It was an anxious moment. Could they brave the fire of Forts Charles and Grange, which on either side guarded the entrance of the river? They could. Onwards they came, returning shot for shot as they passed along. They were unharmed and approaching the boom. The Mountjoy of Derry led the way. Dashing against the boom, she broke it asunder, but by the rebound the brave ship was driven ashore. The Irish were already preparing to board her, when a broadside from the frigate sent them reeling back. The Mountjoy righted, and the three vessels passing the shattered boom, sailed up the river in triumph. We may imagine but cannot describe the joy of the brave defenders of Londonderry, who had thus fought and suffered for a great principle, as the ships approached the city, and as their precious cargoes were landed at the quay. They were saved, and the ringing of bells and the blazing of bonfires announced their deliverance to the besiegers. There was enough of provisions to make every heart of that heroic population glad, not only that eventful evening and night, but for days to come; and it bore the promise of more, as the river was free, and there were yet other vessels ready to enter. Well might the big tears of gratitude flow down their faces as they gave thanks for a meal of the good things brought them, instead of the flesh of carrion on which they had subsisted. As they partook of it the Irish guns were still roaring around them, but they cared not. They roared all night, but all night the bells of the city answered their roar with peals of joyous defiance. For three days longer the fire of the besiegers continued, but on the third night flames were seen arising from their camp. They were burning their huts. As the sun arose on the 1st of August, a line of smoke marked the site where they had stood, while beyond, citizens of Londonderry descried the half-disciplined soldiers, and the Rapparees which composed Rosen's army, marching along the left bank of the Foyle towards Strabane.

The siege of Londonderry is one of the most memorable in the annals of the British Isles. It had lasted one hundred and five days, during which time the besiegers lost eight thousand men and the besieged about three thousand. A Homer could have rendered it in poetic lore famous as the siege of Troy. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the incidents painted so gorgeously in the Homeric page were in reality of so stirring a character as those which occurred in the siege of Londonderry. The old marshal of France, Rosen, who had been trained in the school of the greatest generals, and accustomed to scientific warfare, was confounded when he found that all his efforts were baffled to take a city protected only by a wall which appeared, and really was, untenable. And he was the more confounded because that wall was defended, not by trained soldiers, but by gentlemen, farmers, and shopkeepers. He attempted to undermine the walls, but it was discovered, and the attempt cost him a hundred men. When he failed he swore he would raze the city to the ground, and would not spare any living soul therein. But Rosen did not know the character of that heroic population. They were a superior race to those soldiers whom he commanded. They were inferior in number, but they were superior in civilization, in the noble art of self-government, and in stern resolution: hence their heroic defence and final victory.

In another quarter victory was inscribed on the banners of the Protestants. It had been determined at Dublin that the brave Enniskilleners should be attacked from several quarters at once. Lord Mountcashel was to march against them from the east towards Lough Erne; another force was to advance from the mouth of the river Drowes in the west; and the duke of Berwick was to come from the north with a body of horse and Irish dragoons. In face of this danger the Enniskilleners sent to Kirk for aid. Kirk had no soldiers to spare, but he sent them several officers, and some arms and ammunition. Among these officers was Colonel Wolseley, who was chosen by the Enniskilleners to be their leader. He was a stanch Protestant in whom they could confide. He had distinguished himself in Yorkshire, when the men of that county had taken up arms for the prince of Orange and a free parliament. At that time Mountcashel was besieging the castle of Crum, the frontier garrison of the Protestants of Fermanagh. Wolseley determined to raise that siege. Sending Lieutenant Berry forward with some troops ready for action, he waited to gather a larger force, and then he promised to follow. In his route Berry encountered several companies of Mountcashel's dragoons. They were commanded by Anthony Hamilton, better



LOUGH ERNE.

known as a courtier and a writer than a soldier. Hamilton's dragoons were soon routed, but Mountcashel hastened from the castle of Crum to support them. At the same time Wolseley came up with his Enniskilleners and joined Berry. The two armies came in presence of each other on the 30th of July. That of Mountcashel consisted of five thousand men, all of whom were full of confidence that the victory would be theirs. The Enniskilleners and Wolseley did not number three thousand. The odds were against them, and they had no artillery, while the enemy was well supplied. Wolseley conceived that it would be wiser to retreat than to give battle, but he left the decision to the Enniskilleners. They decided on battle. Giving out the watchword "No Popery!" which was received with tumults of applause, Wolseley led his Enniskilleners forward. At their approach Mountcashel retreated through the town of Newton-Butler. He was followed by the Enniskilleners, who advanced with the determination of men whose dearest interests were at stake. They knew that other forces were sent against them, and they desired to strike a blow which would counteract their plan of destruction. And that blow was struck. Mountcashel drew up his forces near Newton-Butler on a well-chosen spot, and awaited the bold yeomanry of Enniskillen. There was no hesitation. Mountcashel had drawn up his troops on a hill at the foot of which was a bog, crossed by a narrow paved causeway, the only passage across the bog for the enemy's cavalry. At the head of this causeway he planted his artillery, in order to sweep away the cavalry whom he expected would commence the atttack. But it was not so. Wolseley ordered the infantry to advance, and dashing through the bog, they made their way to firm ground, and to the guns, which, after a brief but stern resistance, were captured. Then on came the mounted Enniskilleners over the paved causeway full gallop, and the battle was soon won. There was scarcely any resistance. Seized with a panic, the Irish dragoons fled without striking a blow, and their example was followed by the rest of the cavalry. The infantry alone stood firm, but they only withstood the shock of battle for a brief period. Throwing away their pikes and muskets, they too fled for their lives. There was a dreadful slaughter. About fifteen hundred were slain by the sword, and several hundreds took the road which led to Lough Erne, and from terror of the sword plunged into it and found a watery grave. About four hundred prisoners, with cannons and powder and drums and colours, fell into the hands of the brave Enniskilleners. *Their* loss was slight: twenty killed and fifty wounded. The victory was complete, and its moral effects disastrous to the cause of King James. The baffled besiegers of Londonderry heard of it as they halted on the first of August at Strabane, and abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded, they fled in disorder to Omagh, and thence to Charlemont. Messenger after messenger arrived with evil tidings only to communicate to King James—first that the siege of Londonderry had signally failed; then the butchery of his troops at Newton-Butler; next that Sligo had been abandoned and occupied by a detachment of Kirk's troops; and last, but not least, that on the 13th of August Schomberg had landed with an army from England. The hapless monarch now lost heart. He muttered words which indicated a flight from Ireland, as he had taken from England to the Continent. Nor did he enter the regions of despair alone, his most faithful friends, and the great body of his adherents gave up "all for lost."

Leaving the record of affairs in Ireland at this point, we turn again to the state of affairs in England. William had himself been eager to go to Ireland, but the difficulties he had to encounter in England prevented him. There was still much to do for the security of his throne before he could venture to quit Whitehall for the field of battle. The different factions were unanimous in supporting him in his wars, but their intrigues prevented him from taking the command of his armies. From the first he had tried to please both Whigs and Tories, but he had not succeeded. While the first Convention Parliament was sitting, and during the recess, he was continually betrayed by some of those whom he had rewarded with the gains of office. There were those among them who, conceiving that they had not been sufficiently rewarded for the part they had taken in the Revolution, were not altogether unwilling to bring about a counter revolution, in the hope of obtaining more. In truth, James had still many friends in England. The personal deportment of William, it must be confessed, was not likely to gain the affections of the English people. He maintained a reserve akin to sullen pride, even to his nobles. His public ministers, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Danby, and Halifax, complained that he did not repose sufficient confidence in them; and the majority of those around him were disgusted by his cold, stiff, retiring manners, and his hereditary taciturnity. Two members of his court only appear to have shared his full confidence: Sidney, now Lord Sidney, and his countryman, Bentinck, now created earl of Portland. But in selecting Sidney and Bentinck for his confidants, William acted wisely. They were known to be true to his interests, whereas he had reason to suspect the fidelity of many of those around him. There must have been indeed traitors in his court, for nearly every secret of his cabinet was communicated to Versailles, to St. Germains, and the court of King James at Dublin. It was well therefore that William did not unbend himself to all who haunted his court and sought his favours: if he had he would have been betrayed.

William opened his second session of the Convention Parliament on the 19th of October. Contrary to all precedent, his speech was his own composition. He had produced a draft of that speech, written in French, to his council the day before, when he thus expressed himself: "I know most of my predecessors were used to commit the drawing of such speeches to their ministers, who generally had their private aims and interests in view. To prevent this I have thought fit to write it myself in French, because I am not so great a master of the English tongue. I desire you, therefore, to look it over, and change what you may find amiss, that it may be translated into English." This was the language of a monarch born to command. His ministers could not understand his want of courtesy. His language certainly was very uncomplimentary, but it was replete with sound sense. And so was the language of his speech. It was read in the House of Lords by the Lord Chief Baron Atkins, who had been appointed Speaker in the room of the marquis of Halifax. William thanked his parliament for their former supplies, and said that it was a misfortune that at the beginning of his reign he should be obliged to make new demands. He had, however, entered into war by their advice and assurances of assistance, and therefore he relied on them for support. It was from no vain ambition that he had engaged in war, but to oppose those who had so visibly discovered their designs of destroying the liberties and religion of the nation. It was necessary that the war should be pushed forward with vigour; hence he asked that there should be no delay in determining what should be the supply for its charges. His own resolutions would be determined by the means placed at his command. The war to which William alluded in his speech was with France. He made no mention of Ireland or King James. There was to be a meeting, he said, at the Hague, of all the princes and States who were engaged against France; and it was hence that he wanted to know what supplies would be granted. But if William did not mention Ireland in his speech, the Commons in their reply declared that they would stand by him in the reduction of that country, as well as in a vigorous prosecution of the war with France. William concluded his speech by recommending the passing of a Bill of Indemnity, which by quieting the minds of his subjects might induce them to concur in promoting the welfare and honour of the country.

The Commons voted a supply of two millions for the reduction of Ireland and the prosecution of the war against France. But this complaisance to the crown was immediately followed by bitter contests of faction. This second session of the Convention Parliament, indeed, is far more distinguished for a melancholy exhibition of party intrigues for power than its patriotism. Each party hoped to gain the exclusive favour of the king, and each came into the political field with its claim. The Whigs expected rewards from William for favours conferred; and the Tories expected them for their known attachment to monarchy, and the prospect of future services. In order to damage their rivals, the Whigs brought in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against such persons as had been employed against them in the two preceding reigns. Hatreds of the past were revived for the triumphs of the present and the future. Impeachments were the order of the day. The earls of Peterborough and Salisbury were impeached for departing from their allegiance, and being reconciled to the Church of Rome; and the earl of Castlemaine for endeavouring to reconcile the kingdom to that church. Accusations were even raked up against those who had been accessories to the conviction of Russell and Sidney, by which a blow was aimed at Halifax, although he had now retired from office. But King William would not be made a persecutor of any man either for his political or religious principles. The spirit displayed by the Whigs was most distasteful to his generous mind. Nor was it by impeachments alone that the Whigs sought to triumph over the Tories. The ways and means, by which the two millions were voted by the Commons, in addition to the public revenues, were greatly interrupted by their contests. The most lucrative offices under government were held by the Tories; and it was proposed by the Whigs that all in place, civil and ecclesiastical, should pay half a year's profits of their salaries and perquisites towards the present supply. This was negatived, but the House agreed to a proposal made by them, that the penalties incurred by all civil officers, in not taking the test in the late reign, should be forthwith levied for that purpose. But without finishing the supply the Whigs proceeded to attack the Tories on another point, in which they were considered, and perhaps were in reality, vulnerable. They moved and carried "an humble address to his Majesty, laying before him the ill-conduct and success of affairs with respect to Ireland, the armies, and the fleet; and desiring him to take into consideration, and in his wisdom to find out the authors of the late failures, and to appoint persons *unsuspected* to the management of affairs and better satisfaction of his subjects." The army in Ireland had laboured under a want of every necessary, and the Whigs threw the whole blame upon one Shales; but when the king was asked by whom Shales was appointed, he refused to give any answer. William, however, consented that the Commons should nominate some persons to inspect the state of the army in Ireland. Inquiries were also ordered to be made into the abuses committed in the victualling of the navy, which were not less flagrant than the iniquitous frauds practised in the victualling of the army. There can be no doubt that gross abuses and frauds existed in both departments; but the object of the Whigs in these movements was to damage the Tories, whom they wanted to drive from court, camp, fleet, and law courts—in fact from all high places in church and state.

Nearly the whole of the month of November passed away in these unseemly political contests. But little progress was made to aid the government with adequate supplies. William was offended at the delay, and warmly expressed his resentment. There was but little disposition shown also for calm legislation. During these contests, however, one measure was passed, for which this session of parliament chiefly deserves remembrance. This was the Bill of Rights, which was the reduction to a statute of "The Declaration of Rights," by which William mounted the throne of England. Several important provisions were introduced. Thus it was enacted, to prevent the kingdom being governed by a papist, that the sovereign should in parliament, and at the coronation, adopt by repetition and subscription the Declaration against Transubstantiation. It was also enacted that if the sovereign should marry a papist the subjects should be absolved from allegiance; and that the dispensing power of the Crown should absolutely and for ever cease.

The struggle of parties still continued. For a few days there was a lull in the storm of strife; but, as it sometimes happens in the natural world, the calm was succeeded by a tempest. William was wearied and annoyed by the party intrigues to which he was subjected. They delayed his movements. There was a greater inclination to carp at the late measures of the government than to assist him. The Whigs were more desirous of serving themselves than of promoting the public service. Nor were the Tories wholly to blame in the matter of obstructing the settlement of the supplies. They were at the bottom of one intrigue which must have been utterly distasteful both to William and Mary. The Princess Anne, when married to Prince George of Denmark, had a settlement of 20,000*l.* a year granted her by parliament. As heir presumptive of the crown, she now desired a larger revenue. She wanted 70,000*l.* per annum, which was refused; but it was raised from 20,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*, with the guarantee of parliament for payment. To William personally the Commons were not so complaisant as to the Princess Anne. When his revenue fell under consideration, contrary to his desire, it was settled, as before, for one year, and not for life. The supplies, also, which they had voted were either in themselves insufficient for the services, or charged on inadequate funds. William felt that he was a dependent monarch. His title, he said, was no more than a pageant, and the worst of all governments was that of a king without a treasury. As it was the Whigs by whom he was thus treated, they first fell under his suspicion and then his displeasure. They had been the warm supporters of his cause when prince of Orange; but disappointed in their views of an exclusive possession of power when they had placed the crown upon his head, they did all they could to disturb his tranquillity. Had it rested with the Tories, the civil list and the supplies would have been settled to William's hearty content. It is said, indeed, that they, taking advantage of the ill humour subsisting between the king and the Whigs, secretly promised him all that he desired if he would dissolve the present and convoke another parliament. Apprised of this, the Whigs made a bold manœuvre for an increase of power. As manifested in the proceedings of this session, they had a majority in the House of Commons, but by a general election they had every reason to believe that they would be in a minority. To obtain strength, therefore, they brought in a bill for restoring corporations, or boroughs, to the state in which they were in 1675. This was after the Christmas recess, a call of the House being made for that purpose. Both parties mustered in full strength for the conflict. The Whigs engrafted upon their Bill two clauses disqualifying for municipal office every mayor, recorder, sheriff, common-councilman, town-clerk, magistrate, or officer, who had been instrumental in surrendering the charter of a borough. As a large proportion of the parliamentary franchise was in the hands of the corporations, if these clauses had been adopted, the Whigs would have had a complete ascendency in a new election. Tory electors would have been removed, and Whig electors substituted. In order to gain their ends, the Whigs were profuse in their promises to the king, should their Bill pass into a law. He was to have their most submissive obedience in all things. But William was too high-minded to listen to them. No man in the kingdom was more disgusted with the injustice and the spirit of vindictiveness displayed in the clauses than he was. As for the Tories, their whole power was exerted against them. Absent members rushed to London from all quarters, and, to the Whigs' great discomfiture, the clauses were finally rejected. The Bill passed the Commons in its original form, and the Lords adopted it by one vote only; but the king delayed giving his assent to the measure. The Tories triumphed, and in their exultation they tried to carry a Bill of Indemnity for political offences, which had been laid aside last session; but so many exceptions were introduced to the measure by the Whigs, that it became a measure of proscription. William found himself so perplexed and distracted between the two factions, that he resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the government in the hands of the queen. Burnet says that he had a convoy ready, and that he was only prevented from carrying out his resolve by the earnest remonstrances, mingled with tears, of the marquis of Caermarthen, Danby, and the earl of Shrewsbury. In the end William changed his design by a resolution of going over to Ireland to put an end to the war in that country. When this resolution became known, the Whigs opposed it as a step inconsistent with his health and safety; but William was not to be turned aside from his purpose. On the 27th of January, 1690, he went to parliament, and formally signified his resolution; thus preventing an address which both houses were preparing against his expedition. On that day parliament was prorogued, and two days after dissolved, and writs were issued for a general election.

Events in Ireland had assumed a gloomy aspect for the cause of the Protestants. The hopes of James had brightened. For some days after the messengers had arrived in Dublin he seemed sunk in despondency. To raise his spirits, D'Avaux advised a desperate measure. It was his aim to turn the war between the English and the Irish into a war of extirpation, so that the two nations would be irretrievably disunited. To this end he counselled a second Saint Bartholomew. The Protestants were everywhere to be massacred in cold blood, before they could join the forces of the duke of Schomberg. At first James neither listened nor turned a deaf ear to the monstrous proposition. He was too deeply absorbed in his griefs to know what steps to take. In a few days, however, his mind had recovered the first shock of his disasters; and when D'Avaux renewed the subject, by pressing him to give the necessary orders, James declared, with warmth that did him honour, that he would never consent to such a crime. It was well that James withheld his consent, for it would not only have brought down eternal infamy on his head, but it would have involved the destruction of his Jacobite adherents in all the three kingdoms. The hopes of James revived from a different cause than that of a midnight massacre. The evil tidings which had terrified and bewildered him had a different effect upon the population of the southern provinces. From every altar it was proclaimed that the English were coming to recover their lost ascendency. All that had been done for the regeneration of the Irish nation would be undone if the people did not arm for battle. The rule of the Saxon would be more bitter than ever. There would be a new confiscation—a confiscation more sweeping and general than in the days of Cromwell. The effect of such preaching was electrical. Within a fortnight James had an army ready to fight and die in his cause wherever he might lead them. And that army was so numerous and so patriotic, that he placed himself at its head and marched to encounter Schomberg. He was accompanied by the French general Rosen and the French ambassador D'Avaux. Schomberg had landed in the north of Ulster, with a force not exceeding ten thousand men. He advanced towards Dublin. Carrickfergus was captured by him; the Irish, after holding out a week, capitulating. His route lay through towns for the most part desolated and uninhabited, and a fruitful country turned into a wilderness. He had expected to be joined by the regiments under the command of Kirk, but was disappointed. At Loughbrickland, however, he was joined by three regiments of Enniskilleners. His force, notwithstanding, was far inferior to that of King James, who, when on the 10th of September he raised the royal standard at Drogheda, had twenty thousand fighting men under his command. It was at Drogheda that the opposing forces approached each other. Schomberg was at Dundalk, only about a day's march from Drogheda. A few hours' march on both sides would have brought them into collision. Numerous as were the Irish forces, and zealous as they were for the cause of their country and King James, they were badly equipped, badly officered, and ill-disciplined. Rosen advised James to retreat and take his stand at Athlone; thus leaving the road open for the enemy to march on Dublin. The advice was sound, for Athlone was the best place in the kingdom for a determined stand; the river Shannon, the largest river in Ireland, intervening, the passage of which would have been both difficult and dangerous. But Rosen's advice was not taken. The Irish, with Tyrconnel at their head, opposed it; and James, pleased with their enthusiasm, resolved to stop the enemy's way to Dublin at Drogheda. But Schomberg had his reasons for halting at Dundalk. It was unknown to Rosen, but many of his troops were as ill-disciplined, ill-officered, and badly equipped as were the Irish. With the exception of his Dutch and French troops, and the brave Enniskilleners, he had no forces on whom he could depend. The great bulk of his army consisted of English peasants, who, when they sailed across the Channel, had just been taken from the plough. Nor was this all. It has been seen that complaints had been made in the English Parliament of the state of the army in Ireland. Those complaints were well founded. Not only were the munitions of war inadequate to the enterprise, but through the chicanery of the officials, and of Shales, who had been commissary-general to the camp of James at Hounslow, in particular, the soldiers of Schomberg were ill-clad and half-famished. Schomberg, therefore, instead of advancing, intrenched himself near Dundalk, and stood upon the defensive. It was in vain that James, seeing that Schomberg was not inclined to fight, sought to allure him out of his intrenchments. On one occasion James, who appeared as bold as a lion, advanced with his whole army to Ardee, and drew up horse, foot, and artillery in order of battle before the English lines. Schomberg could not be tempted to fight against his will. But while thus encamped, he had to endure two evils more terrible than meeting the foe in the open field—treason and pestilence. Among his best troops were the French exiles. These troops consisted of two distinct classes of emigrants—Huguenots who had fled from the sword of persecution in Languedoc, and deserters who had run away from their standards in the Low Countries. The Huguenot refugees might safely be trusted, for in their breasts glowed an unextinguishable hatred of the House of Bourbon and the Church of Rome. But it was not so with the deserters from the Low Countries. In the hope of obtaining pardon and reward, these men opened a correspondence with D'Avaux; and had Schomberg ventured a battle, it is certain that several companies of them would have fired upon the English and gone over to the enemy. This plot was happily discovered, and while six of the conspirators were executed, two hundred of them were sent in irons to England. But the greatest evil Schomberg had to endure was the pestilence, induced by the humidity of an unusually wet autumn, and aggravated by the almost carrion provision supplied by the corrupt functionaries of the home government. While the Dutch by their sanitary measures passed as it were through the fire unharmed, the English and French sickened and died by hundreds. Even those whose constitutions were sufficiently strong to bear up against the malady which was carrying off their comrades every hour became unnerved and dejected and apathetic. The scene was dreadful. Men became so hardened by the ghastly spectacles of death constantly presented before their eyes, that they could make a dead comrade a stool to sit upon, or a screen to shelter them from the blasts of the equinoctial gales. And while all this was transpiring in the English camp, the Irish were comparatively free from sickness and death. As they heard the guns peal day after day over the graves of the English officers, they hoped that they would soon be enabled to sing the song of victory without striking a blow. Yet, in the midst of all this, Schomberg sternly maintained his position. No attempt was made to attack him in his intrenchments, although the forces of King James were now infinitely superior. So superior were they, that a detachment of five regiments was sent into Connaught under Sarsfield, who drove the English from Sligo and secured Galway, which had been in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Irish Protestants. Soon after this James finished his bloodless campaign. Finding that Schomberg would not attack him, and fearing to attack Schomberg in his intrenchments, he returned to Dublin, and the Irish dispersed and went into winter quarters; on which the Dutch general, who had lost about one third of his army, broke up his camp and retired into Ulster, fixing his head-quarters at Lisburn. Although Schomberg had gained no victory in this campaign, he had exhibited all the high qualities of a consummate general. He was censured for his inactivity, but the old warrior was deeply impressed with the great truth that "Prudence is the better part of valour." The king in repeated letters desired him to hazard an engagement if an opportunity should occur, but he did not think proper to run the risk of a battle against an enemy more than double in number and in every respect far his superior. In his replies to William, he repeatedly urged that the best thing he could do was to lie at Dundalk on the defensive; and so in the end it proved, for, notwithstanding all the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, he brought off the remnant of his army without losing a flag or a gun—no mean triumph under such almost unexampled circumstances.

No doubt the results of Schomberg's campaign in Ireland were very unsatisfactory, both to King William and the English nation. But this was not the only disappointment the king and the nation had to endure. The fleets of England and Holland were the most renowned of that period. No greater battles had been fought at sea than those which had been fought between the Dutch and the English. Now that they were united it was thought they could rule the destinies of Europe. Yet they too failed to answer the public expectation during this eventful year. After Herbert had contended with the French fleet in Bantry Bay, with small results, he returned to Portsmouth, where he found, that notwithstanding his more than doubtful victory, he had not lost the good opinion of either the public or the government. He not only received the thanks of the House of Commons, but he was created earl of Torrington. His title of nobility seems to have been fatal to his reputation as an admiral. He became a hopeless voluptuary. After his exaltation he sailed to Ireland, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, and made a fruitless attempt upon Cork; on which he returned to Portsmouth, and leaving his tars there to spend their time in rioting and drunkenness, he repaired to London to indulge in lust and pleasure. The English Channel was almost abandoned to French rovers, who made rich prizes of our merchant ships in sight of our very coasts and of the ramparts of Plymouth. Throughout the year there was a lamentable display of sloth, cowardice, and treachery in every department of the navy; but towards its close it was assuming a more respectable attitude—Brest being watched or blockaded.

On the Continent the affairs of France wore a gloomy aspect. All the powers of Europe seemed conspiring her destruction. Under the skilful management of William, the States-General and the emperor had entered into a treaty of alliance, to which England and Spain gave in their adhesion. There was a mutual contract of assistance between William and the States-General. The Dutch were to assist him with six thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line, and he was to assist them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. Lord Churchill, now created earl of Marlborough, was sent to Holland, to command the British auxiliaries in that country. Marlborough joined the Dutch army under the command of Prince Waldeck, in the county of Liege. Waldeck was opposed to the French, commanded by Marshal Humières, between the Sambre and the Meuse. The most important combat took place at Walcourt, where the French having attacked an outpost defended by the English brigade, were repulsed with a loss of several of their field pieces, and about six hundred men left dead upon the field. In Germany, the French were, at the opening of the campaign, almost masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates. Marshal de Duras, with a numerous army, swept all before him. Castles and fortresses were destroyed, and towns and cities reduced to ashes. The ferocious troops of the *Grand Monarque* committed the most shocking barbarities upon the population. They held possession of Mentz, Triers, Bonn, Keiserswaert, Philipsburgh, and Landau, and Germany seemed to be on the eve of falling under French domination. But the barbarity with which they had plundered and laid waste the country aroused the German princes to action. Uniting their strength for the protection of their Fatherland, the ravages of the French were at length stemmed. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested and recaptured Mentz; while the confederates passed the Rhine and laid siege to Bonn and Mayence, in the view of forcing a passage into France, and fighting the French in their own country.

Everywhere, therefore, during the first year of the reign of William and Mary, Europe was in commotion. In England there was keen political strife; in Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent, there had been war and bloodshed. The political strife in England became still more marked in the general election at the opening of the year 1690. Evelyn says: "There was fierce and great carousing about being elected in the new parliament;" and Burnet writes: "There was a great struggle all over England; but the Corporation Bill did so highly provoke all those whom it was to have disgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new parliament." William's new parliament met on the 20th of March. The triumph of the Tories was indicated in the choice of a Speaker. It was Sir John Trevor, who had been Speaker and Master of the Rolls under James. Burnet says: "Trevor being a Tory in principle, undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes." The opening speech of William was characteristic of his true nature—frank and kinglike. He intimated his full intention of carrying out his resolution of going to Ireland. His presence was necessary there, and he would go as soon as possible. He had called them together for their assistance, to enable him to prosecute the war in that country with speed and vigour. Their own safeties depended upon his success; therefore he was sure of their cheerful concurrence in aiding him. In order to this, he desired them forthwith to make a settlement of the revenue; but he did not doubt that they would have as much regard for the dignity and honour of the monarchy in his hands, as had been lately shown to others. William went on to speak of the earnest endeavours he had made to extinguish, or at least compose, all differences among his subjects. He had (he said) frequently recommended an Act of Indemnity to the last parliament, which had not received its sanction. As there was now little time to spare for debate, he intended to send them an Act of

Grace—some few persons only excepted. He explained that one reason which induced him to send them this Act, was because he was desirous to leave no colour of excuse for any of his subjects to raise disturbances in the government, and especially during his absence. He said this, both to inform them, and let some ill-affected men see that he knew how busy they were in endeavouring to disturb the government. One of the ways (he continued) by which they hoped to compass their designs was by creating differences in their counsels. He hoped they would be careful to prevent this, as the enemies of the government could have no better instruments for their purposes than those who should in any way disturb or delay their speedy and unanimous proceedings upon "these necessary matters." William concluded by declaring that he should leave the government of the country in the hands of the queen in his absence; and by desiring them, if an Act of Parliament was necessary to confirm her power, to prepare one and present it to him without delay. William's speech was that of a man of action. But months were to pass away before he was at liberty to set sail for Ireland. At first there was great unanimity between the Whigs and the Tories. The Commons unanimously passed a vote of thanks, and pledged themselves to support the government of William and Mary. As unanimously, also, they resolved that a supply should be given to enable William to prosecute the war against France, and to reduce Ireland with speed and vigour. The question of the king's revenue, however, occasioned a sharp debate, in which all the old spirit of parties was manifested. The Tories had promised to be liberal if they were enabled by the general election to become dominant, and they did not forfeit their word. They proposed that William and Mary should have for their lives all the hereditary revenues which James was entitled to in December, 1688, except the late revenue arising from fire-hearths and stoves; and that they should also possess that moiety of the excise, and those customs which had been granted to the late kings, Charles and James, for their lives. But there was this difference as regards the customs; instead of having them granted for "their lives," William and Mary were only to enjoy them for the term of four years from Christmas next. On this subject, however, both Whigs and Tories generally agreed. Some there were who thought that the customs as well as the excise ought to be voted for life. Burnet says that it was much pressed to have it so settled. The king himself could not understand why he who came to save the religion and liberties of the nation should not enjoy the nation's confidence, when they trusted King James so much, who intended to destroy them. William asked Bishop Burnet the reason of this, and well and wisely did he answer. "King James," said he, "would never have run into those counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the revenue only for a short term." It was held as a general maxim that a revenue for a certain and short time was the best security the nation could have for frequent parliaments—which explains this unwonted unanimity of Whigs and Tories. But the Whigs were not altogether satisfied with the liberality displayed by their rivals. The votes, however, were finally carried without a division. On the 1st of April, also, the sum of 1,200,000*l.* was granted for the public service between that time and Michaelmas.

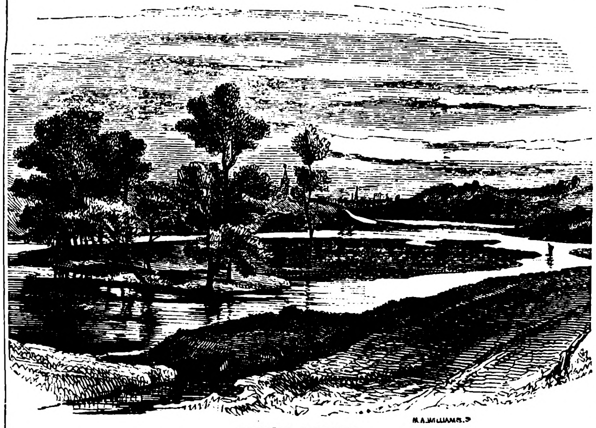
During this session there were two bills brought in which gave rise to a trial of strength between the Whigs and Tories. The first of these was an "Act whereby the Lords and Commons recognize and acknowledge that William and Mary were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen." The Act also declared that all the Acts made in the parliament assembled on the 13th of February, 1688, "are laws and statutes of this kingdom." This bill was brought in by the Whigs, and it certainly placed the Tories in a most perplexing predicament. If they opposed the bill they incurred the risk of losing the interest they had recently acquired: if they supported it they would stand accused of renouncing their former engagements and distinctions. The Whigs hardly ever conceived a more bewildering subject for the Tory mind to ruminate over and decide upon than this "Bill of Recognition." But the Tories escaped out of the snare of the Whig fowlers without having their feathers much ruffled. The first part of the bill passed with but little contradiction. Some objected that there was no necessity, as William and Mary had already been raised to the throne by the voice of the nation, for the present parliament to confirm their rightful and lawful title. It was on the second point that the contest arose. In the Lords it was debated long and warmly. The Tories were willing that all the Acts of the last parliament should be deemed good and valid for the time to come, but not for that which was past. There were some Tory lords, however, willing to give up their opposition, and the bill passed through the second reading and the committee. On the report they lost their point by six votes, but by consenting to an alteration in some of the words it was recovered, and the bill then passed and was sent down to the Commons. In the Lower House the question was settled in two days, chiefly through the legal acumen of Somers, the solicitor-general. One of its Tory opponents having questioned the legality of the Convention Parliament, as it was not summoned by the king's writ, Somers replied, "If that were not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths by that parliament, were guilty of high treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force, so they must presently return to King James." This argument was unanswerable. The Tories kept silence, and the Whigs triumphed. But the Tories soon had their counter-triumph, which more than counterbalanced their defeat. A bill was introduced by the Whigs in the House of Commons, which required every person holding office to abjure King James. But this attempt to impose a new test upon the people was justly defeated. The Commons rejected "The Abjuration Bill," though only by a small majority. It was tried anew with some modifications in the House of Peers. It is said that William, who had no desire for such a measure as this oath, was present during the whole of the debate in that House. It was a very curious and a very angry debate. Lord Wharton, who remembered the oath taken in the Long Parliament, remarked:—"I am a very old man, and have taken a multitude of oaths in my time, and I hope God will forgive me if I have not kept them all, for truly they were more than I could remember, and I should be very unwilling at the end of my days to charge myself with more." Lord Macclesfield spoke to the same purpose. He had made very free, he said, with his oath of allegiance to King James, but he should be loth to be under the temptation of breaking any more. He declared that he never knew oaths of any use but to make people declare against government that would have submitted quietly to it if they had been let alone. The debate appears to have been cut short by William, who urged them to abandon the bill, and to proceed to matters more pressing. His interference greatly offended the Whigs, as it gave their opponents a victory over them. Shrewsbury, his favourite secretary of state, resigned the seals in consequence, nor could all William's entreaties prevail upon him to retain them, not even till he returned from Ireland. William, however, strengthened his throne far more effectually by the Act of Grace for political offences, than he would have done by giving his sanction to "The Abjuration Bill." That measure of policy and mercy was assented to by the Lords *nemine contradicente*, and was sent down to the Commons on the 20th of May. It was an almost universal Act of Grace, the only exceptions being the surviving regicides, who had been excepted under the Act of Charles II., and thirty "of the evil instruments of James," among whom was mentioned by name, "George Lord Jeffreys," who had died miserably in the Tower on the 19th of April, 1689. This "Act for the king and queen's most gracious general and free pardon" passed with as much unanimity in the Commons as in the Lords, and it proved one of the most effectual means to prevent a recurrence of the "great troubles and discords" that had rent the kingdom.

During this session an Act was passed for restoring to the city of London all its ancient rights and privileges which had been taken away when absolutism was in the ascendency. This bill was brought in by the Tories, who had been the chief instruments in ruining and destroying them. It was an act of justice; but the bill was so framed as to be highly favourable to their party, and hence met with stern opposition from the Whigs. Another bill brought in by the Tories called for payment of all fines incurred by those who had acted as magistrates or officers without duly qualifying themselves to serve by oaths, etc., as the law directed. This was chiefly directed against the dissenters, who had in the late reign courted the smiles of the court by their obsequiousness. Some opposition was made to this measure by the Whigs; but the stream of the session had set against them, and many made their retreat into the country, leaving the Tory faction triumphant. The session closed on the 21st of May, parliament having first passed an Act giving the queen power to administer the government while William went forth to battle in Ireland.

William left London for Ireland on the 4th of June. His presence was still needed in England, for there were still plottings against his government, and he was not altogether free from fears of an invasion. Burnet says that he had a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was very cloudy, but that he trusted in God, and was determined to go through with his business in Ireland or perish in it. During the year he had been making preparations to ensure the success of his enterprise. Troops had been sent to reinforce Schomberg, and that general's army had been well supplied with everything necessary—food, raiment, and munitions of war. Before William landed in Ireland the aspect of affairs had changed. The duke of Berwick, the natural son of James, had been defeated in an attack made upon the advanced position of Schomberg at Belturbet, and Charlemont had surrendered to the Protestants. It had been vaunted at the court of King James that the pestilence which had thinned the ranks of Schomberg's Protestant army was "a visible mark of God's judgment upon that wicked and rebellious generation;" but that army was yet destined to inflict judgments upon their Catholic enemies. The only man-of-war James had was taken out of the roads at Dublin, where it lay at anchor, by the English fleet, which now began to acquire its old ascendency on the ocean. But these misfortunes were nothing in comparison with the disappointments James met with from the court of France. It was on the aid of France that he had mainly depended. It was his desire that Louis would supply him with the means of transporting the Irish army into England, and make that country the seat of war; he believing that his friends there would soon so augment his forces as to make the English, when the miseries of war were brought to their own thresholds, "weary of resisting God and their duty." The court of France turned a deaf ear to all the glowing representations made by James of the numerous friends who would join him in England. Louis knew well that if an Irish and French army invaded England, the nation would rise as one man to drive them from their shores. The French officers and ambassadors in Ireland, moreover, had given the *Grand Monarque* a far different account of the matter. They had sent him such desponding accounts, that he was resolved only to aid James while in Ireland; and there only with no more succours than was absolutely necessary "to keep the war alive." Accordingly six thousand French troops were sent into Ireland, and these were sent more as a diversion to prevent the English from taking a more prominent part in the war on the Continent, where the French were being worsted, than from any hope that James would win an Irish crown. The French troops were entrusted to the Count de Lauzun, as Rosen had returned to France in despair or disgust, and on his arrival Lauzun was made commander-in-chief of the whole army. But this was an unfortunate appointment. Lauzun was not only incompetent, but he was arrogant—two fatal qualities in a commander of armies. There were wants, disunion, and dejection in the camp of King James: his "affairs looked like the primitive chaos."

It was while the affairs of James were in this position that William, on the 14th of June, landed at Belfast. The force which accompanied him was not very numerous, but his warriors were all that he could desire. It was a mixed company of English, Dutch, Scots, Danes, and French: all perfect in discipline, accoutrements, and devotion to his cause and person. With him were Prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Manchester, Oxford, and Scarborough, with others of note, civil and military, English and Irish. His landing had been expected for several days. Ireland was at this time in a miserable condition. What with the ravages of the "royal army," and the destruction by the Rapparees, it was miserably impoverished. James at all events did what he could to prevent the English army from subsisting in Ireland. When he was apprised of the landing of William, he resolved to advance to Dundalk, to waste the forage thereabout, and to preserve his own country behind him. But William was soon in his front. The news of his landing at Belfast was received in the English quarters "over a bowl of punch." The night was spent right merrily. The next day was Sunday, and Dr. Rouse preached before him from the text, "Through faith they have subdued kingdoms." "My chaplain," said William, "has begun the campaign bravely." On that Sunday the officers of William crowded round him, and during the next four days he was busy in collecting and reviewing his troops. Their total number fell far short of reports; when all was ready for marching there were thirty-six thousand men only. The order to march was given on the 19th of June. William was in the highest spirits. He did not look like a warrior, for his body was weak and feeble; but his spirit rose to the great occasion. He was all animation, and eager for the deadly strife. He would not, he said, "let the grass grow under his feet." His conduct inspirited his whole army. His troops saw that it was no coward who was leading them on to battle; that weak and feeble as his body was, there dwelt within that frail tenement the soul of a hero. In his march William preserved the strictest order. His troops did not ravage the country, as those of James did in the previous year. There was a general order that whether in garrison, in quarters, or on the march, they should behave "as persons ought to do who are under military discipline." They were neither to rob, spoil, nor to do violence nor extort, but to "pay such reasonable rates for their provisions as should be ordered and appointed." William then moved from Belfast to Loughbrittan, and thence towards Newry. The inhabitants of the districts through which he passed were astonished as his troops passed along without molesting them; and still more so when they were paid for the supplies they were enabled to afford them. And William was as well pleased with the country as the Irish were with the English money. It was, he said, a country worth fighting for. Meanwhile James had encamped behind the small river which runs into the sea at Dundalk. It was expected that the Irish army would have disputed the passage of that river at the pass near Moyra Castle, now known as Ravensdale; but instead of this, as the army of William still marched forward, James retired upon Ardee, and from Ardee to Dumblane, and from Dumblane to the river Boyne.

The Irish army crossed the river Boyne, and took up a position on the right, or opposite bank. It was a well-chosen spot for a bold defence. The stream divided the counties of Meath and Louth. It was deep, and at every tide rose very high. There were difficulties to be surmounted in passing that river, and when these were overcome there was a morass to be passed, behind which there was miry ground. On the Meath side the camp of James was defended by intrenchments and batteries; while on the Louth side there stood the fortress of Drogheda, where both the ensigns of James and Louis were displayed. It was on the 30th of June that William reached the Boyne, and found his enemies thus encamped. Old Schomberg thought their position too formidable to venture an attack. William resolved to judge for himself. He rode along the left bank to reconnoitre. There were watchful eyes directed towards him and his generals while engaged in this service. It was clear from their array that they were no common persons who had thus placed themselves within the reach of cannon. It was worth a venture. If William was there, and he could be struck down, cowardly as the act would have been, James would have been glad indeed. With all haste, therefore, two field-pieces were brought down from the hill to bear upon the group. They were planted in a ploughed field screened by a hedge, and first one shot was fired, which struck the horse of Prince George of Denmark, and then another, which struck King William himself. It had rent his buff coat and grazed his right shoulder, and as he stooped upon his horse's neck his officers crowded around him in alarm. But it was only a flesh wound, which, when dressed, soon healed. In the camp of James, however, there was a loud shout of triumph raised as the commotion among William's staff was observed. The tale passed from lip to lip that the "prince of Orange" was killed, and the rumour soon crossed the sea. There were great rejoicings in Paris, on the 2nd of August, at so glorious an event; but the next day James was the bearer of his own disgrace and defeat to the court of Versailles.

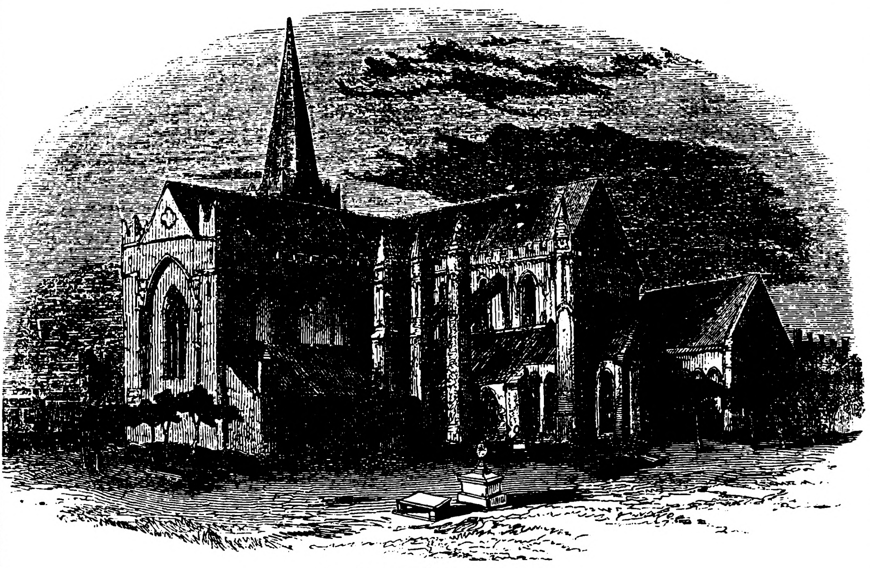


RIVER BOYNE.

William resolved to pass the Boyne the next morning. He owned that the enterprise was dangerous, but he felt there was greater danger in delay.

Every preparation was made on that last evening of June. William was in his saddle even by torchlight, with his generals, making arrangements. Every soldier was to be ready, with a good stock of ammunition, to march at break of day; and every man was to wear a green bough in his hat, to distinguish him from the enemy, who wore white paper cockades. It was about six o'clock on the morning of the first of July that the right wing of William's army began to move. It consisted of twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons, and six regiments of foot. It was led by Meinhart Schomberg, the marshal's brave son, who was accompanied by General Douglas and the earl of Portland. This right wing moved towards the bridge of Slane, where it passed the river without much opposition. Some squadrons of horse disputed the passage, but they soon gave way. By this movement the rear of the army of James was threatened, and Lauzun, the French general, rapidly moved forward to prevent its being attacked. He drew up his forces on the side of a hill in two lines, an almost impassable bog intervening between the two armies. They stood looking at each other across the bog for a considerable time, but reinforcements having arrived, the enemy were outflanked. Schomberg led the cavalry round the bog to attack them in flank, while the infantry struggled through the morass to attack them in front. There was little or no fighting, for the Irish retreated in the greatest haste towards Duleek, followed by Schomberg's cavalry. James, however, soon reinforced his left wing, and Schomberg was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. Meanwhile the centre of William's army, commanded by Marshal Schomberg, had begun to move. His troops, which consisted chiefly of infantry—Dutch, French, Danes, and English—passed the river at the ford of Old Bridge. The Dutch blue guards dashed through the rapid river, though up to their middle, and in the face of a terrible fire from the Irish, from houses, hedges, and breastworks on the other side, succeeded in gaining the opposite bank in good order. Forming in two lines, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and advanced into the open fields. Here they were attacked by the Irish horse with great fury; but they stood their ground, and the English coming to their assistance, the enemy retired. The Danes and French refugees waded through the stream at other points. They, too, were attacked by the Irish cavalry, led by Hamilton, with desperate courage. Some of them, after landing, were driven back into the river; on seeing which, old Schomberg, without waiting to put on his cuirass, crossed the river to lead them. Pointing to the French papists in the ranks of King James, he exclaimed to his Huguenots: "Gentlemen, there are your persecutors!" There was a desperate conflict, Schomberg mixing in it with all his old heroic ardour. The brave old marshal fell in the confusion, one report being that he was shot through the neck, and another that his skull was cloven. On the same ground George Walker, the heroic defender of Londonderry, was slain. The issue seemed doubtful; but at this juncture, William, who had crossed the Boyne about a mile above Drogheda, with his cavalry, came to the rescue. Drawing his sword, he was soon in the heat of the battle. His cavalry consisted of Danes, Dutch, and the brave Enniskillen yeomen. Their attack was irresistible. The Irish horse retreated towards Donore, about a mile from the pass. James had watched the progress of the battle from his tent on a hill near this pass, and here his retreating cavalry made a vigorous stand. Nay, they turned upon their pursuers, and William's cavalry reeled before their fury. But William rallied his troops and again brought them up to the charge. On that day the conquerors of the field of Newton-Butler did him good service. When his cavalry were giving way, he rode up to the Enniskilleners, and exclaimed, "What will you do for me?" "It is the king!" said their officer. "You shall be my guards to-day," returned William, and led them on to victory. There was an arduous struggle, but the fate of the day was quickly decided. Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, who had fought bravely during the engagement, was wounded and taken prisoner. His capture damped the ardour of the Irish, and there was little more fighting. When brought to the king, William asked him if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Yes, Sir, upon my honour, I believe they will," replied the recreant. "Your honour!" sneered William; and giving orders that his wounds should be looked to, he turned to see if the Irish *would* fight any more. If they did it could not be long. They abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss auxiliaries under Lauzun retreated in good order. As for James, as soon as he saw that the day was going against him, he mounted his horse, the French covering his escape, and at nine o'clock that night he reached Dublin. But James no longer considered himself safe in his new royal city, or in any part of Ireland; for he travelled all night, and reached Duncannon about sunrise, whence he embarked with a slender retinue for France.

Though this battle was momentous in its consequences, as settling the great questions of Protestant ascendency and constitutional government both in England and Ireland, it was not attended with a great sacrifice of life. Yet the effect of the victory on the Irish mind was remarkable. If the English would only change kings, they said, they would be glad to fight the battle of the Boyne over again. It would appear, however, that it was William's personal courage rather than his military skill that entitled him to honour. Had James possessed the courage of William, had he mingled in the deadly strife with the same ardour, the issue of the battle might have been reversed. Nay, had he, after the battle of the Boyne was lost, rallied his troops, and stood by them with the courage of a man, instead of stealing off to France like a coward, he might still have "kept the war alive" for months, and even years to come, against the power of England. There was no sufficient cause for the dispersion of the royal army by William's victory on the Boyne. Some few men of note had fallen, and some few hundreds of common soldiers, but the nation still existed; divided, indeed, but not decimated. The real victory was in its moral consequences. The Irish Catholics had no doubt been fighting in the honest conviction that they were in arms for the cause of their country and their religion. But they had called for a man to lead them on to battle, and to rule over them, who obeyed their call out of mere selfishness—not from any real desire to help *them*. His desire was, when he left France for Ireland, to pave his way back to England; and when he found, by the issue of the battle of the Boyne, that such a desire was hopeless, he basely left the Irish to shift for themselves, and hied him back to France. And he not only deserted the Irish in his intense selfishness, but he insulted them by his cowardly ingratitude. Before he left Dublin for Duncannon, he assembled the magistrates of Dublin, and told them that he had often been warned that the Irish would not bear the brunt of a real battle. He had discovered the truth of that warning. He had provided a good army to meet a foreign invader, and though that army had not deserted him as the English army had done, yet when the trial came they had basely fled, and left him to the mercy of his enemies. There was no truth in this accusation. If the Irish infantry had not fought with the zeal he expected, the Irish cavalry had done all that valiant men could do; and *that* while he who should have been in the midst of his troops, as William was among his, stood gazing from the top of a hill while they were being slaughtered below, intent only upon the safety of his own precious person. And yet James told the magistrates of Dublin, that having witnessed the cowardice of the Irish army in their flight from the battle of the Boyne, he would never lead that army again, but was resolved to shift for himself, as they themselves must do. Then exhorting them to prevent the plunder and destruction of Dublin, and to submit to the "prince of Orange," who was a "merciful man" —a truth known to all the world—he took his departure for France, covered with ignominy for deserting a cause for which his adherents had fought. They had not been trained for civilized warfare, but chiefly for plunder and rapine; and hence when they encountered troops, such as they had encountered on the Boyne, perfect in discipline and under the sway of skilful and brave commanders, it was no wonder that the issue was defeat, but it was not disgrace. The marvel is that any of his troops, either of high or low degree, should yet be found willing to fight for so hopeless a cause and so false a king. Yet so it was; for his principal officers—the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis—who had accompanied him in his flight, when they saw him safely on his voyage to France, returned to their troops, with a fixed resolution of prosecuting the war so long as they were supplied with the means of supporting their operations, or could hope for success.



ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.

After the battle of the Boyne, as before, William "did not let the grass grow under his feet." The next morning Drogheda surrendered, and on the 3rd of July Dublin was secured for him by the duke of Ormond. He marched with his whole army towards the Irish capital on the 4th of July, and on the 8th he entered it in triumph. At his entrance there was as much joy displayed among the Protestants as at the entrance of James there had been among the Catholics. It was to them a deliverance from danger and death, and some of them, had they not been restrained by Captain Robert Fitzgerald, would have taken full and deep revenge on the papists. On his arrival in Dublin William went to the cathedral church of St. Patrick—once more restored to the Protestant faith—and returned thanks for his victory. But there was still work for him to do in Ireland. Having issued proclamations of pardon to all who had served against him, provided they returned to their homes and delivered up their arms by the 1st of August, and for reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value, leaving a garrison in the castle, on the 9th of July his army was again in full march. At the head of one part of it he took his course southward, while another part, under General Douglas, was despatched to besiege Athlone. The siege of Athlone proved abortive. It was saved by the movements of the bold and skilful Sarsfield. Douglas was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with the loss of four hundred men. William was more successful till he came to Limerick. Waterford, the most important harbour of the eastern coast, was reduced, as were Dungarvon and other places in the neighbourhood. At Limerick he received a check. The forces which had been scattered on the Boyne had flocked thither, both officers and soldiers, without a leader, "as if they had been guided thither by some secret instinct of nature." Among them were many French officers and engineers well skilled in the art of defending places, and preparations were made to defend the city. William invested Limerick on the 9th of August. The French General Lauzun had declared that the place could not resist the attack of William's forces, and he with Tyrconnel had gone away to Galway. The command devolved on Monsieur Boisseleau, under whom the duke of Berwick and Colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. It was Sarsfield, however, who proved to be the soul of the defence. He it was on whom the twenty thousand defenders of the city chiefly relied. Limerick consisted of two towns, the English and the Irish. The English town stood on an island, and was only accessible through the lower Irish town, the connection between them being a single bridge. It was against the Irish town that William directed his operations. It was invested "from river to river," an expression which has reference to the curve of the Shannon in its course to the sea, before it reaches the island on which the English town was built. A long and narrow tongue of land lay enclosed within this curve of the Shannon, and William took up his position partly on this narrow ground and partly on the south bank, near the Irish town. Limerick, therefore, had a formidable natural defence, while the besieged could have no difficulty in obtaining provisions, as the counties of Clare and Galway were opened to them. For some days the siege was not actively prosecuted. William was waiting for his artillery and a supply of military stores which were on the road, but which never came entire. In the dead of the night of the 10th of August, Sarsfield, with about five hundred horse, left Limerick, and crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, came suddenly down from the mountains, killed or dispersed the escort, and took possession of both cannon and stores. He made a wreck of them. The guns were loaded to the muzzles and half buried, barrels of gunpowder, with waggons and stores, were heaped around them, a train was fired, and there was an explosion which shook the earth and made the sleepers in William's camp tremble. Sarsfield was back in Limerick before dawn, and his exploit gave courage to the defenders of the city. William was disheartened by the catastrophe, but having obtained some great guns from Waterford, he commenced the attack. A breach was opened in the walls on the 17th of August, but on the following day William was repulsed, having had a narrow escape from a cannon-ball. Fresh batteries were made, the trenches were advanced, and fresh breaches in the walls having been effected, it was at length resolved to make a general assault. A lodgment was made, but it could not be secured. The troops of William fought with the most determined bravery, but the Irish fought with equal resolution. After four hours' fighting, in which there was a fearful loss on both sides, the besiegers retired, and at a council of war it was determined to raise the siege. On the 30th of August William was on his way to Waterford, and the next day his camp before Limerick was broken up. Thus Evelyn writes: "The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised."

William left the command of the army, which marched towards Clonmel, with Count Solenes, and embarked at Duncannon for England. He landed at Bristol on the 6th of September, from whence he repaired to London. His presence had been much needed, and he was received by the English with great joy. Notwithstanding his repulse from Limerick, they were proud of a sovereign who in his campaign had shown so much energy and sagacity. Everywhere there were bonfires and bell-ringing, and loyal addresses were sent up to the throne from all quarters. The people felt that they had a king who would fight for their religion and liberties, and men of all ranks resolved to defend his throne with their lives and fortunes.

That throne had been in danger while he was fighting on the banks of the Boyne. At the very hour when the shot that was fired across that river had nearly settled a momentous question—namely, whether the Revolution of 1688 should secure liberty and the rights of conscience, or whether the efforts made to secure them were to prove fruitless, and the nation revert back to the despotic rule of the Stuart dynasty—there was a battle fought on the south-eastern coast of England in the same cause for which William was fighting in Ireland. His departure for that country was the signal for an attack upon the English coast, and for a rising, if that attack succeeded, of the Jacobites in the heart of the country. It was a well-projected scheme. A French fleet was to sail up the Thames, the Jacobites were to rise in London, Queen Mary was to be seized, James was to be re-proclaimed, and he was to leave Ireland to be managed by his generals, hasten to London with a part of his forces, and take possession of his lost throne. In aid of James at this time, a squadron of French galleys was to have landed some troops in Torbay, and then the whole French fleet was to prevent William's return from Ireland. But there were several reasons why this well-laid project failed. There were some of William's naval commanders too ready to betray him if they had the opportunity, but the opportunity was not given them. The French fleet could not obtain, or maintain, the mastery of the narrow seas; the Irish leaders would not consent that their chosen monarch should reunite England with Ireland; and without their support, and that of the Scottish Jacobites, whose power had been broken and dispersed, James would not entrust himself among his English subjects, where his Jacobite adherents were greatly in the minority. Had it not been for the Dutch fleet, however, the French might have performed their part in the plot for the restoration of James to his forfeited kingdom. They might have ridden in triumph on the Thames and Medway, as the Dutch, now the real protectors of our coast, had done some twenty years before. The French sailed from Brest, under the Count de Tourville. The earl of Torrington was then in the Downs with the English fleet, and he sailed round to St. Helen's, where he was joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels, under the command of Evertsen. Thus reinforced, Torrington quitted his position off St. Helen's, and sailed for the Straits of Dover, to meet the enemy. He had positive orders from the council to engage the French, however superior their numbers might be. The French fleet was certainly far superior to the combined fleets of the English and Dutch, the former having eighty-two men-of-war, and the latter only fifty-six. If the French were superior in vessels and guns, the English and the Dutch were superior in courage. With a brave commander at their head, the issue of a battle would not long have been doubtful. But Torrington, if he had been brave before he was ennobled, was no longer so. He had become enervated by luxurious dissipation. The two fleets met on the 30th of June, off Beachy Head. Torrington, acted like a coward and a traitor. Putting Evertsen in the van, he let the whole brunt of the battle fall upon the Dutch. They were ably seconded by the blue division of the English, but Torrington, with his red division, shirked the action as much as he could. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, as did the English who engaged, but they were beaten. They both suffered severely, the Dutch losing two admirals and a considerable number of men. Evertsen was obliged to sink several of his vessels to prevent their capture. As for Torrington's division, it neither fired nor received a single shot. With a sullied flag he sought the safety of the Thames, and left the Channel to a triumphant enemy. There was great consternation throughout the country when the news of this defeat became known. It was believed that an invasion was imminent. Several men of rank, suspected of plotting against the government, were arrested, among whom was Clarendon, the queen's kinsman. Queen Mary, who was beloved by the nation, acted a noble part in this crisis. Burnet says that she " balanced all things with an even temper." All the nation rallied round her, the Londoners standing foremost in their loyalty. When Mary asked the lord mayor what the citizens would do if the enemy effected a landing, he made her an offer of a hundred thousand pounds, and of nine thousand men of the city train-bands, to march wherever ordered. He also made a proposal for the lieutenancy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the mayor, aldermen, and council, to raise and support a regiment of horse and a thousand dragoons. If there were traitors in the country the heart of the nation was sound. The people would not have a papist government thrust upon them by the French king. Very soon there was a formidable camp formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French threatened a descent. The yeomen of the west flocked thither by thousands to encounter the veterans of France. As in the year 1588, the beacons blazed on the hills of Devonshire, and the well-known call to arms was nobly answered. Tourville, the French commander, was soon convinced that the assurances of the Stuart courtiers, that all England would aid him in his enterprise, were false. All England was against him; their shouts were for William and Mary, and not for James. But Tourville had been sent to invade England, and he must do something. The little town of Teignmouth, consisting of about three hundred houses, lay on the coast undefended. It was about seven miles eastward of Torbay, and thither about a thousand French were sent to do what they pleased. There was no opposition. Having first cannonaded the town, the French landed, and for three hours they were employed in ransacking and plundering the town. Nearly half the houses were burned to the ground, and eleven ships and barks in the harbour were destroyed. The French added sacrilege to robbery and violence. After this achievement, the French re-embarked and returned to Brest, very proud of their so-called " invasion of England." For the shameful cowardice or treachery—or both combined—which Torrington had displayed, he was committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried, but acquitted; that he was traitorously inclined, however, there can be no doubt. It was subsequently proved that he maintained a close correspondence with the courts of St. Germains and Versailles. But this French expedition served greatly to strengthen the throne of William and Mary, for it created an amount of burning indignation throughout the country against James, for whose cause it was set on foot, as rendered that cause hopeless.

The French not only returned from England to their own country, but from Ireland. When William left Ireland the conduct of the war was entrusted to General Ginckel. In September, however, an expedition set sail for Ireland under the command of Marlborough. Marlborough had unfolded a scheme to King William for the capture of Cork and Kinsale—important positions, as it was through them that the Irish chiefly communicated with France. He landed near Cork with about five thousand men, on the 22nd of December, and his forces were joined by about four thousand Danes, a portion of the army of Limerick, under the duke of Wurtemburg. There was a brief quarrel between the duke and the earl as to which should take precedence, but it was settled by an agreement that they should command on alternate days. Cork was quickly invested, and after a struggle of forty-eight hours it capitulated. In the attack upon Cork, the duke of Grafton, one of the natural sons of Charles II., who accompanied Marlborough, was mortally wounded. William and Mary were proclaimed by the Protestant magistrates, and the corporation voted the freedom of the city to Marlborough in a silver box. Without waiting to receive it, however, he marched forward to Kinsale. There too he was victorious. After a brief resistance its garrison capitulated. By the reduction of these places all communication between France and the Irish on this side of the island was cut off, and Marlborough returned to England with a reputation for military genius which was never sullied. From Lauzun's sombre representations of his position, the French were recalled from Ireland; but he was afterwards disgraced at Versailles for deserting the cause before it became desperate. On the recall of the French the duke of Berwick, the natural son of James, went over to France in despair, leaving the brave and active Sarsfield to carry on the war. During the winter Ireland was in the most deplorable condition. The war on behalf of James produced an amount of human misery truly appalling. Not only was there famine and disease, but there was violence, and murder, and rapine. The Irish army formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and under the appellation of Rapparees "held a horrible jubilee" of rapine and bloodshed.

While these events were transpiring in England and Ireland, the situation of affairs on the Continent had not undergone any change of great importance. William opened the second session of his second parliament on the 2nd of October. His speech was warlike, and it was essentially a war session. Whigs and Tories alike courted his favour by granting supplies, both ample and expeditiously. In his speech William informed his parliament that he had used his best endeavours to reduce Ireland into a condition that it might be no longer a charge to England. He had neither spared his person nor his pains to do all the good he could. God had blessed his endeavours with such success, that he was fully persuaded he should by this time have been in full possession of that kingdom, but for two causes, viz., that he was not enabled to take the field so soon as he should have done, and that the excessive rains had retarded his operations. He spoke of the behaviour of his troops in the highest terms, and regretted they were not better paid for their services. Of the English fleet, however, he bitterly complained: it had failed in its duty. His whole soul seemed to be absorbed in the war. He had demonstrated, he said, that he had preferred the satisfaction of his subjects to the most solid advantages of his crown. He asked for no revenue for himself, but for the charges of the war in which they were engaged. Personally what he required of them was to clear his revenue of loans, that he might subsist. For his army, he required that they should consider the means to pay off what arrears were due to both officers and men. To that end he would command all public accounts to be laid before the Commons, that they might see what was really necessary, beyond the funds given; for "the not getting in due time that for which funds were assigned had been the principal cause why the army was in so much arrear of their pay, and the stores for the navy and ordnance being ill supplied." As regards the warlike proceedings of the French, William said that it was too plain that if the present war were not prosecuted with vigour England would be greatly endangered. The support and success of the confederacy abroad, which was meant as well to defend the liberties of England, as the integrity of continental states from French encroachments, depended upon the speed and vigour of the English parliament. The happiness of the kingdom depended upon their counsels, and whoever went about to divert their application to these matters could neither be his friend nor the friend of England.

This time parliament showed no inclination to incur the censure of want of friendship for William. Loyal addresses were quickly followed by ample supplies. William and Mary were to have all they required for the reduction of Ireland, the security of the peace of this kingdom, and the carrying on a vigorous war against France. Such was the immediate vote of parliament, and it was no unmeaning vote. The threatened invasion of England by the French, and their pillage of Teignmouth, had for a time made both Whigs and Tories unanimous. In less than a fortnight more than two millions and a half were granted for maintaining an army of nearly seventy thousand men, and nearly two millions for the navy and ordnance. Burnet says that it was "the vastest sum that ever a king had asked of his people;" and certainly so large a supply had never been voted by an English parliament for warlike operations. Concerning the ways and means, there was at first some slight difference of opinion. It was proposed that one million of this sum should be raised upon the credit or by the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland of those who had taken up arms for King James, but this was mercifully overruled. The ways and means were to be raised by additional taxation. First, the excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors was to be doubled. Three distinct bills were passed for these additional means for raising the supplies, to which William gave his ready assent. William thanked his parliament for their liberality, and assured them that he would see the money was applied to the uses for which it was intended; and in passing the two latter, he represented that if some annual revenue could be granted for the building some new men-of-war and augmenting the navy, it would be both for the honour and safety of the nation, to which the Commons responded by granting half a million for that purpose.

Parliament was closed on the 5th of January, 1691. Twice during the session, in order to hasten the despatch of business, William intimated that his presence was necessary at the Hague. He was the very soul of the confederacy, and the members of the congress then sitting at the Hague were as desirous of his presence as he was of joining in their counsels. Having, therefore, thanked his parliament for the great despatch they had used "in furnishing the supplies designed for carrying on the war," he prepared for his voyage. He set out from London on the very next day, but the weather became so inclement and tempestuous, that when he reached Canterbury he was compelled to return. His presence was still much needed in England. Forgetting the inestimable blessing they were purchasing, the people loudly complained of the increased taxation. But their murmurs were as nothing compared with the disaffection which still prevailed among the Jacobites. Treason stalked abroad as it were in noonday. A plot had recently been discovered, in which Lord Preston, and one Ashton and a Mr. Elliot were concerned. They were seized at Gravesend in a smack bound for France, and papers found in their possession contained a wild project for the immediate restoration of King James. When brought to trial, Preston was condemned, but upon making a discovery of all he knew, he was pardoned. Elliot was acquitted for want of evidence, but Ashton suffered death. He died a member of the church of England. The non-juring churchmen were a thorn in the side of William. They hated him for his toleration, and constantly prayed for a heaven-ordained king, though he were a papist. But notwithstanding the treasons which were hatching against him at home, William felt that his throne was secure, and the nation felt that its honour was safe in his hands. Nay, his address, his capacity, and his superiority of genius, had acquired for him the confidence, and even the complete dictatorship of Europe, France only excepted. The French king himself was compelled to own that he was a monarch worthy of his own esteem. In writing subsequently to Marshal Boufflers, Louis remarked: "I could not see him at the head of so powerful a league as that which has been formed against me without having that esteem for him which the deference that the principal powers of Europe have for his opinion seems to demand." What deference those powers had for his opinion was manifested when he met the congress at the Hague. After his return to London the wind was adverse for some days; but on the 16th of January, in the midst of frost and snow, he again set out for Holland. He embarked at Gravesend with many persons of distinction. His convoy consisted of twelve men-of-war and seven yachts; and after a stormy and dangerous voyage of five days William arrived off the Dutch coast. That coast was ice-bound, and there was a thick fog that shrouded the land from view. It was impossible for the men-of-war to get into port without incurring great danger. But William's business was urgent, and he could not brook delay. He resolved to make the coast in an open boat. Some of his more attached followers accompanied him. It was yet day, but the fog was so thick that the fishermen mistook their way. They rowed for the island of Goree, about a league and a half distant, but night came on, and William and his retinue were still in the boat. During eighteen hours William sat in that boat wrapped up in his cloak; and when at length a landing was effected at Goree, both he and his nobles were covered with ice and half perished with cold. A peasant's hovel for a while afforded them a friendly shelter, and again repairing to their boat, they landed in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

The reception William met with at the Hague amply compensated him for the perils he had encountered—perils at which he himself was the only person undismayed. He was not a prince who loved parade. For a time he resisted the entreaties of his countrymen that he should make a public entrance into the Hague, but at length yielding, on the 26th of January he passed through long files of his admiring compatriots, who looked up to him as their defender and champion against the ambition and aggressions of France. Almost all the monarchs and princes of Europe had their representatives at the congress at the Hague, Catholic as well as Protestant. The Catholic rulers of the destinies of nations had no sympathies for the Protestant coalition of England and Holland, but their interests were concerned in its operations. The emperor of Germany had a twofold object in view in joining the coalition. *He* not only joined it to resist the oppressions of France, but as he was engaged in a war with the Turks, he looked upon it as a means of insuring his success in that war, and of enlarging his dominions by conquest. Charles II. of Spain gave in his adhesion to the coalition, not to enlarge, but to preserve his dominions. France threatened the Spanish Netherlands, and if they were not defended by a bolder arm than that of Spain, the French armies would have swept over them like a flood. But the coalition of these two great Catholic sovereigns was scarcely to be depended upon. It was not conducive to the unanimity of the councils of the congress at the Hague. Aware of this, the French monarch did what he could to weaken, if not to sever its bonds. At the period of the Revolution, Pope Innocent the Eleventh was disposed to make common cause with those who opposed Louis of France, who was his oppressor, as was also his successor, Alexander the Eighth. Both these pontiffs were dead, and Innocent the Twelfth now sat in the papal chair. He was of a more pacific disposition than his predecessors; and the French king perceiving that he had been in error in oppressing the papal see, made concessions to him, intending thereby to remove one cause of the strange union of Catholic and Protestant. If Louis did not fully succeed in his design by this movement, he rendered the task of William to hold the coalition together a work of great difficulty. Nevertheless he applied himself to that task with untiring zeal and energy, and with the aid of the numerous Protestant princes by whom he was surrounded at the congress, he—for a time at least—preserved the alliance. Those princes were zealous for the cause which William represented as the sovereign of Protestant England and the first magistrate of Protestant Holland, but there were many among them who had selfish motives in joining the coalition.

The heroic little monarch with the constant asthma was the great lever of the confederacy. Supported as he was by the English nation, he could, and did, adopt the language of a dictator. In his address to the congress, he pointed out the errors they had committed, and showed them what measures they ought to adopt to avert the danger with which through those errors they were surrounded. And those measures, he said, admitted of no delay. There was no time for debating; they must act, not talk. The French were already masters of the chief barrier fortresses, and they would soon be in possession of all the rest if they were not up and doing. If through divided counsels they were laggard in their movements, their cause would be lost. Unanimity of counsels was necessary to their future success. Every member of the confederacy, he said, ought to be persuaded that their respective interests were at stake. The French were united, and were formidable in that union, and if they would snatch the liberty of Europe from the grasp of the French monarch, they must be the same. It was no use to complain of or to trust to protests against the aggressions of France. It was not resolutions upon paper of a diet or congress that was wanted; it was armies, and a sincere union among their combined forces that must save Europe. For himself, he asserted, that neither his credit and forces, nor his own person, should be spared in the work. On his return to England he would collect an army, and in the spring he would reappear among them at its head. Congress caught the spirit of the heroic William. Its members felt that he meant what he said, and they resolved to aid him in his contest for liberty. It was solemnly agreed that an army of two hundred and twenty-two thousand men should take the field, and that no peace should be made with the French king until he had agreed to certain conditions; namely, to restore his conquests and make reparation, to grant liberty of conscience to his Protestant subjects, and to re-establish the estates of the kingdom in their ancient liberties, and the parliaments in their ancient and rightful authority.

William was right, there was no time for debating. While yet congress was projecting future operations, the French were in the field. Early in March Louis suddenly appeared in person at the head of a great army, and invested Mons, the fortified capital of Hainault, and one of the chief barriers of the Netherlands against France. On receiving this news, William, with his accustomed energy, broke up the congress, got together an army of fifty thousand men, and marched to the relief of that fortress. But before he could reach Mons it had fallen. Louis returned to Versailles, where he struck a medal to celebrate his conquest, which reflected on the passive conduct of William, but it was a libel on his character. The movement of William had been retarded by the dilatoriness of his allies.

After the fall of Mons, William embarked for England. He arrived in London on the 13th of April. He found his palace of Whitehall in ruins by an accidental fire. In the plot which had been discovered in December, as related in a previous paragraph, a letter was found which involved the bishop of Ely in its machinations. The bishop had taken refuge in flight; and this circumstance induced William, on his return to England, to fill up those sees which had become vacant by the refusal of those prelates who held them to take the oaths to his government. He took that step with great reluctance. Accordingly, Dr. Tillotson, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and in general the vacated bishoprics were filled up with men of learning and morality, if not piety. At first the deprived bishops affected all meekness and resignation, but the press soon teemed with their most bitter declamations against both William and Mary. But while Mary was vexed and disturbed by their invectives, William took no notice of them. He could never be irritated into a persecution of them, desirous as they were of becoming martyrs. Of one of them, the celebrated Henry Dodwell, who was most conspicuous as a nonjuror, he said: "That Dodwell wants me to put him in prison, but I will disappoint him." If William had been disposed to send men to prison for disaffection to his government, he might soon have filled all the gaols in the kingdom; but revenge seems to have been a stranger to his bosom. Despite the most virulent libels against his person and principles, he exhibited a rare moderation. He scorned both the conspirator and the libeller, but he had no desire to take full revenge upon his enemies. Surrounded as he was by plots and conspiracies during his reign, the laws of high treason were modified, so as to ensure the accused a fairer trial than under the ancient system; and libelled as he was by means of the press, the laws against printing and publishing were relaxed, instead of being, as the custom had been under the rule of former kings, made more stringent. An instance of William's magnanimity was displayed in the brief period of his present sojourn in England. It has been seen that Lord Preston had saved himself from the death of a traitor by a confession that he was guilty, and by divulging the names of others who had been concerned in the plot in which he was implicated. The bishop of Ely was one he then named, together with Clarendon and William Penn. Clarendon, as before related, was sent to the Tower, but Penn as well as the bishop had absconded. On his return to England, Preston was brought before William at the council, when he implicated others in the plot. Among these were the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, and Macclesfield, and the Lords Brandon and Dartmouth, with others of note in the kingdom. All these, Preston said, Penn had told him were "well affected to the plot;" but William, whether they were guilty or not, took no note of his information. The plotters, if they were so, went free; and whatever sentiments they might have held at the time, they ever afterwards became the most bitter enemies of the cause of King James.

Parliament was to have reassembled on the 31st of March, but William further prorogued it, and on the 1st of May he was again on his way to Holland. English levies had already been sent over, and others sailed with him in the squadron by which he was convoyed. He was accompanied by Lord Sidney, secretary of state, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland. Although he was suspected, Marlborough had done such good service in Ireland, that William entrusted him with a command in his continental campaign. He had declared, when Marlborough returned from Ireland, that no one who had seen so little of war was so fit to be a general. In heart, however, Marlborough was a traitor to the king who exalted his merits and placed confidence in his integrity. Marlborough was entrusted to collect all the English troops, and to wait near Brussels till the king should arrive to take the command. Before he could commence the campaign, William had much work to do at the Hague. Unanimous as the members of the confederacy had been while sitting in congress, they were by no means active in bringing their troops together. Some of the princes wavered in their zeal for the cause; others, though willing to take the field, were too weak to move without support; while others were waiting till William had "confirmed their friendship by presents." While William was employed in propitiating and rewarding these princes, Marlborough was hesitating in his allegiance. He had for some time been in secret correspondence with the court of St. Germains, seeking pardon for his apostacy, and expressing his anxiety to make amends to his dethroned sovereign and benefactor; and there can be but little doubt that if the French had proved irresistible in Flanders, Marlborough would have performed a promise he had made to James, namely, that he would lead over the English troops in Flanders, and at the hazard of his life fight for "his injured prince and beloved master." An opportunity only seemed to be wanting for a decisive act of treachery on the part of Marlborough in this campaign, though all the while he seemed zealous in the cause of the confederacy. His operations were confined to hastening the preparations and assembling and exercising the troops of the confederation, of which when ready William assumed the command. The preparations made, and the character of their leader as a monarch and a general, raised the hopes of the confederates to the highest pitch. But the event was not answerable to their expectations. At the head of about seventy thousand men William advanced to the capital of Spanish Flanders. At that time Brussels was threatened by the French under Marshal Luxembourg, and Liege by Marshal Boufflers. William sent a detachment to the relief of Liege, and marched himself against Luxembourg, who retired on his approach. The latter crossed the Sambre with the confederates in his rear, but all that William could do failed to bring the French marshal to an engagement. The French marshal retreated and manœuvred, marched and countermarched, till at length William, seeing pursuit fruitless, and tired of a campaign which brought him no laurels, gave up the command to Prince Waldeck, and repaired first to his hunting seat at Loo, and then to England. This was in September, soon after which the armies of France and the confederates under Prince Waldeck went into winter quarters.

Nor were the French much more successful in other quarters. On the Rhine they were held at bay by the elector of Saxony; and in Catalonia, although they made devastating incursions, they effected no permanent conquest. On the side of Italy and in Savoy, Marshal Catinat became a scourge and a terror. Several towns were captured by him, and he advanced as far as Coni, one of the duke of Savoy's largest fortresses, to which he laid siege. But here Catinat's successes ended. Victor Amadeus was in despair at the devastations of his country, and Schomberg, son of the old marshal, was sent to rouse him out of his despondency. Schomberg carried both troops and money to his aid, and joining Prince Eugene of Savoy, their combined forces made a sudden march across the mountains, and forced Catinat to raise the siege. Then descending into the plain they recaptured Cannagnola, and the French were driven back with great slaughter. Subsequently, however, Catinat laid siege to Montmelian, the only city in Savoy still held for Victor Amadeus, which, after a brave defence, capitulated.

But if the war was indecisive on the Continent, it was not so in Ireland. When William ran over from Holland to England in the spring, one of his first objects was to regulate the mode in which the war in that country was to be prosecuted. The conduct of that war was entrusted to the Dutch General Ginckel, who took up his quarters at Clonmel. Reinforced by some troops from Scotland, under Mackay, Ginckel took the field early in June. At that time Tyrconnel had arrived from France, once more to act as the viceroy of James; and the Irish army was under the sole command of a French general, Saint Ruth. Ginckel's first operation was to lay siege to Athlone. He was well supplied with all the necessaries of war, and he needed them. It was on the 18th of June that Ginckel sat down before Athlone. It was a town divided into two parts by the Shannon, but connected by a bridge which was protected by a fort. The part on the eastern bank, called the English town, was soon captured, though with considerable slaughter, but all attempts to take the other part, or the Irish town, were frustrated through the skill of the French engineers. There was no way across except by fording the Shannon at one of its few, narrow, and dangerous fords. St. Ruth conceived that the English would never be so foolhardy as to attempt to ford the river in the teeth of his French and Irish forces and well-planted artillery. When warned by Sarsfield, the commander of the garrison, who discovered their intention by their movements, he replied: "They dare not do so, and I near." But they did dare. Led by Mackay, with green boughs in their hats, and locking their arms together, the English grenadiers dashed into the Shannon, twenty abreast, and despite a terrible fire of artillery and musketry, reached the bank in safety, and clearing the head of the bridge of its Irish defenders, planks were laid over its broken arches, over which, and some rude pontoons, the rest of the army crossed over, and Athlone was captured. Even the brave Sarsfield fled in dismay at the rapidity and fierceness of the assault. Thus driven out of Athlone, after a vain attempt to retake it, St. Ruth marched towards Galway. He took up a strong position at Aghrim, where he resolved to risk an engagement. It was a well-chosen spot for defence, for it was surrounded with hills and almost impassable bogs. In this position St. Ruth was attacked by Ginckel on the 12th of July. This battle of Aghrim was one of the most sanguinary that has ever been fought between contending armies. It was brief but bloody. It was commenced at five in the evening, but before the shades of night came on thousands slept the sleep of death. Protected by the hills and bogs, as the English and Dutch advanced, the Irish fought with the most desperate resolution. Again and again the troops of Ginckel were driven back, but again and again they advanced with indomitable courage. So hard pressed was St. Ruth on both wings, that he was obliged to weaken his centre to strengthen them. That was the decisive moment. Perceiving his advantage, Ginckel moved forward, his troops struggling through a red bog half a mile long, up to their waists in mud and water, to attack his weakened centre. Before they reached that centre, when the morass was passed, they had yet to ascend a hill through a murderous fire from two old Dutch forts and of the old castle of Aghrim, as well as from the French and Irish who lay concealed behind hedges and ditches in their route. Once they reeled back to the edge of the bog, and St. Ruth was exultant. He would chase them, he said, to the very gates of Dublin. But he was premature. Other troops arriving, the English and Dutch quickly rallied, and charging with the utmost fury, drove the centre of the Irish army up the hills. At the same time the left wing of the Irish was driven back, and St. Ruth was killed by a cannon-ball. The battle was won. Four thousand Irish lay dead on the field of battle, and about the same number were hewn down in the pursuit. The victory was followed up by the capture of Galway, its garrison, with the French General D'Usson, being permitted to retire to Limerick. It was to Limerick that Sarsfield, who fought in the battle of Aghrim under St. Ruth, led his scattered forces. Thither also Ginckel marched with the utmost expedition. It was at Limerick that the last stand was made against the triumphant army of King William. Tyrconnel, the viceroy of King James, had, a few days after the battle of Aghrim, died in that city, and Sarsfield took the sole command of its defenders. The defence was brave and obstinate, but useless. Ginckel was well supplied with artillery and the munitions of war. The besieged, also, were well provided with the means of defence. Succours were moreover expected from France: a fleet of twenty sail being on the way with men, provisions, ammunition, and money. But those succours never came, for an English fleet rode in the Shannon to intercept them. Ginckel invested Limerick on the 26th of August; but it was not till towards the end of September that his forces were able to open their trenches on both sides of the Shannon. Meanwhile there had been some terrible encounters. Thus on one occasion the English and Dutch had crossed the Shannon on a bridge of boats, and scattered the Irish horse encamped near the city; and on another had taken a fort called Thomond, which commanded the bridge, and committed a fearful slaughter on the garrison. At length the trenches were opened and the bombardment commenced. The fire of the artillery was terribly effective, and the fall of the city quickly became inevitable. The garrison began to despair, and Sarsfield proposed to surrender on conditions. During the negotiations hostilities were suspended. Two treaties were signed on the 1st of October, one civil and the other military. The terms of these treaties were highly honourable to King William. They were such that had the Irish been victors they would scarcely have refused them with prudence. All that were in arms were to receive pardon; and their estates were to be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed. No one was to be liable for debts incurred through deeds done in the course of hostilities. All Roman Catholics were to enjoy the same toleration as in the reign of Charles II. The gentry were to be allowed to possess arms, and the lower classes to exercise their callings and professions. No oaths were to be required but that of allegiance to William and Mary. The garrison of Limerick was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, with their arms and baggage. The choice also was given to them, as to whether they would enter the service of William or become the soldiers of Louis of France. The greater number decided for Louis: about ten thousand embarked for France, and became renowned in the continental wars under the appellation of "the Irish brigade."

In making their choice, however, the Irish soldiers were not left entirely to their own free will. Inducements were held out on both sides to gain them over to the rival services. Unwilling to send thousands of men to swell the forces of the enemy on the Continent, Ginckel issued proclamations, assuring them that if they would live quietly in their native land they should be protected and favoured; and that if they preferred a military life, and would enter the service of King William, they should be freely admitted and rewarded. On the other hand, Sarsfield, who had resolved to seek his fortune in France, was anxious to take as many troops as he could over to the Continent to fight under the banners of the French monarch, represented that they would *soon* return to their native country; that within a year the French would invade England, in which invasion, if they remained unbroken, they would bear a conspicuous part; and that it would be more for their future welfare if they banished themselves to a neighbouring and friendly country for a little while than to become soldiers under the prince of Orange, who would probably employ them in foreign service, from which they might never return. Sarsfield even called in the aid of the Roman Catholic clergy, and a bishop gave them his benediction. The result was as might have been expected: the great majority declared for King Louis. Only about one thousand declared for William, and two thousand accepted passes from Ginckel, and returned to their homes. There were eleven thousand then remaining, but not all of them were true to their colours. Sober reflection made many repent of their decision. The thought of exile from their homes, humble as they were, became gall and wormwood to them. They could not bear the idea of crossing the wide waters, and never again looking upon the old familiar faces, or joining in the notes of the old Celtic songs round their turf fires. They were to embark at Cork, about four days' march from Limerick, through a wild country of bogs and woods; and while some escaped across the Shannon before they left Limerick, hundreds had deserted before they reached Cork. One grand cause of their desertion was their reluctance to leave their families in a state of destitution. To prevent this Sarsfield issued a proclamation in which his soldiers were assured that their families should accompany them to France. Cork, therefore, and the neighbouring villages were soon thronged with their wives and children. But Sarsfield had promised more than he could perform. He had no means of transit for such a multitude. What followed was heart-rending. As the ships sailed away there was a wild cry of anguish, which appalled the hearts and excited the deep commiseration of the sternest enemy of the Irish race and of the Romish faith who heard it. It was a cry in which all the rage and all the sorrow of a conquered nation were concentrated, and the very conquerors of the island, as it entered their ears, shed the tear of pity.

It was thus that Ireland again passed under the rule of the English colonizers. The articles of Limerick were both honourable and humane, but they did not satisfy either party. The war in Ireland was ended, but its woes still existed. It was still a nation divided against itself. The parliament of Ireland became Protestant, and for a long series of years laws were passed—unjust and vindictive—laws which both denied the free exercise of their religion and the rights of family to the Irish Catholics. Hence it is that Limerick is called "The city of the violated treaty." So far as King William was concerned, however, he desired to act upon the articles of Limerick to the very letter.

The reduction of Ireland being completed, Ginckel returned to England. His services obtained for him the thanks of the English parliament, and the titles of Baron Aghrim and earl of Athlone. William met his parliament on the 22nd of October. In his speech, after alluding to the success of his arms in Ireland, he urged the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the season, and of increasing the army. Vigour and despatch in their counsels were again urged upon the two Houses. No opportunity, he said, should be lost of establishing the quiet and prosperity of the kingdom, and the peace and security of Europe. As usual, votes of thanks were passed, and loyal addresses were sent up to the throne; but there was not that unanimity displayed in the granting of supplies as in the last session. William had insisted upon the necessity of employing an army of sixty-five thousand men, but the nation in general looked with disfavour on a great standing army. In parliament there was much murmuring before the supplies were taken into consideration. Of the operations of the fleet during the year there was just cause for complaint. While the maritime trade of England was almost ruined by French privateers, Admiral Russell had been cruising about without scarcely firing a shot. He too, like Marlborough, had been corresponding with the court of St. Germains, instead of protecting the kingdom from insult and invasion. Russell was called to an account for his inactivity, but he threw the blame on the Admiralty and the Dutch, and thereby escaped censure. Complaints were made by the Commons of abuses and peculations of officers in the army, and, indeed, of almost every one in office, civil and military. Much time was lost in trifling discussions, but at length the Commons proceeded to the real business of the session. Grants were made which amounted to more than three millions for the succeeding year. The revenue of Ireland was to furnish 165,000*l.* of that amount; the rest was to be raised by taxation. Two money bills were passed before Christmas, one imposing an additional excise upon beer, ale, etc.; and the other a land tax of two shillings in the pound. William gave his assent to these bills on the last day of December, in doing which he took occasion to remind the Commons of the flight of time. The new year, he said, was at hand, and while our preparations were more backward, those of the enemy were more forward than they were at the opening of the last campaign. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that they should use all possible despatch in their other bills, as the session could not admit of a long continuance.

Thus urged, early in the year 1692, the Commons passed several bills with the greatest rapidity, which, however, were for the most part rejected by the Lords. Early in the session the Treaty of Limerick was the subject of a grave and earnest discussion. Both Lords and Commons, as well as the nation in general, were displeased with the terms of the Irish pacification. The Commons framed a law which provided that no person should sit in the Irish parliament, or hold any Irish office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, or should practise law or medicine in Ireland, till he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation. This bill was sent up to the Lords, who were as favourable to it as the Commons; but as it was inconsistent with the engagements into which the government had entered, their lordships rejected it, and Chief Justice Holt was directed to prepare clauses in conformity with the terms of the capitulation. As the bill passed, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in Ireland were abrogated, and the oaths of fidelity and allegiance taken in England were substituted in their place. In this instance, therefore, the public faith was preserved inviolate by the Lords, which but for their interference the Commons would, to their shame, have broken. Another measure—one for regulating trials in cases of high treason—was passed by the Commons, and became the subject of a great controversy between the two Houses. It had for its object the establishment of the right of peers to be tried by the whole body of the Upper House, as well during a recess as during the sitting of parliament. After a warm debate that bill was lost. A bill also for the regulation of the East India trade, after three weeks' earnest discussion in the Commons, came to nought. The bill was designed to establish a new East India Company, the enormous gains of the East India trade being in the hands of a few rich merchants only. In truth the monopoly was wholly in the hands of Sir Josiah Child, and certain persons devoted to his cause. Child was the autocrat of the company, and all its treasures were at his disposal. The company had offices in Leadenhall Street, but its most important papers were kept in Child's desk at his stately mansion at Wanstead. For some years this fortunate speculator, who had risen from a humble position not only to affluence but to influence in the state, had been the object of envy, and even of persecution by the press. The Whigs hated him, for he had expelled all Whig merchants from the direction of the company. With Charles the Second, and with James his successor, Child had been high in favour. Each of those monarchs had received a present of ten thousand guineas from the moneyed autocrat, and while they ruled, although the Whigs murmured, it was useless to attempt to break up his monopoly. Now, however, it was thought that he might be successfully attacked. It was held by his enemies that in any Act which might be passed for the regulation of the East India traffic, the name of Sir Josiah should be excluded from the list of the directory. But Child was still all-powerful. The old company was supported by the Tories, and the new company by the Whigs. All that the Commons could do was to present an address to the king, requesting him to dissolve the old company and to grant a charter to a new company on his own terms. The address plainly intimated that the Commons thought the king could constitutionally grant an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies; but whether he doubted his competency, or whether he wished to refrain from mixing himself up in this battle between the Whigs and Tories, he replied that the subject was of such importance that he would consider it maturely, and give an answer to the address at a future time. During this session he exercised his power by putting his veto on one measure which had passed both Houses with unanimity. This was a bill for ascertaining the salaries and commissions of the judges, which when they had been made independent of the crown as to their term of office, had never been defined. The Houses resolved that each judge should be paid a thousand a year, but they charged the salaries on the revenues of the crown, without having obtained the crown's consent; and William absolutely refused to give his assent to a bill which ill accorded with the principles that placed him on the throne.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of February. In his speech William warmly thanked the Commons for their liberal supplies, and informed the two Houses of his intention of embarking for the Continent. He embarked on the 5th of March, but before he left London several changes were made by him in court and cabinet. These changes were greatly in favour of the Tories, whom William now looked upon as his most faithful friends. Thus the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, the Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour were sworn of the council, and the earl of Pembroke was made lord privy seal. Many of the Whigs were highly incensed at these promotions, and some of them were converted by the royal favour shown to the Tories into bitter Jacobites. But there was one appointment which somewhat modified the wrath of the Whigs. Charles Montague, who had in the late session raised himself to high distinction in the Commons, and who was held in the highest esteem, Tory though he was, became a member of the treasury.

Before these appointments were made, however, one who called himself a Tory was removed from his employments. On the 9th of January the queen had a painful interview with the Princess Anne. That interview related to the intrigues of Marlborough. Marlborough had never ceased to assure the court of St. Germains that he repented of the crime he had committed in taking part in the expulsion of his beloved master from the throne of England, and that he lived only to make reparation for his crime. He had not only been converted himself, but he had converted the Princess Anne. Influenced by him and his wife, Anne, too, had signified by letter to her father that she was deeply afflicted by her breach of duty, and that all her desire was to make an atonement. Marlborough had failed in his design to carry over the English army in Flanders to the cause of King James; but during the sitting of parliament he conceived an idea that he could restore his old master without the aid of a single soldier or sailor. There was a deep-felt jealousy existing at this time among the English against the Dutch. United as they were against the common enemy, in sentiment and heart, there was no cordial feeling between the two nations. The jealousy chiefly existed on the part of the English. Fought, as they had done, side by side in one common cause, they were not bound together by affection. There was a universal feeling that William showed too much favour to his countrymen. There was but little, if any truth in these representations. He might wish to reward the companions of his youth, but not like William the Conqueror did he reward them by the spoliation of his English subjects. Brooding over this antipathy of the English nation against the Dutch, Marlborough conceived that it might be the medium by which he could effect the restoration of King James; or if that was found unattainable, to place Anne on the throne, in which case, as his wife possessed unbounded influence over the weak princess, he would under her become the first man in the kingdom. To this end he undertook to move an address in the Lords that all foreigners might be dismissed from the service of their majesties. His only difficulty was whether he could obtain a similar address from the Commons. To be effectual it must be a joint address, for then William would have been placed in this position: he must either have discarded his dearest, oldest, and most trusty friends, or he must have come to an open rupture with his parliament and the people of England. The plot was well laid, and Marlborough did all in his power to effect its consummation. There was an active canvass made among the members of the House of Commons, some of whom promised their votes; and many officers of the army, in their hatred of the Dutch, were gained over to the cause. But before the plot was carried into execution, some of those who had given in their adhesion to it became suspicious of Marlborough's real designs, and revealed the whole scheme to Portland. William was alarmed and provoked at this intelligence to an unwonted degree. He felt that he was surrounded by enemies, men whom he had taken into his confidence, and whom he had rewarded and honoured. As a body, however, he took no notice of their treachery. He neither disgraced them nor frowned upon them. At the same time he felt it necessary for his own safety, that the man who had placed himself at the head of this conspiracy should no longer continue in his service. Hence on the morning after Queen Mary's interview with the Princess Anne, this brief announcement was made to the nation: "The king is pleased, without assigning any reason, to remove my Lord Marlborough from all his employments." Such appears to have been the real cause of the disgrace of Marlborough. James himself says in a letter that Marlborough was organizing a plan to propose and carry in parliament, that all foreigners in the employ of the crown should be sent out of the kingdom, and that the object of that plan was to produce a rupture between William and his parliament. That effected, the army and the navy would have declared for the parliament, and he was to have been recalled. James seems to have had no misgivings of Marlborough's fidelity to him; but he adds, that some of his imprudent friends dreading that the scheme was in reality concocted to raise the Princess Anne to the throne, revealed it, and thus "turned aside the blow."

If William did not choose to assign any reason to the public why he had dismissed Marlborough from his service, it is clear that Queen Mary had, in her interview with her sister, the Princess Anne, informed her of the truth. It was left to Anne to judge whether an officer who had been guilty of treason was a fit inmate of the palace. If Anne had been wise, and had possessed the true affection of a sister, she would have at once dismissed Marlborough and his countess from the precincts of her court; but they were allowed to remain, and they might still have resided there if they had been prudent. No signs of displeasure had been shown either by William or Mary at their retention in Anne's circle. Emboldened by their silence, however, the countess of Marlborough committed herself by one evening appearing with her mistress at the queen's drawing-room at Kensington. Mary could not overlook such an insult. Nothing was said by her that evening, but on the next day she wrote to her sister Anne, representing that it was very unfit for Lady Marlborough to stay with her, as it gave her husband a pretence of being where he ought not. In her reply the princess represented that though Marlborough might be guilty, she believed his wife was innocent, and she implored the queen not to insist upon a separation which would be to her heartrending. In justice to the king her husband, however, Mary could not pass over the offensive intrusion of Lady Marlborough into her drawing-room. The haughty countess was commanded through the lord chamberlain to leave the palace; and as the princess could not live without her, and the prince her husband did not care where he lived, so long as he could enjoy himself with the pleasures of the table unmolested, all the household retired to Sion House, on the banks of the Thames.

It was not only by Marlborough's treasonable plot in England that James hoped to be restored to his lost throne. Other preparations were being made secretly in France as an aid to that consummation. An event had recently occurred which had changed the policy of the court of Versailles. Louvois, the war minister of Louis, who had constantly opposed a landing in England as a dangerous project, was dead. On the last occasion on which Louvois and the king transacted business together there was a violent altercation. In his vexation Louvois dashed his portfolio to the ground, and Louis lifted his cane to strike him, but was prevented by Madame de Maintenon. The next day Louvois died, not without suspicion of being poisoned. His death left Louis free to act in the matter of the invasion of England. When James hypocritically sent an officer from the court of St. Germains to offer his condolence, Louis replied with an air and a tone that indicated no sorrow for his loss: "Give my compliments and thanks to the king and queen of England, and say to them from me that my affairs and their affairs will go on none the worse for what has happened." It is clear from these words that Louvois had not exerted nor could have been expected to exert his influence in favour of the House of Stuart. It is equally clear, also, from the preparations which Louis immediately commenced for the invasion of England, that he had long desired to engage in such a hazardous enterprise, and had been only prevented from doing so by his old and faithful servant. Scarcely was Louvois laid in the cold tomb when a camp was formed at La Hogue, which consisted of ten thousand French troops and the Irish regiments which had entered the service of France, designed for an expedition against England. The brave Sarsfield was to lead his Celtic troops against the hated Saxons, but the whole army was to be under the command of Marshal Bellefond.

There was a mighty movement in the dockyards both of Brittany and Provence. Eighty ships were to convoy the invading force to the English shores. Three hundred transports were to waft the invaders across the Channel. That there might not be any lack of seamen or of vessels, all maritime trade and all privateering was for a time interdicted by a royal mandate. The place of rendezvous was fixed at Ushant. The preparations were pushed forward with vigour, in the hope that the blow might be struck before the English ships were ready to put to sea, or that a single Dutch man-of-war could reach the Channel. But James did not seem to fear the English fleet. He had been led to believe by his emissaries, who had been busy among the naval officers, that he had more friends than enemies among them; and that, therefore, the fleet would not oppose him. Russell, the admiral, he especially relied upon for support: if he did not give him his active co-operation, he would at least connive at his expedition, so that his army would certainly reach the English shores in safety. And having landed, James flattered himself that he should soon be the master of the island. He seems to have forgotten the lesson he had been taught two years before, when Torrington betrayed his trust, and the whole nation—the Jacobite party excepted, who stood silent by—rose as one man to repel the invaders of the country. If Russell had proved treacherous, James could have had but little hope that the people, who had at the first lighting of the beacons in 1690 armed themselves with alacrity to defend their native soil against the French, would now welcome them as allies. At the same time it must be confessed that preparations had been made through his agents in England for a rising in his favour as soon as his landing became known. South of the Trent the people were loyal to William and Mary; but north of that river, especially in Lancashire, the stronghold of Roman Catholicism and Jacobitism, men armed themselves ready for the day of battle. His agents had there secretly organised eight regiments of cavalry and dragoons, who held themselves in readiness to mount at the first signal to conduct "the king to his own again."

It seems strange that the preparations for this expedition were nearly completed before the English government was aware of the impending danger. It was known that there was a camp of French and Irish soldiers at La Hogue, but it was believed that they were designed to take part in the wars on the Continent. At length, however, the truth became known that there was to be an almost immediate invasion of the country. There was alarm, but no great fear. Vigorous preparations were made for defence. The fleet was manned and equipped with the utmost despatch; the regular troops were assembled between London and the Channel; the militia were called out, and a great camp was formed on the down near Portsmouth; and thirteen thousand fighting men of Westminster and the good city of London stood arrayed before Queen Mary in Hyde Park, ready to defend the throne. The men of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, also, were soon up in arms to guard the coast from the invader; while watchmen stood by the beacons, ready to light them as soon as the masts of the enemy's ships appeared above the horizon. Precautions were also taken at this dangerous crisis. Several avowed Jacobites were arrested, and while some were imprisoned, others were disarmed and held to bail. On the 5th of May the earl of Marlborough was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason, and warrants were issued against the earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Sprat, bishop of Rochester. Huntingdon, in whose stables there were horses enough to mount a troop of cavalry, was arrested; and though this was all the proof which could be adduced of his treason, which was no proof at all, it was thought sufficient to justify his committal to the Tower.

Meanwhile James had joined his army at La Hogue. But before he left St. Germains he had done much to defeat his own enterprise. This was unfolded in a declaration in which he announced his intentions to his subjects. It was a declaration replete with the spirit of vengeance. All who had taken part in his dethronement both of high and low degree, were menaced with a butchery more horrible than any that had been known in England. Among those who were not to expect mercy at his hands were Ormond, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Tillotson, and Burnet; and the hundreds of rustics who had been rude to him when he was stopped at Sheerness in his flight. Nor were these all who were to suffer. Not only those who had taken part in his dethronement, and had called him rude names, were to be butchered, but multitudes who were guilty only of acting under William since he had been legally seated on the throne. Nay, the vengeance of James did not stop here. It seemed all-embracing. Every one who had in any manner borne a part in the punishment of Jacobite conspirators. Never was such an insane state paper as this issued, and the statesman who concocted it must have been as mad as the king who signed it. That statesman appears to have been the hated Melfort, who had returned from Rome, and was again the prime minister of James. There was nothing in that declaration which could induce any Englishman except the most rabid Jacobite to fight for his cause. No hope was given that his rule would be different from his previous rule; on the contrary, it was to be more arbitrary and merciless. Nobody was to be pardoned, except such as should merit indulgence by any eminent service, or those who were not included in the lists of proscription. There was to be a reign of terror, and his agents made it widely known throughout the kingdom. Nor was the government less backward in making it known. No document could have rendered so great a service to King William. Instead of suppressing it, the queen and her ministers had it reprinted, with remarks explanatory of its bloodthirsty character, and issued it under the license of the secretary of state. And that it was a genuine document there can be no doubt, for not a single nonjuror was found bold enough to undertake its defence, or to deny its authenticity.

The effect of this injudicious declaration of James was electrical. It converted thousands of his friends into enemies. Admiral Russell, who had put to sea on the day when Marlborough was sent to the Tower, was one of the most distinguished of these converts. No man read it with more surprise and anger than that Jacobite admiral. Russell distinctly told the agent of James who hung about him, that although he wished to save his king, he would do nothing for him unless he granted a general pardon; and that unless the declaration was withdrawn, he would fight the French, though James himself should be on board. And Russell kept his word. He set sail from the Downs in search of the French fleet at La Hogue. Off Beachy Head he was joined by the squadrons of Carter and Delaval, who had been watching the French ports, and by a portion of the Dutch fleet under Van Almonde. Altogether he had ninety men-of-war, the largest fleet that had been seen in the Channel since the Spanish Armada. Besides Delaval and Carter, he was assisted in the command by Sir John Ashby, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and Rear-Admiral Rooke. There was scarcely any reason to fear the defeat of such a force in a fair conflict; but as it was known that there was a Jacobite party in the navy, there were many who conceived there would be treachery. Several admirals and captains were pointed out to Mary as traitors, and she was urged to cashier them; but although she had her misgivings, she resolved not to listen to their accusers. She thought it better to appeal to the honour of the accused, than to treat them as traitors. The fleet was at St. Helen's on the 15th of May, on which day there was an unwonted scene on board the Britannia, a fine three-decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The admiral had received a despatch from Nottingham, the secretary of state, which he was directed to read to his officers. He had assembled them in his cabin for that purpose. It was a strange but judicious despatch which Russell read to them, and as he read it, Russell must have felt its covert reproach keenly. It stated that the queen had heard a report was spread abroad that some of the officers in the fleet were not hearty in their service, and that she had ordered many of them to be discharged. That report she believed had been raised by the enemies of the government, and she could not believe any portion of it. She knew that she had not discharged them, and she could not think there was any occasion to perform so painful a duty. On the contrary, she had entire confidence in their fidelity and zeal for the service of the crown and the defence of the country, and she would not displace any one of them. If any of those officers who heard this despatch read were inclined to be disloyal before, they were certainly not so after its persual. Charmed with the confidence placed in them by Queen Mary, they became most enthusiastic in their loyalty. Every one eagerly signed an address in which they assured her majesty that they would with the utmost resolution and alacrity venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom, and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and popish invaders. Nor was this a cold and formal address; it was full of the devotion of the heart. The sincerity of their professions was soon put to the test. On the evening of that day the masts of the French fleet were seen from the cliffs of Portland. The intelligence was swiftly conveyed to Russell, and on the morning of the 17th of May the allied fleets put out to sea. Tourville had sailed from Brest, and it was while he was sailing thence to La Hogue, where the French transports were receiving the army of invasion, that his masts were descried from the coasts of Devonshire. He had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line, but he had received positive orders to protect the descent, and not to decline a battle. Although Russell had solemnly declared that he would fight the French, even if James himself was on board, it was still believed that he would not carry that threat into execution. Hence it was that Tourville rather desired to meet than to avoid the English. The two fleets came in sight of each other on the morning of the 19th of May. As the wind was favourable to him, Tourville immediately bore down upon the allies. The two lines of battle were formed by eight o'clock in the morning, but three hours elapsed before there was any firing. There can be no doubt but Tourville expected some at least of the English ships to change sides, but there were no signs of defection. Russell had visited all his crews, and had charged them, if any of their commanders played false, to throw them overboard, not excepting himself. The battle was commenced by Rear-Admiral Carter, to whom tempting overtures had been made in vain by the Jacobites. Bearing down upon the French, he broke their line, but in the attack he was mortally wounded. He died exclaiming, "Fight the ship as long as she can swim." Every man among them on that day did his duty. The battle raged till four in the afternoon, the roar of the guns being heard twenty miles distant. As the wind was unfavourable to the allies, not more than half of their ships were engaged, and against that half the French fought with indomitable courage. The issue was still doubtful, when Tourville, finding that the wind had veered and was with the allies, commenced a retreat. That retreat was soon changed into a flight. Pursued by the whole force of the allies, the French fled in every direction to their own shores. About twenty of Tourville's smallest vessels made their escape through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the race of Alderney, a narrow strait between the island of Alderney and that part of the French coast which forms the peninsula of Cotentin. The courage of despair alone could have induced the French to make their way through that strait. It was the place of innumerable shipwrecks, and yet though the night was doubly dark, by reason of a thick sea fog, with all their sails spread, those twenty ships dashed passed the rocks, and reached St. Malo in safety. Those French vessels which were too large to venture into the race of Alderney fled to other parts of the French coasts. The Royal Sun, in which Tourville had fought, and which was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world, with two other three-deckers, got to Cherbourg, hotly pursued by Admiral Delaval, who attacked them as they lay hauled on the shoals, with his fire-ships and his boats' crews, when they were burned to the water's edge. During the chase Tourville had shifted his flag from the Royal Sun to the Ambitious, and with twelve other ships had got into the bay of La Hogue. Tourville thought himself safe in that bay. His ships, which were drawn up as those of Cherbourg, lay in shallow water aground, with their broadsides to the enemy, and were, moreover, under the protection of forts and batteries. The army of James, also, was close at hand, and the artillery, intended for the invasion of England, was planted on the shore in such a manner that Marshal Bellefond conceived no enemy would dare to approach. James himself was at La Hogue. He had fixed his head-quarters in Fort St. Vaast, where the flags of England and France waved over his head. Tourville had been followed to La Hogue by Russell himself, with the greater part of his victorious fleet. Preparations were made by him for an attack. It was a dangerous enterprise, but there was no shrinking from the danger. James soon saw with his own eyes that the men whom he had hoped would fight for him were ready to risk their lives for the crown of his rival and the cause of their country. On the 23rd of May, a flotilla consisting of sloops, fire-ships, and two hundred boats moved boldly into the bay. They were led by Admiral Rooke. Rooke stationed his sloops as near as he could to the French ships of the line, and then left the rest to the men in the boats. They were to board and burn, and do the best they could. As they rowed along they were assailed by a terrible fire from the guns of the ships, and from cannons and musketry on the shore. But on they rowed with loud huzzas towards the six ships which lay under the protection of Fort Lisset. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats and encounter the English, but it was in vain. There was a panic both in the French fleet and army. As the English sailors got alongside the huge vessels, they drew their cutlasses, and with a tremendous shout boarded them, pointed their guns against the batteries and forts on shore, and then set them on fire. Having performed this service, they retreated to their ships in the evening without the loss of a single man. But the work was as yet only half done. There were yet other French ships lying near Fort St. Vaast to be destroyed. On the following morning therefore, Rooke with his terrible flotilla was again in the bay. On came the rowers once more, little heeding the fire from the fort and the shore. This time some execution was done among the brave seamen, but the struggle was soon over. The same scene was enacted as on the previous day. Drawing their cutlasses, the English poured into the ships on one side, while the French poured out of them as fast on the other. The captured guns were turned against the batteries on the shore, which were quickly silenced, and the English were left to their work of destruction unmolested. Every French ship of the line fell a prey to the flames, together with a number of merchant vessels and transports. As the flames ascended toward heaven, the victorious flotilla slowly retired to the fleet, singing in triumph and in defiance of the hostile camp on shore, "God save the king." In the midst of the conflagration, as some of his attendants fell by his side from the discharge of some of the loaded guns of the ship, James exclaimed, "Heaven fights against me!" He, with Melfort, Bellefond, and Tourville, witnessed the destruction in dismay, and giving up all for lost, at least for the present, the exiled monarch returned to his tent, and from his tent he repaired to St. Germains to his wife, Mary of Este.

This great conflict, which had raged during five days over a vast extent of sea and shore, is called from the place where it ended, "The battle of La Hogue." The victory was complete. There was no longer any fear of an invasion. And it had been won without any great sacrifice of life on the side of the English. The only two officers of note who had fallen were Rear-Admiral Carter, and Captain Hastings, of the Sandwich. It was a great victory, and our ancestors were justly proud of it. There was boundless exultation throughout the country when the tidings arrived. Whigs and Tories joined in thanking God for this great naval victory. There was plenty of bell-ringing, and a vast consumption of fuel in bonfires and candles in illuminations, in token of the general joy. The success, also, was recognized by marks of national gratitude. Thirty-seven thousand pounds were distributed among the sailors, and gold medals were given to the officers. Carter and Hastings were buried with unusual military pomp, in honour of their valour, and every tender care was shown to the maimed and wounded; and no one in the country was more grateful for the deliverance of the throne and the people from the threatened danger than Queen Mary. As a lasting memorial of gratitude for the victory of La Hogue, she declared, in her husband's name, that the palace which Charles the Second had commenced at Greenwich for his kingly state should be completed, and become for ever an asylum for the disabled "mariners of England."

The alarm which the nation had felt in the prospect of an invasion and a rising had been attended by much injustice towards nonjurors. There was a feeling abroad that every nonjuror was a traitor, and in many parts of England they could not show their faces without running the risk of being insulted. Nay, more: some of their houses were attacked and their lives endangered. A report that arms were hidden in their houses was quite sufficient to bring a mob about their doors to ransack, if not to destroy their property. And this was not the worst feature of the suspicion that had taken fast hold upon the public mind. Government and the people alike lent their ears to the tales of vile informers, greedy of gold, and cunning and ill-principled as Titus Oates. Conspicuous among these was Robert Young, a man whom neither England, Scotland, nor Ireland would own as a native. At the time of the western insurrection, Young had been the accuser of the Presbyterians, who he said were plotting against James, but was proved to be a false witness; and after the Revolution he had sought the favour of King William by accusing some of the leading men in England of being concerned in a plot, "as deep as hell," against their majesties. William, however, turned a deaf ear to his tale. But when William was on the Continent, and the nation was alarmed by reports of an invasion and of a Jacobite insurrection, Young had good grounds for hoping that he might obtain a more favourable audience. He was then in prison for non-payment of a fine, where he was likely to be for years if not for life; but he could so well imitate the handwriting of individuals, that it would be difficult to discover his imitations from the originals. With the signatures of many Jacobites he was well acquainted. Accordingly Young, in the hope of obtaining his release from Newgate, drew up a paper purporting to be an association for the restoration of King James. To that paper there were appended the signatures of Marlborough, Scarsdale, Cornbury, Salisbury, Sancroft, Bishop Sprat, and Sir Basil Firebrace. By that deed the conspirators bound themselves to take up arms for his majesty, and to seize the prince of Orange, dead or alive. Having forged his document, the next thing Young had to consider was, by what means it could be brought to light without its being suspected to be a forgery. His fertile brain soon concocted a plan. As he could not quit Newgate, he selected as an accomplice one Blackhead, who was as great a villain as himself. Blackhead repaired to Sprat's palace at Bromley, under pretence of delivering a letter of importance to the bishop from some imaginary church dignitary, and while there he contrived to deposit the association paper in a flower-pot in the parlour. Having thus prepared everything, Young made it known to the ministers that he could tell them something of the highest importance to the state. It was a moment when ministers would not refuse to listen to any one who professed to be able to give them any information which might save the ship of state from foundering. Tourville had just put out to sea, and the army of James was embarking for England. Accordingly both Young and his accomplice were brought before the council, to tell their tale. It was told so circumstantially, and had such an air of truth about it, that Marlborough was at once arrested and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued for the apprehension of some of the other conspirators, and Sprat was taken into custody. But the truth was soon made manifest. Sprat and his accusers were brought face to face, and Blackhead, hard pressed by cross-questions, confessed his guilt; and the forgery being fully proved, Young was placed in the pillory. When Marlborough was committed to the Tower for appending his name to the association, he solemnly declared that it was a forgery, and within forty-eight hours after the discovery of the fraud he was admitted to bail. He was still suspected and distrusted, but a great number of noted Jacobites who had been arrested were set at liberty.

While these varied events were transpiring, King William was engaged in the great war on the Continent. He arrived at the Hague on the 6th of March. On his arrival he had again much work to do to keep the coalition together. Only two powers were hearty in the common cause—England and Holland. It was the wealth of England and Holland, and the great skill of William as a negotiator, which kept the alliance from crumbling to pieces. William could not offer a suggestion without being met by a demand for a subsidy. Sometimes he was tempted to refuse the demands made upon him; but if there was to be no pay there was to be no fighting, and he was compelled to yield to his allies' importunities. The German princes especially were kept together by his largesses, otherwise they would one by one have thrown themselves at the feet of France. Nor were the Scandinavian powers more disinterested in the cause than these mercenary German potentates. To preserve *their* alliance, William had to waive some of his maritime rights, which caused him a hard struggle. On one occasion William wrote in despair to his friend Heinsius, that if the allies did nothing for themselves, the sooner the alliance went to pieces the better. But he could not withdraw from a cause which had for its object the salvation of the whole civilized world. William felt, and felt rightly, that the powers with whom he was allied deserved to fall under French domination, but he could not surrender Europe to so bitter a thraldom. The union, however incongruous, was preserved. But by no exertions and no bribes could William prevail on his allies to be *active* in the cause. And yet it was a time when activity was more needed than ever. While they lingered the French king put himself at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men and marched towards Namur. Namur, situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, was one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. Its citadel was fortified by both nature and art. It stood proudly on a lofty rock, and seemed impregnable. The town below, defended only by art, might fall a prey to the French, but it was not conceived possible that its castle could. It was the boast of the people, that in all the wars which had devastated the Netherlands, their strong fortress had defied the power of their enemies. Such a conquest Louis conceived would greatly add to the renown of the French arms, and therefore he laid siege to Namur. At the head of thirty thousand of his troops Louis conducted the siege in person; while Luxembourg, with the rest of the army, occupied a strong position on the road between Namur and Brussels, to protect the besiegers from the army of the allies. Louis had with him the celebrated Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the time; while Namur had within its walls his rival Cohorne, the engineer of the States-General. The siege had already commenced when the allies under William took the field. William hastened towards Namur, in the hope of compelling the French to raise the siege. He menaced their works alternately from the west, north, and south; but as *he* turned, Luxembourg turned, and always so strongly posted, that he could not be attacked with any hope of success. Meanwhile the besiegers made rapid progress. They had many difficulties to encounter beside those created by nature, devised by the science of Cohorne. The early summer of 1692 was stormy. Day after day the rain came pouring down, and the trenches were soon filled with water, and its offspring, mud. The whole country on the banks of the Sambre, which overflowed, became a swamp. The roads became impassable for waggons, and ammunition and provisions were obliged to be carried to the men in the trenches on the backs of the war horses. Still the soldiers of Louis carried on the siege with surprising vigour; and they obeyed their sovereign's authority cheerfully. Every day they gained ground; but had not Cohorne been wounded, Namur might yet have been saved. There was no one to supply his place, and the governor and the garrison losing heart, surrendered. With the deepest mortification William was a spectator of the victory of his enemy. The French monarch was elated beyond measure. His victory raised his arrogance to the highest point. Medals were struck to commemorate his success, the inscriptions on which were boastful and sarcastic. He was the great king, and William was but a pigmy compared with him! No one but he, except Jupiter himself, could have achieved such a triumph! The triumph was a great one, and the confederates who had witnessed it felt their lack of power to relieve the proud fortress keenly. But this triumph of the French king was not without its alloy. While he lay triumphant before Namur, there was a loud shout and a great booming of guns in the camp of the allies. The news had reached them of the victory of La Hogue, and their salutes wrung the heart of the great king with anguish. To him that victory was more fatal than the capture of Namur was important to his cause. It was the first blow struck at his power, but not the last. In a few months the boastful monarch was taught, that whatever he and his people might think, his power was not invincible.

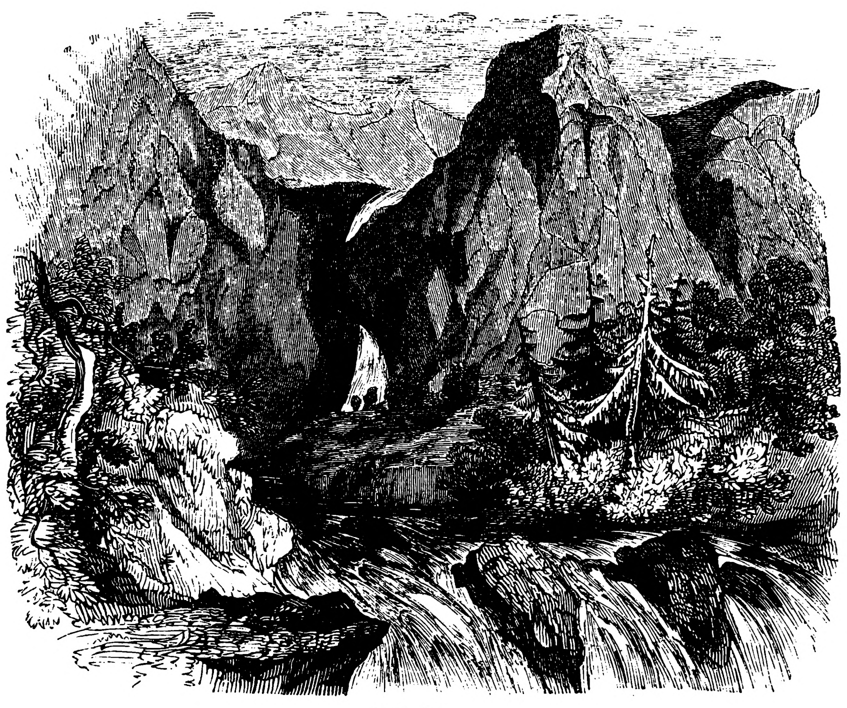
Upon the surrender of Namur, Louis returned to Paris. His soldiers remained under Luxembourg. William burned to revenge himself on the enemy for the humiliation he had endured at the sight of his victory. He hoped yet to convert the Te Deum Louis had ordered to be sung throughout France into a dirge. He watched Luxembourg narrowly, resolved to fight if an opportunity offered. Towards the close of July he perceived that the French were off their guard. Relying upon the strength of his position, Luxembourg, who loved his ease, indulged himself in card playing and the luxuries of the table, and the young princes and nobles who served under him followed his example. The marshal was the more confident because he had his emissaries in the English camp, on whom he relied for intelligence regarding William's movements. One of his correspondents, Millevoix, secretary of the elector of Bavaria, was detected, and made to write a letter to Luxembourg subservient to William's purpose. The head-quarters of William were at Lambeque; Luxembourg was at Steinkirk with the main body of his army, about six miles off. The position of the French marshal was covered by a wood and thick hedges, which were traversed by narrow and intricate defiles. Through one of these defiles, which terminated in a small plain on the enemy's right wing, an attack was determined upon by the confederates. This was known to Millevoix, who wrote a letter to apprise Luxembourg of their intentions. That letter, however, fell into the hands of William, and with a pistol at his head, Millevoix was compelled to write another letter to Luxembourg, well calculated to confirm him in his supineness. William now urged forward the preparations for an assault on the French lines. The assault was made on Sunday, the 24th of July. Led by the prince of Wurtemberg and General Mackay, the English van poured through the defile like a deluge. It was in the grey of the morning that the advance was made. A terrible onset swept away a brigade half a mile from the main army of the French marshal, as it were in a moment. The French ran for their lives, leaving their tents and seven pieces of cannon in the hands of their assailants. Luxembourg was awakened from his slumbers by the tidings which scouts hastened to bring him. At first he was incredulous. Millevoix's letter had informed him that the English would come on that day towards the French army to forage, and that a portion of the allied army would be at hand to protect the foragers, and that was the meaning of the alarm raised! But scout after scout arrived, and Luxembourg was at last convinced of the reality of the attack. It would have been too late for him to have roused himself if the advance of the allies had not been obstructed by the nature of the ground over which they had to pass. William had expected that his troops would be able to push forward without a moment's pause, and that he should find the French army in such disorder that a victory would be easy and complete. But there were hedges and ditches to pass, and the flying French to pursue over them, before the allies could reach the main army, and when they did the French were found in order of battle. The affair was no longer a surprise: it became a battle for the mastery in a bloody struggle. William himself was engaged in it at the head of some infantry. For three hours there was a desperate fight. Sometimes the combatants fought with their muskets, muzzle to muzzle. On both sides the most heroic valour was displayed. The issue was still doubtful, when Marshal Boufflers, who lay with a considerable force six miles further off, came up to the aid of Luxembourg. The English bore the brunt of the battle. The brave Mackay led the way with his division, and having driven back the Swiss, who held a distinguished place in the French army, with fearful slaughter, engaged the French king's household guards, headed by the princes of the blood. The contest was long and bloody, but it was unequal. Count Solmes, who commanded the British, was to have supported Mackay's division with both cavalry and infantry, but Solmes stood aloof from the conflict. The result was disastrous. Five fine regiments were cut to pieces. No part of that devoted band would have escaped the slaughter, if Auverquerque had not rushed to their rescue with two fresh battalions. In that deadly struggle Mackay fell covered with wounds, and with him perished Douglas and Lanier, two generals who had distinguished themselves in Ireland. William's enterprise failed, but on each side there were about seven thousand killed and wounded, and the allied army returned to Lambeque unmolested. Luxembourg claimed a victory, but he could not deny that he had sustained a perilous surprise, and he was in no condition to follow up his advantage. The moral effect of the battle was great. In France the news was received with high exultation: in England with deep resentment. The army and the nation were indignant that Solmes, a foreigner, should have been placed in the command of English troops, and then calmly look on while they were slaughtered. It is said that William looked upon their slaughter with agony, and it is certain that the intrepidity they displayed on this memorable occasion raised both them and their country high in his estimation. Their intrepidity was the more remarkable because the greater part of them had never been under fire; while those whom they encountered were the finest body of veterans in the world. There was but little done in this campaign after the battle of Steinkirk. King William still continued, by dint of invincible fortitude and a genius fruitful in resources, to be a formidable enemy to the French. That he was so considered by them is evident from their extravagant joy at this success over his arms. To get rid of him the French ministry were base enough, in the month of August, to attempt to encompass his assassination. The conspiracy was discovered through one Leefdale, a Dutchman. M. de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the French service, who was employed on this deadly mission, with the guilty knowledge of both Louis and James, engaged Leefdale and one Dumont, a Walloon, as accomplices. Grandval entered the Netherlands on his sanguinary errand, and his movements were watched and his words noted. Before he left France he had been heard to say that there was a design in hand that would confound all Europe; that the prince of Orange would not live a month. This report had gone before him, and soon after he arrived in the Netherlands he was arrested. Grandval was brought to trial before a military court, but the duty of the court was very simple. No defence was attempted. With apparent remorse, the accused confessed the truth of the charge laid against him, implicating in his confession the courts of Versailles and St. Germains. Grandval was executed, and his confession was printed and circulated in several languages. That his confession was based on truth is clear, for no answer was made to its circumstantial statements. The French government said nothing at all on the matter, and though the Jacobites took some pains afterwards to exculpate James, it was fruitless. The world believed that both kings were partakers in the guilt of Grandval, and that belief has been confirmed in our own days by documentary evidence found in the archives of Versailles.

William returned to England on the 18th of October. There was every sign of a hearty welcome displayed on his reappearance. Illuminations, loyal addresses, and solemn thanksgivings for his safe return, were the order of the day. If he had not gained any great victory on the Continent, the atrocious design of his assassination had raised him wonderfully in the popular affection. He was now the acknowledged king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. For it was early in this year that Scotland had been brought to acquiesce in the new government. Unfortunately, however, this event was stained by a crime, which was employed by his enemies to cast odium upon him. And if that crime was perpetrated with his knowledge and consent, then a great blot must ever rest upon his otherwise fair fame. In the Lowlands, the Scotch had, ever since the parliamentary session of 1790, been good and loyal subjects to William and Mary. But it was not so in the Highlands. It is evident, however, that William was unwilling to subdue them by force of arms. While they remained in their mountains, the Highlanders could do his government but little harm. Still he would rather they would become loyal subjects, that he might not fear any further resistance from them; and to that end, in spite of the opposition of the master of Stair, he resolved to try a plan, by means of money, to quiet the Highlands, rather than appeal to the sword. He resolved that fifteen thousand pounds should be distributed among the highland chiefs, to disarm their opposition. The sum appears trifling for such a purpose, but if William's choice of an agent had been fortunate, it was ample. Fifteen thousand pounds to an inhabitant of the Highlands was an amount of treasure at that day positively fabulous. William's agent was John, earl of Breadalbane, a great highland lord of the race of Campbell, with large domains, and who could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field. Breadalbane had, ten years before the Revolution, marched into the Lowlands with such a force in support of prelatical tyranny, and after the Revolution he had in turn sworn fealty to William and Mary, and then plotted against them. At this time, however, he professed to be a loyal subject to their majesties, and his position and connections marked him out as the proper person to carry out his sovereign's designs. Breadalbane came into the Highlands, and invited the chiefs to a conference at his residence in Glenorchy. When assembled he made his overtures. The money was ready for them, he said, locked up in a chest at London, and it would be forthcoming when they gave in their submission. The money was really in his own coffers, but treating with the chiefs assembled, he pressed for an indemnification. He was to be paid for injuries done to his property before they received any of the gold entrusted to his care. This was especially to be the case with MacIan of Glencoe, whose clan, the MacDonalds, had been bad neighbours to Breadalbane. But MacIan was impracticable upon such terms, and other chiefs followed his example. In the month of August, 1691, therefore, the government determined to bring the submission of the Highlands to an issue. Proclamation was made, offering indemnity to all who should take the oaths on or before the last day of December, and in default threatening the extremities of military execution. All who held out after that date were to be treated as traitors; and warlike preparations were made, which showed that the threat would be executed. Although with considerable reluctance, all the chiefs except MacIan had by the 31st of December repaired to Fort William and taken the oaths. MacIan appears to have waited to the last day out of sheer pride. But his gratification was dearly bought. On the 31st of December, he too repaired to Fort William with his vassals, to take the oaths. It was too late. There was no one in the fort competent to take them. What was to be done? There was no magistrate nearer than Inverary, and he could not hope to reach that place for some days to come. The road lay over steep mountains, and along boggy valleys obstructed by snow-storms, and he was aged. With a letter from Hill, the governor, however, commending him to the sheriff of Inverary, the aged chieftain set out on his weary journey. It was on the 6th of January that he reached Inverary, and not without hesitation and scruples as to his power, the sheriff, Sir Colin Campbell, overcome by MacIan's tears and entreaties, administered the oath. A certificate was transmitted to the council at Edinburgh, setting forth the peculiar circumstances under which the oath had been administered. If that council had transmitted this certificate to King William, the proud old chief and his clan would have been safe. But it was not transmitted to him. It was not even laid before the council at Edinburgh. It was submitted to some persons high in office, among whom was Lord President Stair, the father of William's secretary, by whom it was pronounced irregular—and cancelled. At that time there were three powerful Scotchmen at the English court. These were Breadalbane, his kinsman Argyle, and the master of Stair. The news that MacIan had not submitted within the prescribed time was received by them with cruel exultation. It was felt by them to be a good opportunity of getting rid of the hated clan of the MacDonalds. These three powerful Scotchmen, therefore, banded together for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. Their plan was concerted, and it succeeded. It was necessary that the king's pleasure should be taken, but it was not necessary he should be informed of the details. The question with him was whether the MacDonalds should or should not be treated as rebels. But it does not appear that they were represented to him as rebels, but as lawless banditti. He was not told that MacIan had appeared at Fort William on the last day, to take the oaths, and was prevented from doing so by the non-presence of a magistrate. This is clear from the wording of the order respecting them. That order formed but a brief paragraph in a lengthened document, and it reads thus:—"As for MacIan of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." It was "thieves," therefore, and not rebels, against whom the order was directed. Burnet says, indeed, that William did not read that which he did sign, which—as princes too often sign documents of the full contents of which they are ignorant—may be true. But even if he did read it before he affixed his signature, there does not appear any reason why odium should be attached to his memory for the deed. As the fountain head of justice, William was bound for the welfare of his subjects to punish the lawless. And an example of how he punished them was given in England during the autumn of this very year. In September, the queen had issued a proclamation for the apprehension of highwaymen, who, at this time, had become the terror of all peaceable subjects. But these gangs of banditti were not shot down or murdered, as we shall see the MacDonalds were, while sleeping in their beds unaware of danger. They were brought to trial and punished in due form of law. And this was just the way the MacDonalds should have been punished, and as William clearly meant they should be. This appears evident from the words, "If they can well be distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders." If they were thieves more daring and lawless than all the clans, then they were to be brought to justice. But could they be so distinguished? If not, then every highland tribe whose calling was to lay waste the estates of neighbouring clans, and steal their cattle, and burn their houses to the ground, should have been suppressed in their lawlessness, or the people of Glencoe could not justly have been affected by that order. They were clearly not to be extirpated or suppressed if they "could not well be distinguished from other clans," as history shows they could not be. But even if they had been, the plain meaning of the order was, that those guilty among them should be brought to justice, and not that a band of infuriated soldiers should be let loose upon them, to kill, burn, and destroy without mercy.

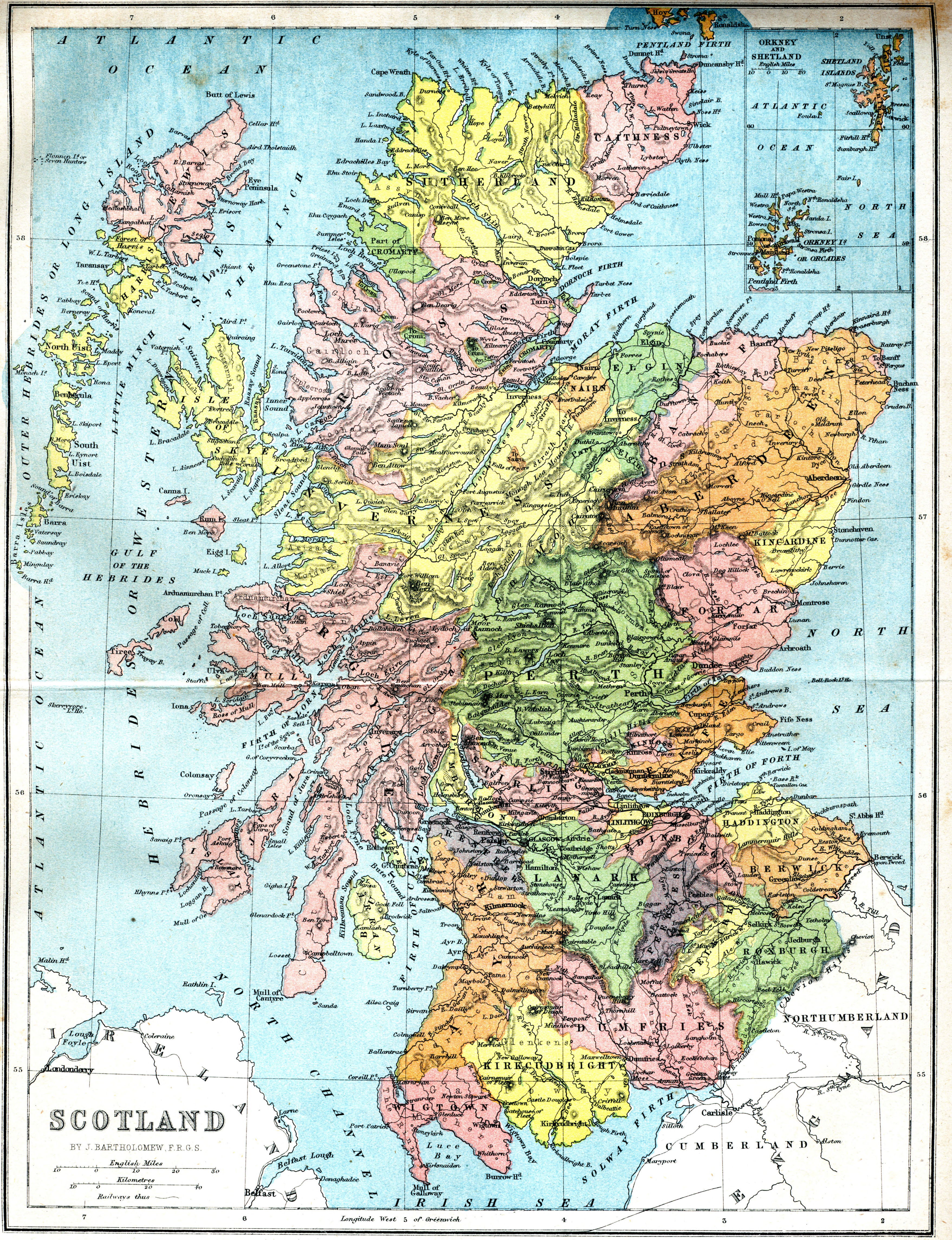
Yet so was the fatal instrument signed by King William acted upon. Having obtained his signature, the master of Stair had his fell design carried out with alacrity. No time was lost. The execution of the design was not entrusted to Hill, the commander of the forces at Fort William. He was too humane for such a purpose. Hill was directed to put a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton. Hamilton was to march with eight hundred men straight to Glencoe; and his orders were explicit. He was to root out the doomed clan, and he was to do his work secretly and suddenly. He was not to harry their cattle and burn their houses, for that would render them desperate, lawless men, and provoke resistance. If the least alarm were given, said the master of Stair, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and it would be better not to meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. The earls of Argyle and Breadalbane had promised that the MacDonalds should have no rest in their bounds; but if they had escaped from their own valley it would have been a long and difficult business to have hunted them down in so wild a region. Care was taken, therefore, that they should not escape. Hamilton directed Major Duncanson to secure all the avenues, and Duncanson despatched Captain Robert Campbell with a hundred and twenty men of Argyle's regiment to Glencoe. Campbell of Glenlyon arrived in the valley on the 1st of February. No better choice for the bloody work on hand could have been made. He had an unblushing forehead, a smooth lying tongue, and a heart in which dwelt no spark of mercy. The MacDonalds and Cambpells had no affection for each other. Glenlyon's niece, however, was married to the second son of MacIan, and when he represented that they came as friends, and asked for quarters, having been sent to Fort William, which was overcrowded, he and his soldiers were received with true highland hospitality. All their old feuds seemed to be forgotten. There was no suspicion entertained by the MacDonalds of the design of their visitors. MacIan had taken the oath before the sheriff of Argyle, and both he and his clansmen had full trust in the indemnity of the government. For twelve days they lived as Highlander with Highlander. The Campbells had meat and drink without payment, and were lodged in the huts of the MacDonalds, to shelter them from the snow-storms. Glenlyon made himself everything that was agreeable to his intended victims. He played at cards in those long winter evenings with the old chief, and every morning he drank his usquebaugh with the husband of his niece in the most friendly manner. On the night of the twelfth he entertained the two sons of MacIan at supper. But during these twelve days of friendly intercourse with MacIan and his clan, Campbell had observed with minute attention all the avenues by which they might escape to the hills when the signal was given, and had reported the result of his observations to Hamilton. Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the 13th of February for the slaughter. By that time he hoped to have safely secured all the avenues, and to arrive in the valley with four hundred men to assist in the massacre. The night was stormy. Wind and snow delayed Hamilton's progress. Campbell, however, had re-received orders to "fall on," should he not arrive. He was instructed that it was by the king's special command the miscreants should be cut off root and branch. All under the age of seventy years at least were to be put to the sword. To disarm suspicion, Campbell, and his lieutenant, Lindsay, who was as deceitful and bloodthirsty as himself, engaged to dine with the old chief on the morrow. But suspicion was not now altogether disarmed. Late in the evening, the oldest son of MacIan conceived that mischief was afloat. He observed that the soldiers were in a restless state, and two of them were overheard whispering; one remarking that he did not like the business of killing men in their beds, and the other replying that they must obey their orders, and if anything was wrong their officers would have to answer for it. So uneasy was John MacDonald, that soon after midnight he went to Glenlyon's quarters, and finding his men arming, he asked what these preparations meant. "We are getting ready," replied Glenlyon, unblushingly, "to march against Glengarry's people, who have been harrying the country. You are safe. Do you think that if you were in any danger I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife?" John MacDonald went home with his fears quieted, and laid him down to rest. The fatal hour soon arrived. Hamilton was still some miles off, but Campbell obeyed his orders. The slaughter commenced in the little village where he was quartered. His host, Inverrigen, and nine other MacDonalds, were dragged out of their beds and murdered. A boy twelve years of age begged for mercy, but was stabbed by an officer named Drummond. Lindsay and his party went to the house of the old chief. In friendly language he asked admission, and the door was opened. "Bring some refreshment for my visitors," cried MacIan to his servants, and as he spoke he was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him, and his wife was stripped of her clothes and trinkets, and died the following day from ill usage. Their two sons escaped. In another hamlet, Auchanion, a sergeant named Barbour, with his detachment, shot Auchintriator and seven others as they sat round the fire. His brother escaped unhurt. He asked as a favour to be allowed to die in the open air. Barbour replied that he would grant it "for the sake of your meat which I have eaten." The mountaineer came forth, and rushing on the soldiers who stood ready to fire, flung his plaid over their faces, and vanished in the darkness. After all, the massacre which the master of Stair had planned with such consummate ability, and which he intended to be complete, was only complete in guilt and infamy. Had the cold steel been used instead of the musket, but few would have lived till the dawn of day. The peal and flash of gun after gun, however, aroused the sleepers of the valley, and told them that murder was doing. From fifty cottages their inmates rushed into the darkness, and fled under the cover of that friendly shelter to the recesses of their pathless glen. When Hamilton arrived he found that the work was not even half done. About thirty-eight were slain; but three-fourths of the adults, with their wives and children, were gone he knew not whither. One aged MacDonald only was found alive. He was above seventy, and was therefore not included in the orders under which Glenlyon acted, but Hamilton murdered him in cold blood. Then setting the huts of the tribe on fire, the troops departed, driving the cattle of the dispersed clan before them, as lawful prey. The sufferings of the fugitives, as may be imagined, were terrible. Many slept their last sleep in the treacherous snow, while others perished with hunger in the caverns of Glencoe, into which they had crept to escape their assassins. When the troops had retired the survivors returned to their valley and buried the dead. According to tradition, the hereditary bard of the tribe "sat alone upon a rock," and looking down upon the desolation, "composed a long dismal song." The valley had in after years again a population, and the bard's dirge served to remind them of the pitiless slaughter and the ruin which the Campbells, acting under the orders of the master of Stair, had wrought in their glen.

Eager as Breadalbane had been to get rid of his neighbours, the hated MacDonalds, he became more eager to wash the guilt from his soul. His agent visited the miserable remnant of the clan of the MacDonalds, with large promises, if they would only sign a paper declaring that his lord was guiltless. Glenlyon, too, the man with the "heart of adamant," was not proof against the voice of conscience. The very form of his countenance was changed. Guilt was stamped on his bold, unblushing forehead. "Glencoe hung about him, and it was seen in his face." Hill, the commander of Fort William, although perhaps the most guiltless of the whole crew of the murderers, was greatly disturbed by the event, and it embittered his existence. Hamilton appears to have had more hardihood in the matter, but that he endeavoured to rid himself of the burden of guilt is evident from a letter written to him by the master of Stair from the Hague. On the 30th of April he writes:—"For the people of Glencoe, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself by showing all your orders, which are now put in the 'Paris Gazette.' When you do right you need fear nobody. All that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as it might have been." He held that there was no duty more sacred than to rid the country of thievery, and boldly regretted that any one MacDonald was left alive. He, therefore, the most guilty of all concerned in the massacre of Glencoe, appears to have had neither fear nor remorse. But his crime was not suffered to sink into oblivion; nor (as will be seen in a future page, though for the present he lived in fancied security) was that crime allowed wholly to pass over unpunished. Three years after, the cry of the blood shed at Glencoe made itself heard, and its stigma was at length fixed upon his head and conscience, and went down with him to the grave.

Meanwhile the records of history were fraught with important events. The session of parliament which William opened on the 4th of November, after his return from the Continent, was singularly eventful. It was a session from which dates a new era in the history of English finance, and in which some grave constitutional questions, not yet set at rest, were first debated. In his speech William displayed more than ordinary warmth of feeling. He expressed his warmest thanks for the large supplies granted in the last session, and his regret that he was compelled to ask for a further supply to maintain a force by sea and land. He knew, he said, how heavy this charge was upon his people, and it afflicted him to learn that it was not possible to be avoided, without exposing the kingdom to inevitable ruin. It was painful to him to call upon them to make sacrifices, but they were sacrifices necessary to the safety of the English nation and the Protestant religion; and he was assured that no good Englishman and no good Protestant would shrink from making them. He still hoped, therefore, for their advice and assistance, which as yet had never failed him. The



GLENCOE.



ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ORKNEY AND SHETLAND
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ISLE OF SKYE
GULF OF THE HEBRIDES
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLES
MULL
Islay
Jura
Arran
Bute
NORTH CHANNEL
IRISH SEA
SOLWAY FIRTH
FIRTH OF CLYDE
FIRTH OF LORN
FIRTH OF FORTH
MORAY FIRTH
DORNOCH FIRTH
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
CROMARTY
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SCOTLAND

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

Commons thanked the king most warmly for his gracious speech, and set about considering the matter of advice, but there was considerable reluctance displayed in giving their assistance. As for the Lords, they commenced their deliberations by an unusual display of ill-humour. As before related, several of their order had been sent to the Tower when the country was threatened by an invasion, and two of them—Marlborough and Huntingdon—were still under recognisances. The Lords were indignant that any member of their House should be thus treated. Their order was too sacred to be thus touched by the law. Their pride was so deeply wounded, that the king was induced to soothe their feelings by ordering the recognisances to be cancelled, but at the same time ministers were exonerated by a Bill of Indemnity. Both Houses were disposed to hinder rather than facilitate the public business. When William asked their advice, he did not foresee that his invitation would be construed to mean a scrutiny into every part of the administration. Some of the discontented peers, however, put that meaning upon his words. A proposal was made that a committee, consisting of members of both Houses, should be authorised to inquire into the whole management of public affairs; which committee, had it been appointed, would have been independent of the crown and repugnant to the principles of the constitution. The motion was rejected; but it was only lost by a narrow majority, and eighteen peers signed a protest against its rejection. In both Houses inquiries were made into the causes of the public calamities. All the events of the year were reviewed by them—with the exception of the massacre of Glencoe—in extenso, but with small results.

One victim was sacrificed on the altar of party feeling. The Tories attempted to ruin the Whig admiral, Russell, and the Whigs to unseat the Tory secretary of state, Nottingham. In the House of Commons the Whigs had the advantage. During the sitting of the grand committee of advice, the miscarriages which had followed the battle of La Hogue were taken into consideration. A motion implying censure on Nottingham was passed by a majority of one only in a full house, whereupon Nottingham appealed to the Lords to defend him. He laid a mass of papers on the table, which, when their lordships had read, they sent them down to the Commons, with a message that in their opinion their vote of censure should have fallen on the head of Russell. Russell had gained a great victory, and had become highly popular in that House. Instead, therefore, of calling him to an account for any delinquency, they passed a resolution expressing the warmest approbation of his conduct. The result of this contest was that King William, who had been offended by several things unfolded in the debate, and being doubtless acquainted with the fact that Russell had been corresponding with the court of St. Germains, eventually dismissed the Whig admiral, and retained the Tory secretary. But in another instance William was not so willing to gratify the feelings of the Tory peers. In both Houses there was a strong feeling against the employment of the Dutch in any office, but especially in placing a Dutch general at the head of the English army. The whole battle of Steinkirk was fought over again, and severe reflections were made upon the conduct of Solmes. The general cry was, "Let English soldiers be commanded by none but English generals." The result of the debate in the Commons was of a negative character. The conduct of Solmes was bitterly denounced, but no vote of censure was passed upon him. The Commons only hoped that what had been said in the grand committee of advice would be reported to the king, and that he would act in accordance with the general wish of the representatives of the people. But if the Commons were cautious in giving advice to King William, who after all would have used his own ripe judgment as to whether he accepted it or not, the Lords, more proud than they, did not. They presumed even to dictate to a king, whom they must have known would never submit to any dictation, from whatever body of his subjects it might emanate. While the Commons regarded the king's foreign friends with a dislike simply in a national point of view, the Peers regarded them with jealousy. And this feeling was strongly inflamed by the efforts of Marlborough, who, suspected as he was, aimed at being placed at the head of the army. Actuated therefore by their jealousy, the Peers presented an address to William, urging him not to place the English troops under a foreign general. In that address they represented that it would be his wisdom to prefer the youngest English general to the oldest general of his own country. But lest William should conclude that their address had reference to the interests of their own order, the Lords took a wider range in their counsels. In the Commons it had been gravely proposed that the king should be requested to dismiss two Dutchmen employed in the ordnance department. To the honour of that House, this absurd proposal was received with derisive shouts of laughter; and yet the Lords in their address solemnly counselled his Majesty not to employ any foreigner in his magazines. But all their counsel was thrown away upon King William. He returned an answer, but it was curt and unsatisfactory. The address should be considered! At this time Marlborough was pining for place, but William did not think it fit to intrust the command of any of his troops to him until he was convinced he would be faithful. And that he would at present have been so, was doubtful; for while he was seeking employment from William, he was all the while intriguing with James.

Although the Commons were in an ill humour, their hostility was directed against the ministry rather than against the king. If they could not agree as to what advice they should give him, they gave him their hearty support, which was perhaps all he really wanted. A general supply was voted on the 22nd of November, and ten days later the sums granted for each service were specified. Altogether nearly five millions were voted. But among the ways and means devised there was one which had a permanent influence on the condition of the country. This was "An Act for granting to their majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of 1,000,000*l.* towards carrying on the war against France. This was the origin of the national debt of England. The 1,000,000*l.* were speedily subscribed, for there were many hundreds, if not thousands of people, who were at a loss to know how they could place out their savings safely and profitably. When therefore the Commons empowered William to borrow money on the taxes, it was quickly forthcoming. The French monarch Louis, who found it almost impossible to wring the means of supporting his army and his court by cruel exactions from his subjects, was amazed at the comparative ease with which taxes were raised, and a million of money borrowed upon the credit of them. When he learned that the Commons of England had determined to lay on themselves a burden which neither they nor their fathers had borne, he exclaimed: "My little cousin of Orange seems fixed in the saddle." But by way of consoling himself he added: "No matter, the last piece of gold will win." The last piece of gold, however, was far more likely to fall to the lot of William, for the people of England were in a far better condition to support the burden of war till the victory was gained than the beggared peasantry of France.

With the Commons of England the war with France was popular, and hence their liberality. But it was not so with the Lords. Early in the year 1693 their lordships discovered a disposition to stop the progress of the bills of supply. The marquis of Halifax and the earl of Musgrave induced their House to engraft a clause on the land-tax bill, that the peers should tax themselves. The bill as amended was sent down to the Commons, who rejected the amendment with indignation. It was returned to the peers with an intimation that they must not presume to alter laws relating to money. Some of the Lords were obstinate. Musgrave in particular inveighed bitterly against the haughty pretensions of the plebeians. But Musgrave's eloquence failed to convince their lordships that it would be wise and well to continue a conflict with the Commons on a matter of supply. They passed the bill without alteration.

In other matters the two Houses were more unanimous. On the 22nd of January complaint was made to the Commons that a pamphlet entitled, "King William and Queen Mary, conquerors," contained matter of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberties of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom. It had been licensed by Edmund Bohun, Esq., who at the time of the Revolution had been appointed to the critical office of censor. The Commons examined the matter, and while they ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman, they prayed the crown to remove him from his office for suffering it to be printed. Bohun was removed, and with his dismissal the system of licensing came to an end: the "Act for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed books and pamphlets, and for regulating printing and printing presses," which had been rigidly acted upon in the reign of the Stuarts, was suffered to expire.

During this session there were two attempts made to bring about what may be called a reform in parliament. The servility of this parliament had rendered it unpopular in the public mind. There was a loud outcry raised against it. It was sometimes nicknamed the "Officers' Parliament," and sometimes the "Standing Parliament." The term "Officers' Parliament" was not wholly inappropriate. The house swarmed with placemen. Electors sent up to Westminster men whom they considered to be independent, but in a very few weeks many of them became dependants on the crown. However, they passed no "Self-denying Ordinance." What they did was this. By a bill which was readily passed, all placemen who should be elected after February were to be excluded from sitting as members of the House of Commons. This bill, by which the members carefully guarded their own interests, went through all its stages rapidly and without a division; but it met with stern opposition in the Lords, and was finally rejected. Scarcely, however, had this Place Bill been thrown out by the Lords, when one of their own House—the earl of Shrewsbury—who represented the Whigs, brought in a bill which provided that the existing parliament should end on the 1st of January, 1694, and that no parliament should in future sit more than three years. There was almost perfect unanimity among the Lords on this subject. It was even supported by many of those peers whom William had a right to expect would support his prerogative. It was in vain that the king endeavoured to induce the Lords to drop the bill: it passed smoothly and rapidly, and was carried down to the Commons by two judges with great solemnity. In the Commons it was strenuously supported by the Whigs, and as strenuously opposed by the Tories. It was represented by the latter that such a measure did not come properly from the Upper House. It did not affect the Lords, for while it would affect the Commons, they would remain the same. Besides, it was urged, whatever came from the peers ought to be received with suspicion. Even if in itself it was good, coming from them it should be rejected. However judicious a money bill might pass the Upper House, if it was sent down to the Commons they would reject it with scorn: in like manner they should treat this Triennial Bill. It did not concern their lordships at all. They were merely seeking popularity with the multitude at the expense of others, not relinquishing even the smallest of their own oppressive privileges. It was an insult to the Commons, and an attack upon the lawful prerogative of the crown. But the Whigs triumphed over the Tories on this occasion. But perhaps the triumph rather belonged to the constituent bodies than to the Whig section of the House. Those bodies were generally delighted with such a reform in parliament, and many members voted for it, more out of fear of being unseated at the next election, than from any love they entertained towards the measure. The House yielded rather to the pressure of public opinion than from any honest conviction of the wisdom or the necessity of reform. But William was not to be swayed by public opinion, any more than he was by Lords and Commons. In this instance he defied their combined action. The Commons having passed the bill with an amendment, altering the term of the dissolution of parliament from the 1st of January, 1694, to the 24th of March, whereby they gained another session, and the Lords having agreed to that alteration, nothing was wanting save the royal assent to make this celebrated Bill for Triennial Parliaments law. But William withheld that assent. On the last day of the session—the 14th of March—he rejected the measure. Hallam says that his veto was "an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence, or a constitutional administration of government." At the present day such an exercise of prerogative would be fatal to a sovereign, but the circumstances of the times in which William lived were extraordinary, and his justification, or at least excuse for his conduct in this and several other particulars, must be found in those extraordinary circumstances. That he did not act rashly is certain. Before he exercised his prerogative he sought the advice of some of the most able statesmen of the day. Among these was Sir William Temple, who had retired from the cares of state, and had made a retreat for himself at Moor Park, near Farnham. But though he asked advice, he reserved the right of adopting or rejecting it as he pleased. Temple was of opinion that the king's assent should be given. So he told the duke of Portland, who was sent by the king to consult him; but lest his opinion might not be fully and correctly reported to his majesty, the retired statesman sent his secretary to Kensington, to explain on what grounds his opinion was formed. That secretary was the celebrated Jonathan Swift, then a humble dependant at Moor Park, taking his meals at a second table, and feeling himself honoured by being occasionally invited to play at cards with his patron. Swift appears to have explained his master's reasons with great ability, but after all the king acted upon his own responsibility. When presented for the royal assent, the title of the Triennial Bill was read, and it was announced after the ancient form, in Norman French, that the king and queen would take it into consideration.

When William prorogued parliament, on the 14th of March, he alleged that the state of affairs again required his presence on the Continent. It was necessary, however, before his departure, that he should make some important changes. It was *now* that Russell was removed from the chief command of the navy, it being necessary to discard either him or Nottingham, the secretary of state. Russell was mortified, but he was induced to accept a lucrative place in the household. The Channel fleet was entrusted to two naval officers of great repute in their profession, Delaval and Killigrew. The appointment of these officers, both of whom were Tories, caused much murmuring among the Whigs. But at this time William had from experience discovered that he could not govern with a Tory majority in the cabinet, and the Whigs came in, therefore, for a larger share of his confidence and favours. For the past year Nottingham had been sole secretary of state; but he was now joined with a colleague in the person of John Trenchard, an ultra-Whig, who had been engaged in Monmouth's rebellion. But another Whig, of far higher and fairer character than Trenchard, obtained promotion. The Great Seal had been so long in commission, that people were grown weary of the dilatory and expensive proceedings in Chancery. The king himself felt the inconvenience of this state of things, for there was no great functionary to whom it especially belonged to advise him as to the appointment of judges, of counsel for the crown, or of justices of the peace. It had for some time been expected that either a lord-keeper or a lord-chancellor would be appointed, and under the former name Sir John Somers accepted the Great Seal; an appointment which, while it gave no deep offence to the Tories, whom Somers had conciliated by the urbanity of his manners while attorney-general, was especially acceptable to his party, the Whigs.

Impatient to open the campaign in Flanders, William left Kensington on the 31st of March. When he reached the Hague he had as usual much work to do to keep the confederacy together, and to induce them to bring their forces early into the field. He had to haggle with the greedy, make up quarrels with rival princes, and to adjust points of precedence. The most serious quarrel he was called upon to compose was one between the courts of Vienna and Dresden, which, but for William's exertions, would have broken out into an open rupture. Meanwhile the French monarch—Jupiter in personne—was preparing to take the field. He left Versailles on the 18th of May, and early in June he was under the walls of Namur. Louis took under his immediate command the army of Boufflers, which was encamped at Gembloux. About a mile off lay the other French army, commanded by Luxembourg. His design was to repeat the stratagem by which he had taken Mons and Namur. This time either Liege or Brussels was to be his prey. But he was circumvented. Notwithstanding his difficulties with the greedy, dilatory, and quarrelsome members of the confederation, William had gathered an army together, and taken up a position near Louvain, on the road between the threatened cities. Numerically his forces were far inferior to those of the Grand Monarque, but Louis did not like the look of them. He saw that, before he laid siege either to Liege or Brussels, he must fight, and either lose or win a battle. All the chances were in his favour. His army was not only more numerous, but better officered and better disciplined than that of the allies. Luxembourg urged Louis to advance, and the aristocracy of France were eager for the conflict. On the other hand, William was aware of his danger. He felt that he would only escape by a miracle, but he was resolved to meet his formidable enemy with calm but mournful fortitude. But after all the French king was no warrior. In his previous campaigns he had not exposed himself to any risk greater than that of a stag-hunt at Fontainebleau, and when he had the prospect of a battle before him, he paused. On a sudden, he announced his determination to repair instantly to Versailles, and to send the Dauphin and Boufflers with part of the army to join Marshal D'Lorges in the Palatinate. It was in vain that Luxembourg expostulated, and represented that victory was certain. The old marshal even went down on his knees and implored him to march against the prince of Orange, but to no purpose. His pusillanimity excited bursts of laughter and sneers amongst friends, which the most extravagant loyalty could not suppress.

Luxembourg was left in the sole command of the French army. It was still superior to that of William. His superiority was increased by a skilful manœuvre. He advanced towards Liege, as if he were about to lay siege to that city. Alarmed at this movement, William sent a large body of his forces to assist in its defence, and marched with the rest, about fifty thousand men, to a strong position at Nether-Hespen, on the river Gette. This was what Luxembourg expected and desired. Finding his device had succeeded, he turned his back upon Liege, and marched rapidly towards the Gette. William was soon aware that he had been deceived, and that the enemy was coming up with a greatly superior army. It was still in his power, by a hasty retreat, to put the river Gette between his army and the enemy; but the site which he occupied was strong, and he resolved to strengthen his position and await the shock of battle. All his troops were set to work, and in one night entrenchments were thrown up, redoubts constructed, and the hedges and mud walls of two villages converted into barricades. While this work was proceeding the French were in a plain close at hand. St. Simon says, that the noises in William's camp were heard by the French, and it was feared they proceeded from a retreat. The sun of the 29th of July, however, had scarcely risen, when proofs were given that no retreat was meditated. The French gazed on the extent of regular defences thus created with astonishment; and as they gazed the batteries of the allied army opened fire upon them, and did much execution It was some time before the French artillery could be brought up, and it was eight o'clock before the battle became general. The great struggle was for the possession of the two villages—Neerwinden and Bas Landen—but more especially the former. It was against that village the French marshal directed his chief efforts. Four long hours had passed away, and still it was in the hands of the allies. During that space of time, the French infantry had been twice, and the French cavalry thrice repulsed with fearful slaughter. Thousands on both sides lay dead at Neerwinden. Montchevreul, who commanded the French infantry, a veteran officer of high reputation, was killed, and the young duke of Berwick, cousin of King William, who served under the French banner, was taken prisoner. Luxembourg began to despair. His forces had everywhere been terribly thinned. All along the entrenchments of the allied army the battle had raged with the utmost fury. Luxembourg had again and again brought up his troops within pistol-shot of the breastwork; but as often as he brought them up they were sent reeling back with diminished numbers from the terrible fire poured on their front and on their flanks. At length, after consulting with the princes of the blood and his fellow marshals, he resolved to make a last attempt to carry Neerwinden. That attempt was made by the invincible household troops, the conquerors of Steinkirk. Headed by the prince of Conti, those troops well sustained their long and terrible renown. With irresistible fury they carried the walled gardens and cleared the entrenched street, on which the carbineers and the cavalry poured in, and Neerwinden was taken. The allies had commenced a retreat, when, on a sudden, William appeared at the head of his English guards, and charged the guards of Louis with such fury, that for the first time within the memory of the oldest warrior they were driven back in confusion. But the day was lost. While the brunt of the conflict had to be borne at Neerwinden, the allied army had been so thinned all along the entrenchments for its support, that about four in the afternoon the whole line was broken. A retreat was necessary, but it was not a disastrous retreat. There was at first havoc and confusion, for while William directed Talmash to superintend the retreat, he, at the head of a few brave regiments, nobly arrested the progress of the enemy. The daring of William was remarkable. While his scattered forces were crossing the temporary bridges thrown over the river Gette, or plunging into the fords and climbing the steep banks, he remained to protect them, and, with the elector of Bavaria, who shared his danger, was among the last to pass over. His escape was miraculous. He wore no cuirass, for his feeble frame could not sustain its weight, nor did he hide the insignia of the Garter. That he was marked for death is certain. One shot passed through the curls of his wig, a second through his coat, a third, still closer, bruised his side, and tore his blue riband to tatters. For years, grey-headed old pensioners in Chelsea Hospital delighted to relate stories of King William's gallantry in the battle of Landen; how he charged at the head of Galway's horse, and how four times he dismounted to encourage and put heart into the wavering infantry. Luxembourg had gained the victory, but it was dearly bought, and it had no direct results. Ten thousand of the best troops of Louis had fallen, and the exhausted victors remained upon the ground they had won. Neerwinden, that night, presented the picture of a great human slaughter-house. Its streets were piled breast high with corpses. Among the slain were several great lords and renowned warriors. Count Solmes received his mortal wound in the battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. On the side of the French, besides Montchevreuil, the duke of Uzes, first in order of precedence among the aristocracy of France, and the brave Sarsfield, commander of the famous Irish brigade, were numbered among the slain. The loss was nearly equal; about ten thousand on each side slept their last sleep on the battle ground of Landen. The defeat was a heavy blow to the allies. It cost King William a few days of cruel anxiety. But the misfortune was not irretrievable. The dead could not be recalled to life, but the living might be called into action. With indomitable energy, William set about collecting his scattered forces. In a few days he was also joined by the duke of Wurtemberg, whom he had been expecting, and by the troops whom he had unfortunately sent to the defence of Liege. In three weeks after he held a review near Brussels, and the number of men under arms was greater than on the morning of the battle of Landen. William felt that the crisis was past. It had been terrible, he said, but he thanked God it was no worse. Having a superiority of numbers, he appears again to have offered battle, which Luxembourg declined. Six weeks after the battle Luxembourg was rejoined by Boufflers, with a strong reinforcement from the Rhine, on which he besieged and captured Charleroi, the only successful result of the campaign, of which the design of the French king was, by his great army, to sweep the allies from the Netherlands.

Other disasters besides that of Landen occurred during this year. The operations of the allies were unsuccessful in every quarter. Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate, was captured by Marshal Delorges, and delivered up to a savage fury. Its burghers and garrison were slain by the sword; its women dishonoured; its churches pillaged; and many of its houses burned to the ground. Even the sanctuary of the tomb was invaded. The bones of the old electors-palatine, with their wives and families, were exhumed and scattered all about. Professing themselves to be Christians, the French acted as though they were barbarians. Nor was it the army alone which displayed their want of Christian feeling. Louis, the most Christian king, ordered the archbishop of Paris to sing the Te Deum for the capture of Heidelberg, and that order was willingly obeyed. Louis rejoiced over this conquest the more because he conceived that his troops might now march freely into the heart of the empire; but Delorges was prevented from passing the Necker by the prince of Baden, and after several repulses he was obliged to retreat into France. Beyond the Alps the French gained a great victory at Marsaglia, over the duke of Savoy; and in Catalonia they captured the fortress of Rosas. But all the victories gained by the French during this campaign were comparatively fruitless, for in no instance were they enabled to pursue their advantages.

The richest fruits of a victory were obtained at sea, at the expense of England and Holland. After the destruction of his fleet at La Hogue, Louis gave orders for rebuilding as many ships as had been burnt. There was great activity displayed in the dockyards of France. Ships were created as if by magic. In a year's time the naval power of France was as great as ever. If William, however, had been served as he ought to have been, the French monarch would not have had a ship, old or new, to spread its sails on the ocean. He had formed good plans for their destruction, which only failed through treachery or cowardice, or both combined. Thus, after the battle of La Hogue, an expedition was prepared on a grand scale for an attack upon Brest and a descent upon the French coast. The fleet was to convoy an army of ten thousand men, horse and foot—which force, it was conceived, would be sufficient to destroy all the arsenals and dockyards in France. The people expected great things of this armament. The troops were embarked in transports, but they were left unprotected to seek Admiral Russell, then in command; and when at last they found him at St. Malo, he pretended that the enterprise was too difficult for accomplishment, and he brought them back without doing anything. But while the English fleet lay inactive on its return, during the autumn and winter, the French were making great exertions. New ships were launched, and the old ones repaired, so that at the beginning of this year the French were more formidable on the ocean than ever. They had a rich prize in view. During many months there had been but little trade in the Mediterranean Sea. War had greatly checked the progress of commerce. If a merchant ship sailed either from the Thames or the Texel, the chances were that before it had reached the Pillars of Hercules it would have been boarded by one of the numerous French privateers then roaming about in search of prey. There were hundreds of ships in those rivers, richly laden for Spanish, Italian, and Turkish markets, but which, without protection, could not venture to spread their sails. The value of the cargoes was estimated at several millions sterling—a treasure not lightly to be thrown away. The English and Dutch governments, therefore, undertook to escort the merchant fleet, laden with this great mass of wealth, out of danger. Seventy ships of the line, and about thirty frigates and brigantines, under the command of Killigrew and Delaval, were to convoy this Smyrna fleet, as it was called, beyond the limits from which any danger could be apprehended from the Brest squadron; and then Rooke, with twenty sail only, was to accompany the vessels to protect them against the French squadron at Toulon. Killigrew and Delaval thought the squadron safe when they had reached about two hundred miles beyond Ushant, and leaving Rooke to his task of convoying it safely, returned to guard the Channel. But no guard was wanted there. Bent on intercepting the precious freight, the French government had ordered the Brest squadron under Tourville, and the Toulon squadron under Estrees, to sail from their respective harbours and unite in the Straits of Gibraltar. Tourville was already at sea and steering southwards, when, in June, the immense fleet, near five hundred sail, lost sight of the English cliffs. Burnet says, that the Jacobite spies were busy on this occasion, which may well be believed. Rooke ran before a fair wind to Cape St. Vincent, but on arriving there he learned that some French ships were in Lagos Bay, on the coast of Portugal. At first he was led to believe that these ships were few in number; but when he reached within half an hour's sail, he discovered that he was in the presence of the whole French armament. To have given battle to that armament would have been madness, for the French men-of-war were as four to one to those of the English and Dutch. Rooke therefore tacked about, and the merchant vessels fled in all directions. Two or three Dutch men-of-war fought bravely in the rear to stop the pursuit, by which they were sacrificed. Rooke, with about sixty merchantmen, got safe to Madeira, and from thence to Cork. More than three hundred of the vessels which he had convoyed, however, were scattered over the ocean. Some of these vessels reached different ports, others were destroyed, and about forty were captured. After all, the gain to the French was not very great, but the loss to England and Holland was enormous. When the news arrived in London there was a great commotion. It was a day of gloom and agitation in the city. Ruined traders turned as pale as death as the great disaster greeted their ears. A deputation of the sufferers waited upon the queen with a remonstrance rather than an address. But the queen turned aside their anger by well-timed policy. Somers, replying in her name, said that her majesty felt for them from her heart, and that she had already appointed a committee of the privy council to inquire into the cause of the misfortune, and the best means of providing against such misfortunes in time to come. So pleased were the merchants of London with Mary's reply, that not many days after they waited upon her to thank her for her goodness, and to assure her that they were still loyal, both to her and King William.

But if the merchants of London soon forgot their misfortunes in their loyalty to the throne, there were others in the kingdom not so well disposed. It was a period of great excitement. The various disasters by land and sea formed fruitful themes for the Jacobites to descant upon. The Jacobite pamphleteers were more scurrilous than they had ever been before. Secret presses poured forth a flood of pamphlets, teeming with violent invectives against the government. It was deemed necessary, for the safety of the throne and the welfare of the nation, that a check should be given to their unlicensed scurrility. The difficulty was how to discover the dens from which so much treason issued. One,. however, of the most important of them was, after long search, discovered by the police. Of all the secret presses which disseminated treason, none was more busy than that of William Anderton. Printed pamphlets were found in his house. These pamphlets undoubtedly contained treasonable sentiments, and government determined to make Anderton an example. He was tried for high treason, convicted, and executed.

William returned from the Netherlands while the country was in this singular condition. He landed in England on the last day of October. In a few days he had to meet his parliament. He had been unfortunate on the Continent, and he knew that the people were discontented. He expected a more stormy session than the last, although that had been more stormy than he desired. When he met his parliament, on the 7th of November, he was unusually frank. He owned his disadvantages on land; he made no excuses for his miscarriages at sea. The former he ascribed to the number of his enemies; the latter to treacherous friends, whom he had marked for punishment. He suggested that the kingdom was not provided with a sufficient fleet to annoy the enemy and to protect the country. Again William appealed to the Commons to be generous. Hitherto (he said) they had with great affection supported him against his enemies; he hoped still for that support. It was more necessary than ever. The experience of the past summer was sufficient to convince them all of the necessity of increasing the forces, next year, by land and sea, in order to put a happy period to the war. His allies had resolved to add to their troops; he had no doubt that they would by a suitable supply enable him to follow their example. But whatever grants they made he urged them to make quickly, as it was on their expeditious councils the forwardness of his preparations would depend. For a few sittings there was much murmuring in the House. Out of doors the people were clamouring for peace. The burden of war pressed heavily upon them. In parliament there were some even of the Tory leaders in office who joined the voice of the people. The earl of Nottingham especially counselled peace. But the majority were still for war. On the 13th of November, the House of Commons resolved that they would support their Majesties and the government to their utmost power. This resolve was speedily carried into effect. A pressing necessity was at once removed. Large as the supplies had been last year, they did not meet the expenditure. While the German princes had received what they had bargained for, large sums due to both soldiers and sailors remained unpaid. On the latter body of men this circumstance had operated injuriously to discipline. Some seamen deserted, and others mutinied, for which many were executed. It was represented by the Jacobites that government intended to defraud its defenders of their hard-earned pay, which rendered matters still worse. But the Commons refuted this representation in an emphatic manner. Their first business was to grant four hundred thousand pounds, to be raised on the general credit of the exchequer, which would at once remove a part of the grievance, and give fair promise of the removal of the whole. In granting the supplies, indeed, full provision was made for paying all wages due to seamen, as well as for making up all deficiencies in the grants of the preceding year. For the following year it was voted that the army should be raised to eighty-three thousand men, and the navy to forty thousand, their total cost being five millions, which were readily granted for their services. The deficiencies of the last year were to be defrayed from the proceeds of the land tax, which was again fixed at four shillings in the pound. How to raise the large sum voted for the support of the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. Among the expedients were a poll-tax, stamp duties, and a tax on hackney coaches. But no system of taxation could bring the estimated revenue for the year 1694 up to a level with the estimated expenditure. Two notable schemes were therefore devised to obtain supplies, both founded on loans. The first of these was a very questionable expedient. A new duty on salt and other less important articles was set apart to form a fund for a loan. On this security a million was to be raised by a lottery, the sum being divided into a hundred thousand shares of ten pounds each. The lure succeeded admirably. Evelyn says, that the adventurers comprehended all classes, from the highest to the lowest. The highest prize was three thousand pounds, which was gained by Sir R. Haddock, one of the commissioners of the navy. Another million was still needed, and this was obtained by a mode which laid the foundation of one of the greatest establishments in this or any other country. At this time the goldsmiths of Lombard Street were the only bankers in the city of London. Having vaults in which the precious metals could lie equally secure from fire and from robbers, many of those who had gold and silver entrusted it to them, accepting bills on them for payment at sight. Great prejudices were for a time prevalent against this system, but they were fast dying away. Its advantages were felt more and more every day in the city of London. Still there were some misgivings as to the propriety of entrusting wealth to individual bankers; misgivings which every now and then were justified by individual failures. For several years the question had been discussed whether it would not be expedient to erect a national bank. For three hundred years there had been such a bank at Genoa, and for more than eighty years at Amsterdam. They had stood the test of time, and still flourished. Why then should there not be a Bank of London, into which the wealth of the world, as then commercially known, was ever flowing? Before the Revolution, projects had been formed and failed, and though after that event attempts had been made to establish a national bank, the trade of banking was still in the hands of the Lombard goldsmiths. In 1691, a plan of a national bank had been submitted to government by William Paterson, which was favourably received by both statesmen and merchants. On political grounds, however, it met with strong opposition by both Whigs and Tories. The Whigs urged that a bank and liberty were incompatible, as the crown could command its wealth; and the Tories argued that a bank and a monarchy could not coexist. But another million was wanting to defray the expenses of the war, and it must be obtained by some means or other. Paterson's scheme for a national bank was not forgotten. Poor Scotchman as he was, he had showed the government how they could obtain money for state purposes, and at the same time benefit the public. But had it not been for two individuals it seems probable that a national bank might still long have been a desideratum. His scheme at this favourable juncture was taken up by Montague, an eloquent member of the House of Commons, and Michael Godfrey, an eminent merchant of the city of London; Montague undertaking to manage the Commons, and Godfrey the city. Montague went to work with the committee of ways and means, and succeeded to a marvel. The committee gave the scheme their approving smile and vote; it was the very thing that was wanting, for not only would it be the means of supplying the present exigencies, but for all time there was a prospect, with such an establishment as the scheme unfolded, that no government of England, whether Whig or Tory, need sheathe the sword for want of gold. But the bill which was brought in and carried for the purposes of war, and for the benefit of those who advanced money for its operations, has had far more important results; it was in reality, as time has proved, a bill creating the greatest commercial institution that the world has ever seen. The bill, when laid on the table, excited by its title bitter sarcasm. It was a bill for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon *tonnage* of ships and vessels, and upon beer or other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages therein mentioned, to such persons as should voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France. It was therefore essentially in its origin a war measure. But as an inducement to people to subscribe to this loan, they, the subscribers, were by the bill to be constituted a corporate body, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England." Its introduction was received with anything but favour in the House, while out of doors the goldsmiths and pawnbrokers set up a howl of rage against the scheme. There was a fierce paper war on the subject. With the Whigs the grand objection was that the crown would by means of such a bank become all-powerful; that the rights of Englishmen would be transferred from the House of Commons to the governors and directors of the new company. But this objection was wisely removed by the introduction of a clause which prohibited the bank from advancing money to the crown without the authority of parliament; and then the battle was virtually over in the Commons. The bill passed in that House without a division. In the Lords it met with considerable opposition. But as a body the Lords had no desire of engaging again in a contest with the Commons on a money bill, and of incurring the responsibility of stopping the supplies in such an emergency; and the "Tonnage Bill," as it was contemptuously called, received their lordships' sanction by a majority, and passed into law. Its success was complete. Montague was ably supported by Michael Godfrey, through whose influence the subscription list was filled up within ten days. Such was the origin of the world-renowned Bank of England.

Montague was a Whig, and by his skilfully availing himself of the financial difficulties of the country, he rendered great service to his party. For some time their star had been obtaining the ascendant, and it now rose higher and higher in the political horizon. By the establishment of the Bank of England their power in the state became greater than ever. It was for generations emphatically a Whig establishment, and its interests became so bound up with that of the government, that when the public was in danger the rulers of the Bank were ever ready to rush to the rescue. William himself saw that it would be a powerful weapon of war, and he was grateful to the body who moulded it. Montague was at once rewarded with the place of chancellor of the exchequer. His financial abilities, combined with his unrivalled eloquence, were necessary to a government conducting a war of which there seemed to be no end to the expenses. But before this essential service rendered to King William by Montague, other Whigs had been added to the ministry. The earl of Sunderland had become William's confidential adviser. Sunderland had supported James in his tyranny, and to please him had declared himself a papist. But indeed he was a man who could change his politics and religion with as much ease of conscience as he could change his coat. He was unprincipled, but he could be eminently useful, from his long experience and knowledge of all the complications of political action, to the cause of the Revolution, and William allowed him to return to England and took him into his confidence. It is related that Sunderland pressed William very much to trust and rely more upon the Whigs than he had done, and it is certain that from this time a Whig ministry was gradually forming. Thomas Wharton, the son of a Puritan peer, who had been a leading Whig of the period, and John Smith, who had taken an active part in the recent debates on the Whig side, became commissioners of the Treasury in the room of Somers and Seymour. One more Whig of great note was also won to the government. Shrewsbury had resigned the office of secretary of state in 1690, when William favoured the Tories, but was now induced to reaccept the seals, to the great joy of his whole party and his own aggrandizement, for he was rewarded with a dukedom and a garter. With the exception of Caermarthen, the lord president, and Godolphin, first lord of the treasury, all now who held great offices in the state were Whigs, while many of the subordinate offices were filled up from the same ranks. The Admiralty, especially, was placed in the hands of that party. The debates about the naval miscarriages brought about a complete change in that department. There was a severe investigation into the ruin of the Smyrna fleet, which resulted in a vote, carried by a Whig majority, that there had been treason. The Tories who were at the head of the naval administration narrowly escaped impeachment, and their fame was so damaged by the debate, that the king found it impossible to employ them any longer. A new commission of Admiralty was therefore prepared. Russell had already been again appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, and Rooke and Honblon supplanted Delaval and Killigrew at the Board. But William still strove to rally both parties round his throne. To that end, while he gratified the Whigs with the substance of power, he consoled the Tories by honorary distinctions. Thus Mulgrave was created marquis of Normanby, and Caermarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle. At the same time the Whigs came in for a share of honours, as well as of power, two great earls of their party being raised to dukedoms—Bedford and Devonshire.

With but few exceptions these important changes were made during the sitting of parliament, and were chiefly the results of the hot contests between the two great parties which characterized the session. Early in the session a bill for the regulation of trials in cases of high treason, a Triennial Bill, and a Place Bill, were introduced. The first and second were rejected, but the third passed both Houses, and to the surprise of both Whigs and Tories was negatived by the king. The exercise of William's prerogative on this occasion caused a brief breach between him and the Commons. When it became known that he would refuse his sanction, the House became furious in their resentment. They resolved to go up to the throne, not with an address, but a representation, or rather remonstrance. As first drawn up by a committee, that representation was couched in strong and even offensive language. Meanwhile it became known, that rather than give the bill his sanction, William was determined to appeal to the nation; and as an appeal on any other grounds than that of the Triennial Bill, which the House had itself rejected, would have been successful, the representation was re-committed, shortened, and softened, for fear of the consequences. The wrath of the House was, from self-interest, mollified; and when it was presented by the whole House, William's kind and gentle answer removed it entirely away from the breasts of the majority. He remembered, he said, with gratitude, the support which he had on many occasions received from his faithful Commons, and he should always consider their advice as most valuable; but he should ever look upon counsellors who attempted to raise dissension between him and his parliament as enemies. There was firmness as well as kindness and gentleness in this reply of William, for no word was uttered which could be construed into an acknowledgment that he had exercised his veto arbitrarily, or that he would ever refrain from using it again. Another renewed subject in this parliament was the state of the trade with India, which finally resulted in a great triumph of free commerce. A ship fitted out by private merchants of London, and laden with merchandise for the Indian trade, had been stopped by the Admiralty in the Thames, by an order from the Privy Council, through the influence of the East India Company; and the legality of the detention being questioned, the subject was discussed in a committee of the whole House. Petitions on both sides were laid on the table, and it was resolved, after hearing the evidence of eminent merchants, that its detention was illegal. Nor was this all. The blow to the monopoly of the company was followed up by a resolution, passed without a division, that all English subjects had a just and equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless they should be prohibited by Act of parliament. By that resolution, therefore, individuals were left free to trade with the gorgeous East; and it became a settled maxim in constitutional law, that the legislature alone can give to individuals or companies the sole right of trading with any foreign country.

This memorable session was closed on the 25th of April, with a speech from the throne in William's usual gracious style. Early in May he was again on the Continent. During the winter the French king had shown some disposition to treat for peace. His overtures, however, which were made with reluctance and hesitation, were not such as could be accepted. It was essential for him to recognize William and Mary, whom he had so often denounced as usurpers, king and queen of England, fully, freely, and frankly; but his pride, his regard for the exile of St. Germains, and his hatred of the "prince of Orange," who was the grand obstacle in his path of ambition, made him hesitate. War, therefore, continued. William concentrated the allied forces at Louvain. This time his army was superior in numbers to that of the French Marshal Luxembourg. He had under his command a hundred thousand men, well trained and provided. He planned a design of carrying the war into the French territory, but that design was frustrated. The elector of Bavaria was intrusted with the execution of that plan, but the slow German was no match for Luxembourg, who wheeled about, and by a rapid march covered the territory. Meanwhile William captured Huy, a fortress of the third rank. And this was all the fruits of the campaign, for during several months the hostile armies merely watched each other, and then went into winter quarters. Upon the Rhine, however, the French were severely chastised. Marshal Delorges, having crossed that river, was driven back with loss and shame by the prince of Baden, who followed him across the frontier, and laid the whole of the province of Alsace under heavy contributions. This land campaign, though not brilliant, was nevertheless significant. Each of the four previous years had been marked by some great disaster; but the tide had now begun to turn. If no great victory had been obtained over the French, they had been signally checked in their onward career to European dominion, which gave hopes of future triumph.

At sea the year opened with fresh disasters and failures. In the month of February, Admiral Wheeler, who had gone to look after the returning Smyrna fleet, when near the Straits was overtaken by one of those terrible tempests over which no human power has any control. Admiral Wheeler's own ship went down, with every living soul on board, and two other line-of-battle ships, three men-of-war of inferior note, and numerous trading vessels shared its fate. This was the work of the elements, and while the people mourned for the loss of so many brave seamen and treasures, they bowed submissively to the Divine will. What followed was the result of treachery, which raised a storm of indignation throughout the country. Before his departure William had, in concert with his cabinet, conceived a well-arranged plan of naval operations to baffle the enemy. It was known that the French king had determined to concentrate his maritime forces in the Mediterranean, with a view of co-operating with a French army under Marshal Noailles in the capture of Barcelona and the subjugation of Catalonia. Tourville sailed from Brest with fifty three men-of-war on that errand at the end of April, and passed the Straits of Gibraltar early in May. To defeat the enemy's designs, it was resolved that Russell should sail to the Mediterranean, with the greater part of the combined fleet of England and Holland; while a squadron under the command of the earl of Berkeley, with a large body of troops on board, commanded by Talmash, was to undertake a secret expedition against Brest. But the expedition could not be kept wholly secret. The preparations for it at Portsmouth excited the attention of the friends of James. There was much speculation as to its destination, and Russell was sorely pressed by his Jacobite friends to divulge the secret. To his honour, however, he kept it sacred; but Marlborough had other friends who were in the secret, among whom was the Lord Godolphin, now first lord of the treasury, who was as treacherous as Marlborough himself. Both indeed wrote to James, and disclosed the whole plan of the government. As was natural, James communicated the intelligence to the court of Versailles, and steps were taken by the French government to avert the blow. A large body of troops marched for its defence, and the celebrated engineer Vauban, by whose skill Namur was captured, was charged with the duty of putting the defences in order. In a few weeks Vauban had securely protected Brest from any successful attack. At every spot where it was likely an invader would attempt to land formidable batteries were planted; all the passages under the castle were rendered bomb-proof; and, warned by Rooke's attack on the harbour in 1692, all the ships were drawn up on shore out of the enemy's reach. It was on the 7th of June that the English squadron appeared off Brest. It was supposed, in the absence of Tourville, that it would be an easy conquest, for nothing was known of the preparations made for resistance. Neither Berkeley nor Talmash would credit the report of an officer, sent into the bay to reconnoitre, that the French were prepared for their reception. But they soon found the report true to the very letter. Eight English vessels entered Camaret Bay, and were received with a terrible fire from the batteries. Talmash, who was making ready to land his soldiers from boats, was confounded. More brave than prudent, however, he persisted in attempting to land. The die was cast, he said, and honour forbade retreat. About a thousand soldiers were thrown on the beach in Camaret Bay, which was flanked right and left with batteries and entrenchments. A part of the fleet under the marquis of Caermarthen covered their landing; and although assailed on all sides they succeeded in forming into line. With a loud huzza they rushed towards the batteries, but at that moment French dragoons issued through passages left between the entrenchments, and they were driven back in confusion. There were few means of escape, for the tide had ebbed, and most of the English boats were left on dry land. Most of the troops that had landed were miserably slaughtered, or forced to beg for quarter. Talmash himself was mortally wounded, but he lived to reach Portsmouth, whither, with a drooping flag, the armament from which government had expected great things, returned in all haste. The failure at Brest was attempted to be retrieved by expeditions, which though successful, brought no honour to the nation. The defenceless towns of Dieppe, Havre, and Calais were bombarded, and the destruction of unprotected French shipping and fishing boats augmented the want and misery which the French peasantry were enduring from famine and oppression, and threw the whole coast into the utmost dismay. In other quarters more honourable service was performed by the English navy. Russell, now seemingly loyal to William and faithful to his country, sailed into the Mediterranean with a fleet consisting of sixty-five ships of the line, English and Dutch, and not only cleared that sea of the French fleet, but relieved Barcelona. No sooner had Tourville learned that the conquerors of La Hogue were approaching, than he quitted the coast of Catalonia, and took shelter under the batteries of Toulon. In the invasion of Catalonia, the grand object of the French king was to sever the court of Spain from the confederation, which by the timely aid of the British fleet was rendered abortive. Nor was this all the service performed by Russell in this expedition. He blockaded Toulon, compelled the states of Venice and Tuscany to acknowledge William's title, and reanimated the duke of Savoy, who had been contemplating a separate peace with France. Having done all this Russell wintered with his fleet at Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest fleets, and to be at hand if the French in the spring of the following year should renew their designs on Barcelona.

The brave Talmash died at Portsmouth, exclaiming with his last breath that he was the victim of treachery. So the public believed, although it was not then known who were the traitors who had brought about the disaster in which he received his mortal wound.

There was great indignation expressed throughout the country, but people did not know on whom to fix the treachery. National prejudice laid it on the shoulders of the French refugees, some of whom held high military commissions in the English army; while the Whigs insinuated that while a single Tory was in the cabinet not a secret would be hidden from the court of St. Germains. The real traitor was not named, but when the archives of the House of Stuart were explored in after times, it was discovered to his shame that it was Marlborough. And yet this double-dyed traitor to his country was all the while desirous of fighting in its cause. The general cry was that Marlborough should be received into the king's favour. Nor was he backward in seeking that favour. Not a moment was lost in soliciting a return to high employment. Professing himself the most devoted and loyal of all the subjects of William and Mary, he expressed a hope that in this emergency he might be permitted to offer his sword to their majesties. The secretary of state, Shrewsbury, laid his offer before William in a letter in which he warmly urged its acceptance; but the reply was dry and unsatisfactory. His majesty did not think it for the good of his service that Lord Marlborough should be entrusted with the command of his troops.

William returned to England on the 9th of November. It was the general opinion, that, notwithstanding the disaster in Camaret Bay, the campaign by land and sea was satisfactory, and on his return William was received with acclamations. But there was one class of his subjects who, disaffected before, had now some real cause for their disaffection. While Sidney first and afterwards Nottingham were secretaries of state, the Jacobites had no great cause for complaint of the government of King William. It was only when the necessities of the state required action against Jacobite agitators that they were sought out and punished. But since Trenchard had occupied their post the case was altered. The nonjurors were the objects of persecution. Trenchard encouraged spies—of all men in a community to be the most suspected and mistrusted. One of Trenchard's spies was an Irish vagabond named, or who called himself by the name of Taafe. He was aided in his sport by a man named Lunt. Taafe was to be the accuser, and Lunt, his fellow spy, the approver. Through their agency several Lancashire gentlemen were arrested, and tried by a special commission. Taafe appeared on the day of trial, and when his brother spy had given damaging evidence against the prisoners, he entered the box, and swore that the whole story was a lie devised by him and Lunt. There was an end of the prosecution.

William met his parliament on the 12th of November. His speech was congratulatory. The events of the year, he said, by land and sea, were favourable to the allies. The French armies had made no progress, and the French fleets had not dared to leave their harbours. There was every prospect of future success. By a vigorous prosecution of the war a safe and honourable peace was in view, but large supplies were necessary to enable him to prosecute that war with vigour. After adjourning for a week, the Commons applied themselves in earnest to vote those supplies. Five millions were readily voted. The land tax was again fixed at four shillings in the pound; the Act which settled the customs on the crown was renewed for five years; and government was authorised to borrow two millions and a half for the king's service. Meanwhile the Triennial Bill was for the third time brought into parliament. And this time it was successful, leading to the belief that it was the price of the demanded supplies. It was brought in on the first day of the session, and it passed rapidly through all its stages in both Houses. It received the royal assent on the twenty-second day of December, together with the bill settling the customs on the crown. There was considerable exultation displayed when the bill received the royal sanction, but William was ill at ease from a cause remote from matters of state. Queen Mary was dangerously ill at Kensington.

During this winter the small-pox, then a visitation terrible as the plague, raged about London. William had engaged to dine in public, but he hurried back sorrowfully to Kensington. Mary had then been ill two days, and her physicians were disputing about the symptoms, till Radcliffe pronounced the fatal word "Small-pox." William was in an agony of despair. Burnet records that he wept bitterly at the thought of losing her in whom he said, since their marriage "he had never known one single fault." The queen herself in the hour of danger displayed the utmost fortitude and resignation. As soon as she was aware of the plague spot which had touched her, every one of her ladies and even menial servants who had not had the small-pox were sent away from the palace. For several hours she shut herself up in her closet—burned some papers, arranged others, and then calmly awaited her fate. Her faithful friend and counsellor, Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, had died some weeks before, and the task of administering religious consolation to her was performed by his successor, Dr. Tennison. But Mary had so lived that she was not afraid to die. "She thanked God," she said, "she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Her last hours were spent almost perpetually in prayer. William spent night and day near her bedside, seldom laying down to rest, and weeping almost continually. His misery, writes the Dutch envoy, was enough to melt the hardest heart. The man whose stern composure was seldom disturbed by either triumph or defeat, was unmanned in his great sorrow. The day before she died she received the Eucharist, all the bishops who were attending receiving it with her. From that time she sank rapidly, uttering only a few broken words. As her last hour approached William's agony became intensified. He had a succession of fits, which seemed to threaten both his reason and his life. A few minutes before she expired, indeed, he was carried away almost insensible. Mary died on the twenty-eighth of December, in the thirty-third year of her age.

The public sorrow was almost universal. All parties, except the fiercer zealots of the Jacobites, agreed in acknowledging her worth and her virtues as a queen and a woman. Burnet the Whig says of her, that she was the most deservedly lamented princess of any in that age or in English history; and Evelyn the Tory, that she was such an admirable woman, as if possible to outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth. Her blameless life, her charities, and her gracious manners, had conquered the hearts of her people. The city of London, the two houses of parliament, and the nation in general, in warm addresses to the throne, expressed their sense of the merits of the deceased queen, and their own sorrow. The Princess Anne, with whom, though so long estranged, Mary died in peace, joined in the general condolence of the nation with the king. The mourning was general. On the Sunday following her death, her virtues were celebrated in almost every parish church and meeting house of the nonconformists in London. Her funeral was that of a queen whom the nation justly loved and honoured. It was long remembered as the saddest and most august ceremony that had ever been seen at Westminster. The peers in scarlet and ermine, the Commons in black mantles, and the whole magistracy of the city in their robes, took part in that mournful ceremony. The banners of England, France, as well as of Scotland and Ireland, were carried by great nobles before the corpse; and the pall-bearers were members of the illustrious houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey, and Stanley. During the whole ceremony the cannon of the batteries of the Tower were every minute answering by their solemn roar to the mournful tolling of the bells of the city. It was a day of sadness and of gloom, for the sky was dark and troubled, as though it took part in the touching ceremony. The gentle queen was dead, and buried. She sleeps in the southern aisle of the chapel of Henry VII., among her kindred, of whom none were more illustrious for virtue and worth than Mary. Over her remains William erected a magnificent monument, but the noblest monument was that of Greenwich Hospital, which he erected to her honour, in compliance with the desire she had expressed after the battle of La Hogue, to be an asylum for ever for disabled seamen. That edifice was designed by the celebrated Wren, and few who gaze upon it are perhaps aware of the threefold features of that memorial; the virtues of Queen Mary, the love and sorrow of her husband William, and the victory of La Hogue, which saved the nation from the threatened French invasion, and preserved the Protestant throne of England.

The news of Mary's death excited various emotions on the Continent. In every part of Europe the Huguenots, whom she had succoured during their persecutions by her bounties, bewailed her as a parent. In Holland, where she was well known and beloved, there was mourning like that displayed in England. Day after day the bells of all its steeples tolled dolefully, and cold and passionless as the Dutch were by nature, they wept with their stadtholder. But it was not so at the courts of St. Germains and Versailles. James, her father, for whose personal safety she was always solicitous, not only strictly prohibited all mourning at his little court, but induced the French king to follow his petty example. With James the death of his daughter was rather a matter for rejoicing than grief. Now that Mary was dead, the exiles and some eminent statesmen thought that William's throne would totter and fall; but never were statesmen more deceived. William was a Protestant, and Protestant England nobly confounded the hopes of King James and his companions, and the wisdom of the statesmen of Europe. As will be seen, the reign of William was more peaceful and prosperous after, than before the decease of the queen he so much loved and mourned.

SECTION II.

William was for some time prostrated by the death of his queen. His thoughts were swallowed up in his great misfortune. For a whole month Shrewsbury could scarcely approach him on business, and when he did it was to little purpose. The addresses of condolence touched his heart, but even to those of the two houses of parliament he could only reply by a few inarticulate sounds. His political correspondence with Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, with whom he had been wont to pour out his joys and sorrows, as a friend, was suspended. About the same time that Mary died, Luxembourg, before whom William had retreated at Landen, passed off the stage of life. Louis thought that "the prince of Orange" would be glad when that news reached him; but wrapped up in his great sorrow, he took no heed of that important event; for Luxembourg of all the French marshals was the most to be dreaded. Voluptuary as he was, and appearing only to desire sensual ease, yet when the day of battle came, that famous general was all fire and decision. His chief rival was William, who now expressed his belief that he should never again be able to take any part in the grand contest which had raged so many years for the liberty of Europe. But prostrate as he was, William gradually recovered his serenity. And it must be recorded that his ministers, doubtful as the loyalty of some of them had been, did all they could to restore that serenity of mind which was necessary to future action. In the midst of his sorrows, one thing they did, although they might have self-interest in view, redounds to their honour. Sunderland especially is deserving of that honour. Having influence over both William and the Princess Anne, he induced the princess to write a letter of condolence and regard to William, in which she expressed a hope that as soon as convenient, and without danger of increasing his affliction, she might be permitted to wait upon his majesty. It was a well-timed letter, and effected a reconciliation. When presented to William in his closet, by the lord keeper Somers, he replied, "Do what you will, I can think of no business." An interview was arranged, and Anne was received with the greatest cordiality. William presented her with most of her sister's jewels, and appropriated St. James's Palace for her future residence. Macpherson says that this was more from political views than from any affection to her person; but it must be recollected that the reconciliation took place when William's heart was sensibly touched by his grief, and when political feeling seems to have been deadened by those griefs. Besides, William had no children, and Anne was heir to the throne, so that it was but natural he should welcome her approaches to renewed intercourse, and receive her into favour.

Meanwhile the houses of parliament proceeded with their deliberations. One of the first decisions of the Commons, early in 1695, has done more for liberty and civilization than the Great Charter or the Bill of Rights. Without a division, they nobly rejected the proposed renewal of the Licensing Act, by which English literature was emancipated from the control of government for ever. And this was the more noble, because at this time the press was more than commonly bold and seditious. The representatives of the people, however, did not choose to interfere with its liberty. They acted upon those memorable sentiments, penned more than half a century before by the immortal Milton :—" Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

During this session the peculation and venality of the official men of the age were laid bare to the public eye. A complaint made of some military men, who under the plea that their pay was in arrears, had not paid their quarters at Royston, led to a searching inquiry into corrupt practices. Corruption was found to prevail in every department of the government. Guy, the secretary of the treasury, was one of the first whose malpractices were brought to light, and sent to the Tower. Then came Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who for receiving a bribe was expelled the House. Craggs, an army agent, was also sent to the Tower. Hungerford, chairman of the committee on the Orphans' Bill, was also convicted of corruption, and expelled the House. An examination of the books of the East India Company by a parliamentary committee disclosed that a hundred and seven thousand pounds had been disbursed in secret service money. Sir Thomas Cook, member for Colchester, was governor of the company, and had the management of these delicate matters. Cook was called upon to explain how this money was expended, and on his refusal, the Commons passed a bill compelling him to answer, under ruinous penalties, in default of which he too was lodged in the Tower. It was discovered that Seymour had been engaged in a bargain with the company, by which he would be a gainer and the company a loser to the extent of ten or twelve thousand pounds; but the terms of the bargain were so skilfully wrought out, that he escaped only with a damaged reputation. But it was not so with Thomas, duke of Leeds, president of the council. The escape of Seymour only inflamed the ardour of the Whig patriots in bringing hidden things to light. Not that they were more immaculate than the Tories. There was as much, or more of party spirit in the inquiries than true patriotism. It was Wharton and his confederates who obtained the Bill of Penalties against Cook, the chairman of the East India Company. That bill passed the Commons without a division, and was sent up to the Lords. In that House no one condemned it in stronger language than the lord president. He was so far successful in his plea for justice, that the Lords added a clause to the bill passed by the Commons, which provided that if Cook would make a true and full discovery, he should be indemnified for all the crimes he might confess. Conscious of guilt, Leeds opposed this clause, but in vain. A joint committee of the two Houses was therefore appointed to receive the confession of Cook in the Tower, a confession, in truth, which he promised to make if the Lords would only relieve him from the ban of the Commons. It was now that the truth came out. In a few hours great discoveries were made. It had been thought that the secret-service money of the company had been paid to Portland, for the use of his majesty; but so far from this being the case, it was found that William had never, as the Stuart kings had done, touched the gold of the company, and that Portland had rejected a bribe offered him of the large sum of fifty thousand pounds. Nottingham, also, had been found proof against bribery. Leeds, notwithstanding his bold declaration, that he had no personal interest in the question, was not so pure. In his confession, Cook itemed down a variety of sums which he had paid to members of the House of Commons and to others. One item was, " To Sir Basil Firebrace, 40,000*l.*" On being called to an account, Firebrace was confused, and for some time was afflicted with a loss of memory. At last, however, he recollected that he had given Mr. Bates, a friend of the lord president, two notes for 5500 guineas, and that Bates had waited upon the noble duke, who was found after the notes were given well disposed to the renewal of the Charter. Bates confirmed the testimony of Sir Basil Firebrace, but he averred that his grace only took counter notes, which made the payment dependent on the success of the measure. He had, he said, lodged the money in the hands of a Swiss, who was the confidential agent of the lord president, when the Charter was passed, but that it had been returned to Sir Basil Firebrace from fear of the scandal that might result from the transaction. Hoping to avert the storm, his grace of Leeds now openly avowed that he had received the money, but that he had returned it, as stated by Bates. But if this avowal satisfied the Lords, it did not the Commons. While he was offering an exculpation of himself, he was told that the Commons were proceeding against him by impeachment. Rushing down to the Lower House, he desired to be heard in his own defence, and his desire was granted. The question of his impeachment had already been put and carried, but he prayed the House to reconsider the vote. The vote was not rescinded. Articles of impeachment were engrossed, and in a few days were carried up to the Lords. Meanwhile, one link in the chain of evidence had been broken, and could not be supplied. His grace's confidential agent, the Swiss, had absconded, and on the 3rd of May, William prorogued parliament, and the impeachment fell to the ground. Burnet relates that it was intended to renew it in the next session, but the " whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed that too many of all sides were concerned in it." But enough had appeared to prove him guilty, and it is clear that the king joined in the general opinion of the nation; for though from motives of expediency he suffered him to remain at the head of the council, yet high as was his position in the state, he was not appointed one of the lords justices to whom William entrusted his kingdom when he once more went to war on the Continent.

On his partial recovery from his affliction, William had written to his friend Heinsius thus:—"I feel myself no longer fit for military command. Yet I will try to do my duty, and I hope God will strengthen me." At the call of duty, on the 12th of May, he sailed from Gravesend to the Hague, to measure swords with the French. All Europe was looking anxiously towards this year's campaign in the Netherlands. The French king shared in that anxiety. He had lost his greatest general, and could not supply his place. France, however, was not without marshals well qualified for high command. Among these were Boufflers and Catinet, generals not unworthy to succeed Luxembourg. But the choice of the French monarch did not fall upon them. He liked high-sounding names for the leaders of his army, and his choice fell on the duke of Villeroy. But the choice of the French king was a most unfortunate one for the success of his arms. Villeroy was a well-polished courtier, but he had not a single qualification except courage for the tug of war. Yet it was to such a general that the war in the Netherlands was this year confided. It was expected that this country would be the chief theatre of war, and hence the great mass of the French army was collected in Flanders. Strong lines were formed from the Lys to the Scheldt, Villeroy fixing his head-quarters near Tournay, and Boufflers with about twelve thousand men guarded the banks of the Sambre. On his arrival on the Continent, William collected his English and Dutch troops at Ghent; while the elector of Bavaria took up his post with a great army at Brussels, and a smaller army of the allies lay near Huy. What Luxembourg had been to William, William in this campaign was to Villeroy. His operations were commenced with well-conceived feints. His own forces did not for some time know what were his intentions. He had set his heart upon a great enterprise. Over the gates of Namur, the French king had caused a vaunting inscription to be placed, defying the allies to wrench that prize from his grasp. And there was some reason in that vaunt, for what with the skill of the French engineer Vauban, and of Cohorne, the engineer of the States, it was indisputably the strongest fort in Europe. Having therefore well taken all his measures to cover his designs, William suddenly turned his course towards Namur. He was joined there by the elector of Bavaria, and the army of Brandenburg at Huy early in July. Namur was invested by their united forces. The movement of William had been so rapidly accomplished that Boufflers had scarcely time to reinforce its garrison, and to take the command of the defence. There were fifteen thousand men within its walls, and preparations were made for a stern resistance. Villeroy too did what he thought best to baffle the besiegers. He resolved to destroy that part of the allied army which remained in Flanders under Vaudemont, and then, flushed with his intended victory, to relieve Namur. Vaudemont, however, made a masterly retreat to Ghent, and by a rapid movement joined his force to that already on the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse. Disappointed in his design, Villeroy wreaked his vengeance on Brussels by a terrible bombardment, causing a tremendous destruction of private property. St. Simon says that it was in reprisal of the attacks of the English on the coasts of France. Villeroy then turned his face with eighty thousand men towards Namur. Meanwhile the siege had progressed with marvellous vigour. Cohorne conducted the scientific part of the operations, and exerted all his skill to pluck the laurel from the brow of his great rival Vauban. The trenches were opened on the 2nd of July. Seven days later a sally of French dragoons was driven back with considerable slaughter, and on the same evening a strong body of infantry, the English foot guards leading the way, stormed the works on the side of Brussels. William directed the attack in person, and as the battle raged he exclaimed to the elector of Bavaria, who was at his side, "Look, look at my brave English!" None were more conspicuous in their bravery than they, and of all the English none more brave than Lord Cutts. He stood unrivalled for bold daring. The fire of the French batteries was to him a source of pleasure rather than of fear. So much was he at his ease as they poured forth their deadly contents, that his soldiers gave him the nickname of the Salamander. On the 17th the first counterscarp was attacked and carried. The English and Dutch were thrice repulsed with great slaughter, but returning to the charge, remained victors. William now flattered himself that he should soon be master of the town. He lamented that so many brave men had fallen in that contest, but he did not despair of success. As William was giving his orders, and the bullets were flying round him, he saw standing among his officers Mr. Godfrey, deputy governor of the Bank of England. Godfrey had arrived at head-quarters on matters of finance, and was curious to witness the fight. As he was a civilian, William reminded him that he ought not to run such risk. "Sir," replied Godfrey, "I run no more hazard than your majesty." "Not so," returned the king. "I am where it is my duty to be, and I may commit my life to God's keeping; but you—" There was no need to finish the sentence, for as he spoke, a cannon-ball laid Godfrey dead at the king's feet. This incident shows that William himself was at the post of danger, from which a merciful Providence only protected him. Step by step the siege progressed. On the 20th of July, a line of works which Vauban had cut in the solid rock was captured, and three days later, with Cutts at their head, the English and Dutch obtained a lodgment on the second counterscarp. The capture of Namur was now rendered almost a certainty, especially as on the same day the elector of Bavaria had thrown a bridge over the Sambre, and other corps had driven the French from the suburb of Jarnb, and thus prevented any future sallies from the enemy. All was soon ready for a general assault. The town moat was drained by undermining and blowing up the dam by which its waters were replenished; the allies had made themselves masters of all the works on the castle side from the Sambre to the Meuse, and a breach had been made in the walls, through which the English and Dutch rushed, stormed, and carried the half-moon, the covered way, and the demi-bastion at the gate of St. Nicholas. The besieged now lay open to all the fire of the besiegers, and a general assault was about to be made, when a white flag was hung out from the ramparts. Boufflers was convinced that he could no longer defend the town, and his only hope was that he might with the remnant of his garrison hold out in the citadel till Villeroy should appear with his army to raise the siege. On the summit of the rock he conceived that he might defy the allies till relief came. Terms of capitulation were speedily adjusted. The French were allowed to retire into the castle, leaving about fifteen hundred wounded to the care of the allies, who now marched into Namur. This was on the 6th of August. A terrible contest now commenced for the possession of the citadel. Buoyed up with hope of relief from Villeroy, Marshal Boufflers held out bravely. At the head of more than eighty thousand men, Villeroy was now marching towards Namur. He had captured the unimportant towns of Dixmuyde and Deynse, in Flanders, and had ruthlessly bombarded with his whole force the city of Brussels, and thought himself a hero. While he was approaching Namur the allies were pressing the siege of the citadel. The fire which proceeded from their batteries against the castle was terrible. From the 12th to the 15th of August, the roar of cannon was incessant. It was so terrible that it shook the very rock on which the castle stood. The French gunners were driven from their guns by that terrible fire into vaulted galleries under ground. It was at this juncture that the defenders of the citadel saw from their watch-towers the mighty army for which they had long been looking. A salute of ninety guns conveyed to Boufflers the promise of speedy rescue. But between that army and Namur there was drawn up in battle array an army equal in numbers under King William. Leaving the elector of Bavaria to conduct the siege and to continue the bombardment, William went to give battle to Villeroy. For three days they confronted each other. It was expected that on the 19th of August the two armies would join issue. During the whole day the allies were under arms, and William was riding from post to post, watching the movements of the French army, which indicated an attack. But there was no fighting on that day, and when the morning of the 20th dawned, it was found that Villeroy had fallen back. It was now that William gave orders to storm the castle. Anxious, however, to stop the effusion of blood, Boufflers was summoned to surrender. He was told that it was plain Villeroy would not attempt to raise the siege, and therefore it would be useless to prolong the contest. Boufflers, however, seemed to think that he could not yet in honour surrender, and the storming of the citadel commenced. It was attacked at four points, one by the English, another by the Dutch, a third by the Bavarians, and a fourth by the Brandenburghers. Most of the English who had seen service were with William watching Villeroy, and this time they were at first unsuccessful. Cutts, who led them, received a shot in the head, which for a time disabled him, and as the officers fell thick and fast, the troops reeled back in dismay. But though repulsed they were not defeated. The wound of Cutts having been dressed, he again put himself at their head, and led them forward. The Bavarians were then on the point of being utterly slaughtered. Their general had fallen, and a battery which played upon them was fast thinning their ranks. Cutts and two hundred English volunteers rushed to their rescue. With a loud huzza they stormed the battery and turned the guns against the garrison. Meanwhile the Dutch and the Brandenburghers had bravely performed the duty assigned to them. It was now that Boufflers lost both heart and hope. With a loss of two thousand men, the allies had effected a lodgment of a mile in extent on the outworks of the castle, from which he had no means of dislodging them. Boufflers demanded a truce for the burial of his dead, which choked the ditches, and which would have soon spread disease and death among both the besieged and besiegers if they had remained uninterred. That demand was granted, and as the time for the truce was on the point of expiring, Boufflers intimated that he was disposed to capitulate. If in ten days he was not relieved, then he said he would deliver up the castle. But the allies would not listen to such a proposal. He was informed that he must either surrender at once, or prepare for an immediate assault. He surrendered. It was agreed that he should be suffered to depart, leaving the citadel, the artillery, and the stores to the conquerors; and on the 26th of August the garrison, which was reduced to about five thousand men, marched out, and passing through the allied forces, foot and horse, drawn up in two lines, turned their backs upon the fortress, upon which their monarch, proud of his achievement in reducing it three years before, set almost as high a value as upon his crown. Boufflers, however, was not set free. In defiance of plighted faith, Villeroy had sent the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse prisoners to France. In retaliation William might with perfect justice have detained all the French who were in Namur, but instead of this he ordered Boufflers to be arrested. The French marshal stormed and raged, but stormed and raged in vain. He was compelled to return to Namur as a prisoner till he obtained full powers to promise that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be liberated. This done, he was allowed to return to France, where he was honourably received and rewarded with a dukedom, and the means of sustaining his dignity. As for Villeroy, when three peals from all the guns of the allies told the tale of the fall of Namur, he retreated towards Mons, leaving William to enjoy his triumph unmolested.

That triumph raised his renown and that of his brave English to the highest pitch throughout Europe. It was the great military event of the year. All the ministers of the confederate princes and potentates waited upon him, to offer their sovereigns' congratulations. And William was all worthy of the honour. Portland, in a letter to Shrewsbury, writes:—"The English have greatly signalized themselves in this siege, by their share in the vigorous actions which have occurred, in which they have been *too much* animated by the presence of the king himself. But thank God he is very well. The fatigue he has suffered is incredible, as well as the care and trouble he has undergone, and is able to support." William was the very soul of the great enterprise. His presence in the trenches and the field, which was constant, animated his whole army, and especially his English soldiers. With such a calm and intrepid leader, there was no hazard of war into which they would not plunge. But Namur was not reduced by bold daring alone. Honour should be given to whom honour is due. It had been captured in 1692 by the French monarch, chiefly through the skill of his celebrated engineer, Vauban, and much of the success of its recapture must in justice be ascribed to the skill of his great rival, Cohorne. He had to devise means of attack upon works which he had himself constructed and Vauban had perfected, the success of which has rendered his name as famous in the annals of war as that of any engineer whether in ancient or modern times.

In other directions the campaign of this year had been inglorious to the French arms. The days of the French king's boasting were over. With his own courtiers he was no longer considered to be the *Jupiter Tonans* of war. In Spain Marshal Delorges had been again foiled by the prince of Baden; in Italy the duke of Savoy had recovered possession of the important fortress of Casale; and in Spain all the French conquests in Catalonia had been evacuated except Gerona. The French monarch was also humbled by sea as well as by land. He could no longer threaten England with an invasion. Russell was master of the Mediterranean. During the year he had sailed to and fro between Spain and Italy, had bombarded Palermo, and had spread terror along the whole shore of Provence, and dared the French fleet to sail out of the harbour of Toulon. Berkeley was equally triumphant in the Channel. In conjunction with the Dutch squadron, he sailed to and fro in sight of the coasts of France, and bombarded St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, and burned Granville to the ground. In a word, the year 1695 was a year of disaster to the French monarch, so long triumphant, and of triumph to King William, who had, without losing heart or hope, suffered so many miscarriages and disappointments.

William returned to England on the 10th of October. His absence had not been marked by any important event in his kingdom, except that of the advent of newspaper literature. William's return was the signal for an unwonted display of enthusiasm. His passage through London to Kensington was a perfect ovation. At every step he was hailed as a conqueror. The city bells rang out right merrily, and every street through which he passed was illuminated. It might have been imagined that, after the incessant fatigues William had undergone, he would have a few days' quiet and rest. But it was not so. The very evening he arrived at Kensington he immediately went to business. There was a council held, to debate the great question as to whether it would be more prudent to dissolve the present parliament at once, or permit it to sit till the 1st of November, 1696, when, by the Triennial Act, it would cease to exist. Burnet says:—"The happy state the nation was in, put all men, except the merchants, in a good temper; none could be sure we should be in so good a state next year, so that now, probably, elections would fall on men who were well affected to the government. A parliament that saw itself in its last session might affect to be forward, the members by such a behaviour hoping to recommend themselves at the next election. Besides, if the same parliament had been continued, probably the inquiries into corruption would have been carried on, which might divert them from more pressing affairs, and kindle greater heats; all which might more decently be dropped by a new parliament than suffered to lie asleep by the old one." Such appears to have been the sentiments of the council. Acting upon them, a proclamation was issued for a new parliament. That the choice of the people might be free, an order was issued that all soldiers quartered in a place where an election was held should march out of that place the day before the nomination, and not return till the people had made their choice. At the same time William took a step likely to bias the elections in his favour. During the six weeks of the polling, he made a progress through several counties, and wherever he went he was most enthusiastically received. Even at Oxford, where he was no favourite, he was received with great pomp, and complimented on his victory in a Latin oration. Such at least some accounts of William's progress testify; but Evelyn the Tory says, that he was not complimented at Oxford, "so that he hardly stopped an hour there, and having seen the theatre, did not receive the banquet proposed."

The elections were generally favourable to the king; most of the constituent bodies were zealous for his majesty and the war. There were about a hundred and sixty new members, the greater part of whom were well affected to the government. Burnet says:—"The Jacobites were so decried that few of them were elected, but many of the lower sort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the king, were chosen. Generally they were men of estates, but many were young, hot, and without experience." The new parliament met on the 22nd of November. Foley, who had succeeded Trevor, on his expulsion from the office of Speaker for corruption, was again placed by the Commons in the chair. The session was opened by a skilfully framed speech from the throne. William congratulated the Houses on the success of the recent campaign, attributing that success to the bravery of his English soldiers. Large supplies, however, he said were still required to prosecute that war with vigour. As the last parliament had with great cheerfulness assisted him to carry on that war, so he could not doubt but the present parliament would support him in its prosecution, especially as the advantages gained this year afforded a reasonable hope for future success. The funds which had been voted, he continued, had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in such a condition, that it was impossible for him to subsist upon it. But perhaps the most striking part of the king's speech was that in which he alluded to the existing depreciated state of the coinage. "I must," he observed, "take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the coin, the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation." In conclusion, William addressed himself to the newly-elected House of Commons, expressing his warmest approbation of the choice which had been made by his people. There was a touch of flattery in this latter part of his speech, which was not without its fruits. The Commons voted an address of thanks without a division, and when they carried it up to Kensington, they displayed the utmost loyalty. Nor were the Lords backward in laying their offering of thanks at the foot of the throne. That the business of the session might wear an aspect of befitting solemnity, William appointed a day of fasting and humiliation, for imploring the blessing of God upon its deliberations.

Early in the session the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason was again introduced into the Commons, and became law. By that Act a palladium was secured against the tyranny of despotically inclined sovereigns, equally to peers and commons, and to all Englishmen. One of its most important clauses was that prisoners should be admitted to make their defence by counsel learned in the law, thus obviating the difficulties under which persons charged with high treason had for ages laboured.

William gave the royal assent to the above important Act on the 21st of January, 1696. On the same day he also gave his assent to a Recoinage Bill, which had, from the opening of the session, been under the consideration of both Houses. The defective state of the coinage had long been a national evil, and every year it was becoming more and more insupportable. The clipping of money was one of the crimes of the age, for which many ended their days on the gallows. Nor was it for clipping only that men were hung. Men were executed for counterfeiting, as well as mutilating the money of the realm. Nearly all trade was carried on with money worth only about half its nominal value. This was the evil alluded to in the king's speech at the opening of parliament, and it was an evil of no ordinary magnitude. While many were enriched by it, many more were impoverished. Traders put a higher price on their commodities, to bear a proportion with the clipped shilling, and labourers who were paid in the depreciated coin could only, therefore, obtain about half a loaf, instead of a whole one. Dealers, also, who had to make remittances in guineas, or in bills which represented guineas, had to pay thirty shillings at least for each guinea. It was a golden harvest for the banker and the money-changer. They grew rich out of the perplexities of those who had to sell or buy. Every class suffered but them. Evelyn says, that Charles Duncombe, who not long before was a mean goldsmith, made a purchase of the late duke of Buckingham's estate of Helmsley, in the north riding of Yorkshire, for 90,000*l.*, and was reputed to have about as much more in cash. Pope alludes to this fact in one of his satires, thus:—

> And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
> Slides to a scrivener or a city knight.

It was computed that out of five millions of current silver coin, four millions were clipped, while about one million six hundred thousand pounds of unclipped coin were either hoarded up, or only occasionally appeared in remote places. The great question was how to deal with this monstrous evil. Intrinsically the four millions were only worth about half its nominal value, and the question was, who should sustain the loss of two millions. This had long been a subject of debate in the financial world. It had been proposed that money should be coined of a less intrinsic value to replace the old; that is, to coin a shilling, worth only ninepence, to pass for a shilling worth twelve. A more plausible proposition had been made than that, namely, that after a certain time the old money should pass only by weight, and that upon this principle the mutilated money should be exchanged for a silver coinage, of which a shilling should be worth twelve pence. But there was this solid objection to such a proposition. It would have been, not at the national cost, but at individual misery. Government took a wiser course, a course it was indeed bound to take—for the evil which the state had caused, the state was bound to repair. When the House of Commons came to debate this grave question, Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, proposed that a new coinage should be issued, and that the loss of the clipped money should be borne by the nation at large, the burden to be imposed upon those who were most able to bear it. A special fund was to be provided by a house tax and a window tax—cottages being exempt—and up to the 4th of May, clipped money was to be received for taxes. This plan was approved by the committee of ways and means, and received the sanction of the whole House. But it was still doubtful whether such a measure for reforming the currency would pass into law. There were brawls almost amounting to riots in London, stirred up chiefly by the Jacobites, who thought they saw a chance of pulling down the throne of William in this season of adversity; but the Recoinage Bill, in conformity with Montague's resolutions, passed the Lords with some slight amendments, which the Commons conceded, in return for their lordships' concessions in the matter of the bill for regulating trials in cases of treason and misprision of treason, and, as before seen, in one day received the royal assent. It took some time to regulate the exchanges of the people. By the time when the receipt of clipped money was to cease for the payment of taxes, most of it had disappeared from circulation, and the mechanical resources of the time were not sufficient to produce a new coinage in sufficient quantities to take its place. At first the difficulty was somewhat relieved by the issue of exchequer bills, and finally it was overcome by the establishment of provincial mints, which, combined with the royal mint, over which Newton presided as master, eventually supplied a circulating medium equal to the demand, and the panic soon subsided.

Before proceeding with the records of this session of parliament, it is here necessary to take a brief view of the affairs of Scotland, from the period of the massacre of Glencoe to the year 1695, just closed, when the mystery by which it had been surrounded was brought to light. About the time when William went on his last campaign, the parliament of Scotland, after a recess of two years, met again at Edinburgh. Hamilton, the lord high commissioner, was then dead, and his post had been filled up by John Hay, marquis of Tweeddale. The task which the new lord high commissioner had to perform at the meeting of the Estates was by no means easy or pleasant. It was an inquiry into the massacre of Glencoe, the blood which had been shed there three years before having at length made itself heard. The story, which had been published by the French in their gazettes, and reiterated again and again in the libels of the Jacobites, had roused all Scotland. It was in the mouths of Scotchmen of every degree, and of all factions and all sects. Political hostility to the master of Stair had much to do with the general demand for inquiry, for if only half of what was rumoured were true, it was felt that it would prove fatal to his power and his fame. Two years before William had authorized an investigation of the matter by the duke of Hamilton and others, but at his death nothing had been done. It would have been well if the king had not let the matter rest, for the Jacobites used the story chiefly to his discredit. At length, however, he was advised to take a more decided course, and to anticipate the measures of the Scottish parliament. A commission of precognition was issued to the marquis of Tweeddale and other privy councillors, and sent down to Edinburgh. That commission arrived only just in time, for on the meeting of parliament a member had risen to move for an inquiry into the circumstances of the slaughter of Glencoe, and was only prevented by being told that a few hours before a commission of precognition had been passed in all the forms. The king had signed it at Kensington, and it had been sealed with the Great Seal of the Scottish realm. The examination was conducted with closed doors, and both commissioners and clerks were sworn to secrecy. Weeks passed before the report was completed, and much impatience had been displayed by the Estates at the delay, but when at length it was produced it was one of a conclusive character. First it affirmed, from the evidence obtained by the commissioners, written and oral, that the slaughter of Glencoe was a barbarous murder; and second, that of this murder, the letters of the master of Stair were the original and sole cause. Having taken this report into consideration, the Scottish parliament on the 10th of July agreed to an address to the king, in which the following are its most material passages:—"We humbly beg that, considering the master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion in a great measure to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise; and considering the high station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg that your majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit . . . . And considering further, that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your majesty would be pleased to send the actors home, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according to law; there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion as it has lain under upon this occasion." It is remarkable that the Scottish parliament should have been so lenient with the chief offender in this business. They pronounced the master of Stair the author of the massacre, and yet forbore to demand justice upon him as a murderer. And in this instance, although William had some excuse for lenity in the mild recommendation of the Estates, he was too merciful. If the Scottish parliament did not cry aloud for vengeance on the master of Stair, justice did, and yet he was only dismissed from office. Hill and Livingstone escaped from the imputation of guilt altogether; and the guilt of Hamilton and Duncanson was only considered doubtful. It was the "actors," who had "barbarously killed men under trust," who were distinctly designated as murderers, and whom the king was called upon to prosecute. Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Sergeant Barbour were all considered worthy of death. And so no doubt they were, but they had acted under orders, and though morally guilty, they were not legally so, and therefore the king did not cause them to be prosecuted. Besides, the Scottish parliament granted absolute impunity to every one below the rank of sergeant, and it would have been unjust to have punished the superiors and let the privates go free. All acted under orders, and if military obedience was not a valid plea, then every one who on that fatal night shot a MacDonald was a murderer. There was another person connected with the Glencoe massacre whose guilt was not clearly proved before the commission. This was the earl of Breadalbane. But this "other great culprit" besides the master of Stair did not come off quite unscathed. In the course of the inquiry it was discovered that while he was distributing King William's money among the highland chiefs, he recommended them to take the money of the "usurper," but to watch constantly for an opportunity of restoring King James to his rightful throne. On discovering this, a warrant was issued to bring Breadalbane before the Scottish parliament, and he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh on a charge of high treason. The session closed and he was still prisoner in the castle, but government soon let him go free. He maintained that he had secret orders from William to say anything that would procure him credit with the Highlanders, and pleaded that he had only pretended to be a Jacobite to get at the bottom of the Jacobite plans to serve King William. This plea of double treason prevailed, and he was pardoned.

Whether Breadalbane meant to serve King William in his negotiations with the highland chiefs may be doubted, for the depth of his knavery was unfathomable. There were still many both in England and Scotland whose loyalty was more than doubtful. At the time the English parliament was sitting, the king's life was even in danger. On the 24th of February, 1696, he went to the House of Peers, and informed the assembled Lords and Commons that he had received communications that there was a design to assassinate him, and that the enemies of the kingdom were pushing forward preparations for an invasion. Some of the conspirators he said had been arrested, and measures had been taken for the arrest of others. He had also given orders regarding the fleet, and had sent for some of his troops from the Continent to defend the kingdom. The words assassination and invasion fell like a spell upon the two Houses. There are not two more hateful words in the lexicon to an Englishman. The Houses immediately determined upon a joint address, in which they acknowledged the Divine goodness which had preserved him to his people, and implored him to seize and secure all whom he regarded as dangerous. That he might do so, a bill was carried for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Another bill was also passed which provided that parliament should not be dissolved by the death of William. The loyalty displayed by both Lords and Commons on this occasion was unbounded. One of the county members, Sir Rowland Gwyn, proposed that they should enter into an association for the defence of their sovereign and their country. This proposition met with the warmest approval of the Commons. An instrument was drawn up, by which each for himself solemnly recognized William as "rightful and lawful king," and bound themselves to stand by his most sacred person and government, against the late King James and all his adherents. A similar association was formed by the Peers. Nor was the nation generally behindhand in their loyalty. Associations were everywhere formed for the defence of the throne and the kingdom.

The information which William had received of the twofold plot of assassination and invasion was no idle tale. It had a positive existence. A similar plot had been devised the year before, but had failed from two causes; the assassination, in consequence of William's departure for the Continent, and the invasion, because the French monarch could not spare any troops. On William's return from the Continent, however, both plans were resumed. According to the autobiographical memoirs of James, he conceived, from information he had given him, that at this time the "prince of Orange" was not so popular as he had been; that the country was giving him trouble and vexation; and therefore it was a good opportunity for his friends the Jacobites "to blow the coals." There were hundreds of Jacobites in England ready to "blow the coals" of insurrection, but were waiting to see whether there was any chance of kindling them into a blaze. They wanted ten thousand Frenchmen to aid them, and James communicated their wants to "His Most Christian Majesty" of France. Louis most readily promised the required aid, but he suggested that before he sent his troops to England the Jacobites should do something. That "something" was, first the assassination of King William, and then an open insurrection. These events brought about, then the French monarch would, as perhaps he might have done, equip his promised ten thousand troops for the invasion of England.

The whole body, or nearly so, of the Jacobites appear to have been privy to the greater plot of invasion and insurrection, but the minor plot, that of assassination, was only known to a chosen few. The duke of Berwick, the exiled monarch's natural son, was sent from St. Germains to conduct the more honourable mission of persuading the Jacobites to rise in favour of their rightful king; and Sir George Barclay, a Scotchman, was commissioned to undertake the more dishonourable mission, that of assassinating the king. Barclay having received his orders from the lips of James in his closet, repaired to London, whither he was followed by other desperadoes. He had a commission penned from beginning to end by James himself. That commission read thus:—"James R. Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby fully authorize, strictly require, and expressly command our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the prince of Orange, the usurper of our throne, and all his adherents, and to seize for our use all such forts, towns, strongholds, within our dominion of England, as may serve to further our interest; and to do from time to time *such other acts* of hostility against the prince of Orange and his adherents as may conduce most to our service. We, judging this the properest, justest, and most effectual means of procuring our restoration and their deliverance, and we do hereby indemnify them for what they shall act in pursuance of this our royal command." With this commission in his pocket, written in kingly style, but in the spirit of an assassin, Barclay reached England on his bloody errand. He landed in January, and he was followed in a few days by the duke of Berwick, who was charged to communicate with the more noted Jacobites, to ascertain what force they each could muster, and to fix the time of rising. The part which Barclay had to perform required the utmost prudence. So he disguised himself so effectually that his oldest friends on meeting him would have taken him for a stranger. It was in his disguise that Barclay gathered his co-participators in the contemplated crime around him. Some twenty troopers of the guard of King James had followed Barclay, with assumed names, to act under him, but these were not sufficient to carry out the design. It was thought, however, that forty men would be sufficient, and as there was no want of resolute hearts among the Jacobites, that number was very soon obtained. In obtaining them Barclay was aided by a monk, who at the risk of his neck heard confessions and said masses. That monk was a very valuable agent to Barclay. As the Jacobite zealots poured forth their confessions in his ears, he whispered in theirs how they might be rewarded for a greater sin than any they unfolded. Among the first to whom Barclay unfolded his plan were Charnock and Parkyns, who fell in with it heart and soul. The commission shown them by Barclay was all sufficient to satisfy their consciences. Charnock was so zealous for King James, that he at once engaged to find eight brave and trusty fellows to join the band of assassins. In reality he did more than he engaged to do, for Porter, to whom he communicated his design, and who entered into the plot with enthusiasm, brought five into the conspiracy, which, with the five Charnock himself provided, made ten accomplices furnished through his influence. Parkyns also provided his five men, all well mounted. With the twenty adventurers from France there were now thirty-five banded together on this deadly mission, and it was easy to make up the required number of forty.

Barclay himself enlisted one Edward Lorwick, who had been a major in the Irish army; the monk introduced two zealous papists, Fisher and Knightly; Fisher drew in a Roman Catholic zealot named Edward King, and King enlisted in the service one De la Rue, a noted French gambler. All the conspirators were well mounted and well armed. They had firearms, and short swords better fitted for stabbing than slashing. All that was now wanted was the opportunity of slaying King William. How to effect their purpose, and when, was a matter of grave debate. At length one plan was definitely fixed upon. Every Saturday William was in the habit of going from his palace at Kensington to hunt in Richmond Park. At that time there was no bridge across the river Thames, and William had to cross it in a boat near Turnham Green. It was on his return from hunting on the 15th of February, that the dark deed was to be effected. The place fixed upon was a narrow and winding lane leading from the landing-place on the north of the river to Turnham Green: a well-chosen spot for such a deadly purpose, as the lane was so narrow that a coach and six horses could not readily turn, while shrubs and bushes at the entrance of the green would have hidden from every eye what was passing therein. But as in the multitude of counsels there is wisdom, so in the multitude of villains there is generally treachery. When these forty conspirators first devised their plan, no doubt they were all sincere; but as the day for its execution approached, the risk of detection and failure, and perhaps the hope of reward, made one at least of the conspirators falter. That one was Fisher. On the 11th of February, Fisher obtained an audience of Portland, and told him that there was a design against the king's life. Two days later he waited on the duke again, with more precise information. At length Portland was convinced that Fisher spoke the truth. On the evening before the day fixed for the assassination, an unknown person waited upon him, and implored him not to let the king go abroad to hunt on the morrow, as there was a plot to kill him. There was sincerity in this man's declaration, for he informed Portland that he was a Jacobite, but that his conscience compelled him to give this caution. It was with difficulty that Portland persuaded the king to remain at home, but it was soon found that by so doing his life was saved. The conspirators were baffled. They thought they were detected, but were reassured on its being given out that the weather, which on that day was cold and stormy, had kept him at home. Next Saturday they flattered themselves he would be sure to go abroad to hunt, and though the delay was vexatious, as they were safe, they could wait. But they were not safe. Before the 22nd, De la Rue, another of the conspirators, told his tale to Portland. It agreed with that which Captain Fisher and Prendergrass the Jacobite had related; and although the character of this third informer, like that of Fisher, did not entitle him to much respect, even the king himself, who had been reluctant to believe the tale, was now convinced of his danger. That he might have full confirmation of its truth, on the evening of the 21st William's generous enemy, Prendergrass, was sent for to the royal closet. Portland was there, as well as Cutts, captain of the guards. William expressed his deep obligations for the information he had given, but urged upon him the necessity of telling all he knew. The cautions he had received made him suspect every one around him, and it was necessary he should know the names of the conspirators. For a long time Prendergrass refused to comply with this request. Having at length, however, obtained William's promise that his evidence should not be used against any person without his free consent, the list of names was written down. It was then midnight, and the conspirators were revelling together at a Jacobite tavern in Maiden Lane. Here they received their final orders for the morrow. On the morning of the 22nd all was ready. The conspirators assembled at Porter's lodgings, and Prendergrass, at the king's request, was amongst the number. All were in high glee, for it had been ascertained that the king was surely going a hunting. His carriages had left the stables at Charing Cross for Kensington, and a party of guards as usual had gone forward to Richmond. On receiving this intelligence, the party adjourned to the Blue Posts, in Spring Gardens, to take a parting glass, before they started for Turnham Green. They were yet drinking success to their fearful work, when a message came from one of their spies, that the king's carriages had returned to the mews, and that the guards had returned to Kensington in hot haste. Keyes, who brought this news, said that he had just had a word with one of the Blues, who told him that "strange things" were muttered. It was well known what those "strange things" were, and the conspirators rapidly dispersed. For a few hours, however, they still clung to hope; but it was soon abandoned. On Sunday, the 23rd of February, twenty-one of their number were under arrest, and on the morrow the train-bands were in arms, and the parliament rallied round the throne with an outburst of loyalty which assured the king, that though traitors and assassins might conspire against him, he lived in the hearts of his people.

Meanwhile the duke of Berwick had failed in *his* mission, and had returned to France. Nor does it appear that he had any hope of the success of Barclay in his diabolical mission. He might succeed, and if so, so much the better for his royal father. And that James clung to the hope that they would succeed seems certain. When Berwick returned, he found that preparations were being forwarded for a descent on Kent. Troops were assembling, and transports filled the port. Boufflers was to have the command of those troops, and James was to accompany him, to take possession of his throne, when William was either conquered or dead. The tale which his son Berwick poured into his ears on his return was by no means favourable to his design to regain possession of his throne by conquest; but there was still a hope left. News might arrive that the usurper was no more, and then the whole aspect of affairs would be changed. With such a hope, James travelled on from Clermont, where Berwick met him, to join the army at Calais, and await the event of Barclay's plot. Berwick pursued his journey to Versailles, to tell the French king how matters stood. He had failed in his mission, he said, but there was a small band of loyal men left in England, who would make an attempt on the life of the great enemy of France, and the next courier might bring tidings which would have the effect of subverting the English government and dissolving the European coalition. To his shame it is recorded that on hearing this tale, instead of being moved to indignation, he sent orders to Calais that his fleet should be ready to take advantage of the crisis which was anticipated. As for James, he was on the very tiptoe of expectation. But news soon arrived that the conspiracy was discovered, that the hero of La Hogue was in the Channel, waiting again to do battle with the French fleet; and that the parliament and the people of England had pledged themselves to fight for their chosen sovereign to the last drop of their blood.

The compiler of the life of James writes thus:—"This intended attempt being thus discovered, it raised such a ferment in the nation, as put an end to the king's real design of landing, by making it impossible for his friends to assemble, they having enough to do to secure themselves from the strict and universal search which this discovery occasioned." There can be no doubt that the king's real design of landing was given up when he knew that Barclay had been frustrated in his design upon the life of the "prince of Orange." It would have been useless. The whole nation was up in arms at the discovery of that foul design. The words "assassination" and "invasion" acted like a spell upon the people, as it had done upon parliament. When the king issued a proclamation, containing a list of the conspirators, and offering a reward of a thousand pounds for the apprehension of any one of them, there was great commotion throughout the country. The popular zeal on this occasion was so intense, whetted no doubt by the hope of obtaining the magnificent reward for the apprehension of the conspirators, that in a few days all the chief conspirators were captured except Barclay, who, after several adventures, got safe to France. A special commission was issued for the trial of the prisoners, and there was no lack of evidence. Ten or twelve of the conspirators, anxious to save themselves, volunteered their testimony against their associates. And among these none were more forward than Porter, one of the most guilty of the whole band. Government, however, consented to spare him on condition that he unfolded the truth of the whole matter. And this he did with as little compunction towards his guilty associates as he would have had in assassinating William. But there was one witness who now volunteered his evidence, whose testimony had far greater weight with the jury who had to pronounce their verdict on the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, than all the rest of the approvers put together. Prendergrass, having committed no offence, was in no danger. He had received the royal word of honour that he should not be compelled to give evidence, but when he found that his friend Porter was safe, there was no need of compulsion. He was then ready to tell all that he knew, and to swear to the truth thereof. It was on the 11th of March, that the first conspirators were put on their trial. They were Charnock, who had been a fellow of Magdalen College, and a captain in the Irish army of King James; King, who had been a captain in the same service; and Keyes, who had been a trumpeter in the Blues, and servant of Captain Porter. They were tried before Lord Chief Justice Holt, at the Old Bailey. The evidence was clear against them. Porter, Prendergrass, and De La Rue were the witnesses. They were all found guilty. Till the fatal word was pronounced, Charnock had put a bold front upon the matter. Then his firmness gave way. He begged hard for mercy. But William would not listen to his plea or his promise. Feeling himself now more secure on his throne than ever, he had no desire of knowing the names of those who had employed Charnock in England. And this was wise magnanimity, for many who had been his enemies thereby became his friends. Charnock was, therefore, left to his fate. King was not so hardened in crime as Charnock. He acknowledged his guilt and the justice of the sentence passed upon him. As for Keyes, he was in agony at the approach of death. Charnock, King, and Keyes were executed at Tyburn. The two next put upon their trial were Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkyns, both men of wealth and standing in society. Next came Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lorwick, and Captain Cranburn. All were found guilty, and executed. Barclay, the greatest criminal of them all, had escaped to France, carrying back with him the commission on which the conspirators had acted, and William, satisfied with the examples of severity which had been made, stayed the hand of justice. There might indeed have been much more blood shed on this occasion, without incurring the reproach of cruelty. The final result of this Jacobite plot is thus well expressed by Evelyn:—"Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French army alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of King William." James himself was aware of the damaging effect it had upon his cause, and he took great pains to prove his innocence. But no one who looks carefully at the commission he gave to Barclay, and the whole narrative of the diabolical proceedings, can have any doubt of his guilt. When he had made "war upon the prince of Orange" in the miry and narrow lane of Turnham Green, and with his "eight good men" armed to the teeth had put to death the usurper of his throne, James was ready to carry out his design of landing, but when he knew that Barclay had failed to carry out his commission, then, and not till then, his design was given up. This circumstance alone is evidence that notwithstanding his declaration of innocence, and his broad assertion that the wind had disconcerted his measures to land in England, James was implicated in the guilt of this foul conspiracy.

Before that conspiracy was discovered, a question had arisen in parliament which greatly affected the popularity of William. The factious hostility of the Commons towards him had considerably abated, but they were not inclined to be subservient to his will and pleasure. William had been lavish in his favours to some of his Dutch friends, and especially to Bentinck, earl of Portland. He had made that earl a grant of a magnificent estate in Denbighshire, which was a part of the hereditary domain of the crown. The Commons took umbrage at this mark of favour towards Portland. An address was voted unanimously and carried up to the throne, in which he was told in the plainest language that the manors belonging to the crown were usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the princes of Wales for their support, and that the grant made to Portland was in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown. This matter became the subject of a warm dispute between William and his Commons, and William recalled his grant to Portland. When, however, the conspiracy above narrated was discovered, all was soon forgotten. Harmony between the king and his parliament was fully restored. We have seen what steps were first taken to defend the throne of King William; that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the two Houses entered into associations for its defence—an example which was followed by the whole nation. During the trials of the conspirators other indications of devoted loyalty were displayed in both Houses. Thus, an Act was passed which provided that, while the war lasted, whoever should come into England from France without the royal license, should incur the penalties of treason; that the Habeas Corpus Act should be suspended till the year 1696; and that all functionaries appointed by the king should retain their offices at his death, and until they should be dismissed by his successor. It was also enacted that no person should sit in the House of Commons, or hold any office, civil or military, without signing the form of association into which the House had solemnly entered. There was some opposition to this bill by the Tories, but their voice was unheeded. In the Lords the bill was opposed by Rochester and Nottingham, but even in that hotbed of Tories it received the warmest sanction. As regards supplies, they were not only granted with great liberality, but without reserve. Almost every money-bill had a clause of loan engrafted in its details. But the most conspicuous feature in the financial legislation of this session was the establishment of a Land Bank; conspicuous, because it was ill advised and led to disastrous consequences. It was established for the sole purpose of raising money for the use of the government. The idea of a land bank was not a new one. What it proposed was this—that it should be the special business of the Land Bank to advance money on landed security. Such a bank, it was contended, would supply the king with ample means for the next campaign without distressing the nation. It was a Tory project, conceived as a rival to the Whig Bank of England. Many Whigs, however, were smitten with it, and despite the opposition of the Whig leaders, and of Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, gave it their hearty support. King William, also, was in favour of the project. The state wanted money, and the projectors of the Land Bank offered to supply it on easier terms than the Bank of England. In return for its charter, the Bank of England had advanced one million only at eight per cent., but the Land Bank offered two millions and a half at seven per cent., and such an offer was not to be refused. A bill, therefore, was passed for establishing a National Land Bank, and a fund, chiefly arising from a new tax on salt, was set apart to pay the interest. It received the royal assent on the 27th of April, on which day parliament was prorogued.

Imagining that he would be well supplied with the sinews of war, William again set out for the Continent. He arrived in Holland on the 7th of May. The campaign of this year, however, was far from being brilliant. Before William joined the allied camp, the earl of Athlone and Cohorne performed almost the only exploit of the year. This was the utter destruction of a gigantic magazine which the French king had created at Givet, on the frontier of his kingdom. In that magazine were all manner of stores necessary for his army; ammunition, provender for horses, and rations for his soldiers. The destruction of these stores was a heavy blow to the French monarch. He had collected them with great difficulty and expense, and he could not hope to repair his loss. When William arrived in Flanders, whither he proceeded from Holland, the French, under Villeroy and Boufflers, were already in the field. But there was no battle fought between the contending armies. All that was done was to march and countermarch to avoid a battle. Neither army was really in a position to fight. Both were in great straits for want of means. On the 22nd of May, William wrote to Shrewsbury, informing him that the French had taken the field, and that the allied troops were assembling, although they found it difficult to join, as the enemy had far advanced in great force. But William gave another reason of a different character which prevented the allies from assembling as he desired. "The troops in Flanders," he said, "are so much in want of money, that they can scarcely move, and if the treasury do not find prompt means to furnish supplies, I know not how I can possibly act." A great monetary crisis at this time prevailed in England. The lords justices who had the charge of William's affairs in his absence were in a dilemma, and when they consulted the goldsmiths of London and the directors of the Bank of England, they were not able to help them. No one knew what remedy to propose. It was imagined that the Land Bank would have afforded temporary aid to the government; but that was an utter failure. It was to lend money on mortgages, and to the state, but it could not get any to lend. All that was contributed to that magnificent undertaking by the 1st of August did not exceed 2,100*l.* At the same time the Bank of England, through the difficulties connected with the recoinage, could not pay its notes in specie. On the 4th of May, just when the old money had been chiefly paid into the Exchequer, and scarcely any of the new money had been issued, it was placed in jeopardy. The goldsmiths, who had from the first been hostile to the corporation, rushed to Grocers' Hall, and insisted on immediate payment of their notes, which was refused, because they were maliciously presented. The panic was extreme throughout the land. In the midst of it the chancellor of the exchequer issued for the first time exchequer bills drawn for various amounts, from five pounds to a hundred. These were widely circulated throughout the country, but they were much distrusted. There was no exemption from the general distress. The crisis was an apt illustration of the truth that, "If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." Evelyn notes in his diary on the 13th of May, "Money exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or received, all was on trust;" and a month later he writes, "Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets." The most opulent could seldom find cash sufficient to discharge their weekly bills, and the upper classes generally lived on credit. But of all the sufferers in this crisis, no one was a greater than King William. He was at the head of a great European confederation to fight the battles of his country, and of European liberty, and yet for want of money he could not move. Nay, it put him in fear that his army, if it did not wholly desert him, would mutiny. Again and again he wrote to the lords justices, urging them to send remittances to prevent such a catastrophe. He seemed at last almost to despair. On the 30th of July he told the lords justices that if they could not devise expedients to send contributions, or procure credit, all would be lost, and he would go to the Indies. But William was not a man to give way to despair. He had been in adversity before, and had risen superior to it, nor did he fear he would do so again. On the 31st of July, he sent Portland to England, to arrange about assembling parliament, on which occasion he remarked, "Rather than perish, all must be risked." To Shrewsbury at this time he penned a more noble sentiment, one that Englishmen in the day of calamity and fear should ever remember:—"May God relieve us from our present embarrassment, for I cannot suppose that it is His will to suffer a nation to perish which He has so often almost miraculously saved, though we have too well deserved it." Portland arrived in England just as the scheme of the Land Bank had proved a failure, and its offices were closed. In their extremity, the council of regency made an earnest appeal to the Bank of England. All they asked for was 200,000*l.*, to meet the king's pressing wants; and to induce them to consent to a loan, fair words, earnest entreaties, and large promises were employed, and at length the directors promised to do their best. They apprehended, however, that they would not be able to raise the sum without making a second call of twenty per cent. on their constituents. The question was discussed at a great meeting of the general court of the bank, on the 15th of August. That day was a memorable epoch in its history. The chair was occupied by Sir John Honblon, the governor, and who was this year lord mayor of London. Sir John stated the case fully to the assembly, and implored them to aid their sovereign in his distress. At first there was considerable murmuring among some of the members. They did not see how they could find so much gold and silver at such a time: if notes would do, they were at his majesty's service. But notes would not have been of any service to the army in Flanders. It was gold and silver only that would relieve their necessities. The sum was finally voted in gold and silver, and William received it, but he was not in a condition to carry on the war with vigour. His difficulties were a source of gratification to the Jacobites and the French, by whom they were greatly exaggerated; but every day they were now becoming less and less, for the royal mint and its accessories were pouring forth the new coin of the realm, and signs of returning prosperity gave hopes of its full fruition, which was in a short time enjoyed both by the government and the nation. But the crisis had during the summer paralyzed the efforts of William in Flanders. The French, however, were no more able to assume the offensive than the allies. No important military operation could be attempted anywhere. The French king, indeed, had now turned his thoughts to a general peace. Overtures were made by his envoy to the States-General; and it is probable that they would have led to peace, if he had not gained at that time a great diplomatic victory in Italy. During seven years he had in vain attempted to break up the confederacy banded against him by his skill in diplomacy. William had baffled all his arts by his energy and statesmanship. English gold, however, had much to do in keeping the great array of potentates which William had gathered round him from deserting his cause. It was the want of gold, in this his eighth campaign, which made him fear there would be a total desertion. And there were solid grounds for such a fear. His embarrassments induced the duke of Savoy to make a separate peace with, and to join his arms to those of France. The false duke, with the French Marshal Catinat, marched with the Milanese, and informed the allies that they must declare Italy neutral ground, or henceforth he was their enemy. Alarmed at this, the courts of Madrid and Vienna submitted tamely to his dictation. It was in vain that William expostulated and protested; for a time his influence was nugatory. That influence had been sustained by his gold, the want of which made it vanish into thin air. The French monarch, exulting in his success, again became arrogant towards William and the English nation. When he first made overtures to the States-General, he had made up his mind to acknowledge the "prince of Orange" to be the lawful king of England. He had instructed his envoy to make a declaration to that effect, and he had formed a scheme for getting rid of his "illustrious exile," James, by obtaining his election to the sovereignty of Poland. The success of Louis, however, in sowing disunion among the allies, and the monetary crisis in England, by which he presaged the ruin of William, produced a change in the policy of the *Grand Monarque*. He instructed his envoy at the Hague now to declare that he would not acknowledge William king of England, but only treat with him for peace as "prince of Orange."

When William returned to England in October there were everywhere signs of a defection from the alliance which he had so long maintained. To him the thought must have been humiliating, but he did not despair. Gold was becoming abundant, and William felt that what it had once effected among his allies it would effect again. He gave way, therefore, to no coward fears. When he met his parliament on the 20th of October, his language was such as must have astonished not only France but all Europe. "It is fit," he remarked, "that I should acquaint you that some overtures have been made in order to the entering upon a negotiation for a general peace; but I am sure we shall agree in opinion that the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands; and that we can have no reason to expect a safe and honourable peace, but by showing ourselves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual war." William boldly asserted that there was much cause for congratulation. True, he said, the funds for the support of the war voted in the last session had failed, and the recoinage had produced great distress, which he lamented; but the enemy had gained no great advantage abroad; the state had not been torn by convulsions at home; and the army and navy, in the midst of all their privations, had proved loyal and faithful to his crown. He maintained that the hopes of those who wished evil to England had been disappointed; and he called upon his parliament for liberal supplies to enable him to carry on the war with vigour. The speech of the king on this memorable occasion was answered by the Commons in the same spirit which it displayed: that of indomitable resolution. It was magnanimously resolved by them, almost without a dissentient voice,—First, that they would support the king against all foes, foreign and domestic, and furnish him with ample means to prosecute the war; second, that the standard of money should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; third, that they would make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary funds since his majesty's accession to the crown. And these noble resolutions, the honour of which is chiefly due to Montague, the young chancellor of the exchequer, did not spring from a momentary feeling of loyalty. Within a fortnight nearly five millions were voted for the military and naval services; the former of which was to consist of eighty thousand soldiers, and the latter of forty thousand seamen. All Christendom was amazed by these proceedings in the British House of Commons. But the nation was solvent. Under the magic touch of Newton, the warden of the mint, bright golden guineas and silver coins of every denomination daily flowed into circulation, to the great joy of the people. Nor was this all. There had been a vast mass of guineas hoarded up by men more mercenary than patriotic, in the belief that they would each pass for thirty shillings; and of five-shilling pieces, which it was expected would each purchase commodities of the value of seven shillings and sixpence. After the famous resolution of the Commons, it was no longer of any use to hoard up these treasures, and milled money of true weight and fineness, long concealed in strong boxes and secret drawers, began to come forth and pass from hand to hand in trade and commerce. The crisis was now past. Every day money became more abundant, and every day trade improved. The magnanimous firmness of the king and of the House of Commons had saved the nation. That firmness was felt at every court in Europe, and by no court was it more potently felt than that of Versailles. The French king was now convinced that there was no chance of a counter-revolution in England. It was not long, indeed, before a letter was received from the Hague, which contained news that caused shouts of triumph to be raised in the British House of Commons, and general joy throughout the nation. One concession on the part of the king of France was only wanting to restore the peace of the civilized world. That concession Louis was now willing to make without restriction, condition, or reserve. It was a hard necessity, but there was no alternative. He had fought year after year for the cause of his kinsman James, and fought, it must be confessed, with indomitable resolution; but after all he was at last willing, whenever a treaty of peace should be signed, to recognize the "prince of Orange" as king of Great Britain.

During this session extraordinary proceedings, under a Bill of Attainder against Sir John Fenwick, somewhat interrupted the deliberations of the Commons on the subject of public credit. Fenwick had been deeply implicated in the double plot of assassination and invasion. Evidence had been given by two witnesses—Porter and Goodman—to that effect, and his name appeared in the proclamation. He stood more especially accused of being in conjunction with Friend, Parkyns, and others, of corresponding with James, and supplying him with a list of the forces in England, and of their disposition. For some time he eluded the vigilance of those employed to search out traitors. The first heat of the pursuit was already over, when in the course of the summer he was discovered and apprehended at New Romney, in Kent, and was sent to the Tower. Before his capture he had endeavoured to escape punishment by an ingenious device. There were only two witnesses who could prove his guilt—Porter and Goodman—and these were both necessary to the crown to insure his conviction. If either of these could be bribed to abscond, then he would be safe. Porter was tried, but he remained faithful to the government. He consented, indeed, to receive three hundred guineas as his reward for absconding, and Fenwick's agent had already counted them out on the table, when Porter gave a signal, and messengers with a warrant from the secretary of state rushed in and took the unlucky agent into custody. The attempt to bribe Porter was indicative of Sir John's guilt, of which indeed there could be no doubt; while in a letter which he wrote to his wife after his apprehension—which letter was intercepted and sent up to Whitehall—there was sufficient evidence to condemn him without any witness, if such evidence had been admissible on his trial. In that letter he represented that he was a dead man unless his friends would intercede for him with William, and obtain his pardon. He suggested that the great interest of the Howards might probably save him. When brought before the lords justices, he at first boldly defied his accusers, but when his own written letter was shown him he was confounded. He expected his trial would take place immediately, and if so, he felt his doom was certain. In order, therefore, to delay his trial, he wrote to the duke of Devonshire, offering to give evidence of an important nature. He would, he said, if mercy was shown him, reveal everything he knew of the plots of the Jacobites. At William's desire the duke visited Fenwick in the Tower, from whom he received a long written confession. It was a mixture of truth and falsehood, and served only to whet the axe which was to sever his head from his body. The substance of his confession was this:—That ever since James had been at St. Germains there was a select number of his friends in correspondence with him and his secretary, and who used all the means in their power to corrupt men in office, and in the fleet and army, to bring about his restoration; that Lord Godolphin had been the most constant and zealous correspondent of James; that Lord Middleton had been his courier to treat with Shrewsbury and Godolphin, and other men in office; that when James was at La Hogue, one Captain Lloyd was sent over to him by Marlborough and Russell, with an assurance of their interest in the army and fleet if he would only grant them pardon for the past; and that Shrewsbury, in taking office under William, had assured James that he only did so to render him service. Most of those, therefore, whom Fenwick denounced as traitors to King William, were at the very time he made his confession in his majesty's confidence and favour. Marlborough was an exception, and if what Fenwick said of him was true, he was entirely dependent on the exiled monarch. But Fenwick's confession had no weight with the king. It was sent to William at the Hague, and he transmitted it to Shrewsbury, with a letter in which were these remarks:—"You may judge of my astonishment at his effrontery in accusing you. . . You will observe the sincerity of this honest man, who accuses those in my service, and not one of his own party." It was William's wish that Fenwick's trial should take place before his return to England; but the delay caused by the confession had given rise to another obstacle in proceeding against him. Goodman had been tampered with, and had gone out of England. As two witnesses were required by law in cases of treason, and only one could be found to appear, Fenwick now thought his life was safe. The confession, however, which he had made had arrayed against him an implacable and a most formidable band of enemies in parliament. Conspicuous among these was Russell, who was bent on vengeance Soon after parliament met, he rose in his place in the Commons, and laid Fenwick's confessions on the table. Russell said he laid them on the table by the king's permission, which is very probable, as Fenwick had given William deep offence but a few days before in the royal closet. Anxious to do justice, and to know the real truth, Fenwick had been sent for from the Tower into the king's presence at Kensington. On his arrival he was told that his papers were unsatisfactory; that instead of divulging the plots formed by himself and accomplices, he had told stories about noblemen and gentlemen with whom he did not pretend to have any intercourse. William charged him, if he hoped for any favour from him, to give him at once, *viva voce*, a full and straightforward account of the secrets locked up in his bosom. Imagining himself safe, Fenwick refused to say anything. "Be it so," replied the king, "I will neither hear you nor hear from you any more." Wrath had gone out against him, and in this instance the wrath of William was "as a messenger of death." As William had been angry at the confessions made by Fenwick, so were the Commons. When they were read there was a perfect tempest of fury. In laying them on the table, Russell, with a spirit and dignity of a man of perfect innocence—which was more than doubtful—demanded justice for himself and Shrewsbury. "If," he said, "we are innocent, clear us. If we are guilty, punish us as we deserve. I put myself on you as on my country, and am ready to stand or fall by your verdict." Russell well knew that he could at this time boldly claim the protection of the parliament and the nation against any accusation brought against him, true or false. As Fenwick stood at their bar, he was exhorted by the Speaker to make a full and ingenuous confession; but he hesitated, evaded, and finally refused. Thrice he was removed from the bar, and thrice he was brought back, in the hope that he would earn the favour of the Commons by a full revelation of all he knew. If full pardon was promised him, then he said he would give a further account of the matters contained in his confessions, but not till then. The Commons were incensed at his refusal. It was instantly voted that his confessions were false, scandalous, and made only to save himself and create jealousies. But it was well known that they were not wholly false. It was generally believed that Marlborough and Godolphin, who had sat at the council board of Charles and James, and who had voted for a regency at the Revolution, were at least guilty. So strong was the general feeling against Godolphin, that he waited upon the king in his closet, and offered to resign his seals of office, which William, more to his surprise than pleasure, accepted. The duke of Shrewsbury, in his humiliation, had not been so treated by the king. He had urged his resignation, to which William would not listen. When, therefore, the Commons voted the confession of Fenwick to be false and scandalous, that vote must have emanated from party spirit and not from an honest conviction of its justice. Indeed, the prosecution of Fenwick had now assumed the character of a battle between the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs were resolved not to let Fenwick escape. From the absence of Goodman, it was useless to put him on his trial before a jury, but there was yet another means of insuring his condemnation, and that was adopted. Having voted his confession "false and scandalous," a motion was next made to bring in a Bill of Attainder. But now when the terrible words "Bill of Attainder" were pronounced, it aroused their fiercest passions. Leave, however, was given to bring in the bill by a large majority. But in every stage of its progress through both Houses it encountered the sternest opposition. Burnet says, that "the debates were the hottest and longest of any that he ever knew." The debate did not turn so much upon the actual guilt of Fenwick—for that was clear—but as to whether he could be legally convicted by the evidence of one witness. The Tories, either from party spirit or patriotism, supported the cause of liberty and humanity by those very arguments which the Whigs had used against them in former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more success, espoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, of which they had formerly so bitterly complained, and by which the Tories had brought some of their party to the scaffold. To gain their point there was a complete change in the sentiments of these great rival parties. But the issue did not depend upon argument, but upon numbers, and the Whigs preponderated. At the final division upon the guilt of Fenwick, and upon the consequent Bill of Attainder, the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The Whig majority, however, was not one of great triumph either in the Commons or the Lords: in the former it being only thirty-three, and in the latter only seven. When brought before the bar of the House and interrogated, he still refused to tell more than he had told, except under a promise of pardon. He was assured that if he dealt with their lordships with sincerity, they would intercede for him at the foot of the throne, which intercession he was told would doubtless be successful; but it was all in vain. He was carried back to his cell without hope. At the final division, the duke of Devonshire, who had received Fenwick's confession in the Tower, and had hitherto supported the bill, voted against it. He had hoped that fear would induce Fenwick to make a frank confession, but when he found that he would not, he declared he could go no further. He could not, he said, put a man to death by act of parliament! Those of the peers whom Fenwick had accused took different courses. Shrewsbury absented himself. Godolphin was still more generous. Throughout the debate he was present, and voted with the minority. On the other hand, Marlborough not only warmly supported the bill, but induced Prince George to do the same. It is related that this was the first instance in which Marlborough voted with the Whigs, so that it is clear he was actuated, like Russell, by revenge. Indeed, the whole proceeding savoured of that unhallowed principle, and must ever remain a blot upon the reputation of the Whigs as defenders of public liberty. It has also brought dishonour on the memory of two eminent churchmen. By an ancient canon of the Church, those who ministered at the altar were forbidden to take any part in the infliction of capital punishment, and ever since the days of Cranmer its wise injunction had been religiously observed; but on this occasion there was no lack of lawn sleeves during the debate, and at the final division Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Burnet voted with the majority. Fenwick was beheaded upon Tower Hill, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1697.

During the debates on the Bill of Attainder, the eccentric and unscrupulous earl of Monmouth managed to implicate himself in such a manner as to find a lodging for a time in the Tower, by some indiscreet and unwise papers he had written, and urged on Fenwick to use for his own deliverance. The papers he had written were pronounced scandalous, and their author guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and was dismissed from all his offices. At the end of the session, however, he was released, and though for a time he was reduced to poverty, and was hated by both Whigs and Tories, in after times he inherited the wealthy earldom of Peterborough, and performed exploits in war which rendered him one of the most popular men in the kingdom. The fate of the duke of Shrewsbury was most melancholy. Fenwick had accused him of complicity with the court of St. Germains; Monmouth had sought by means of Fenwick to bring about his ruin; and at this time he was charged with a crime which, if it could have been proved, would have been fatal to his life, and the reputation of the party to which he belonged. One Matthew Smith, nephew of Sir William Perkins, had been fostered by Shrewsbury as a spy, but had been discarded by the duke for his non-intelligence. Bent on revenge, he whispered into the ears of Monmouth that Shrewsbury had received early information of the assassination plot, and that he had taken no measures to prevent its accomplishment. This tale Monmouth related to Portland, and Portland related it to the king. William declared it was to his own knowledge false, and when Smith had been examined by the peers, they too pronounced it to be a lie. On all the charges which had been brought against him Shrewsbury was acquitted by the king, the parliament, and the nation. But Shrewsbury had a tender conscience. He could neither face the king again nor the parliament. He resigned office, and with a mind ill at ease sought repose in retirement on the Continent. Yet, like Monmouth, he once again appeared upon the stage of life; but, unlike him, only to enjoy one brief gleam of that political honour he had forfeited, to light him peacefully to the chamber of death.

This session of 1696-7 was chiefly devoted to recriminations and prosecutions. There was an inquiry into miscarriages by sea, the Whigs being desirous of adding another victim to their political vengeance in the person of Sir George Rooke. Rooke had been ordered to intercept a French squadron in its way to Brest, which was supposed to be preparing for a descent upon England. In this Rooke failed, for the simple reason that the French fleet sailed to New Spain; and the Commons, finding that the admiral had done his duty, desisted from the prosecution. Political enmities having at length somewhat subsided, the Commons proceeded to more legitimate business—that of legislation. Several laws were enacted for regulating the domestic economy of the nation. Among others, an Act was passed for relieving creditors in cases of escape, and the prevention of abuses in prisons and of pretended privileged refugees.

The king closed the session with a speech—in which he thanked the Commons for their liberal supplies—on the sixteenth of April. He intimated that it was necessary for him to repair to the Continent, first taking care to place the administration of government in the hands of those on whom he could depend. In the interim he conferred new honours, and made some new ministerial arrangements. Somers became lord chancellor, instead of keeper of the great seal, and was created Baron Somers of Evesham; and Russell was elevated to the peerage by the titles of earl of Oxford and Viscount Barfleur. In addition to his place of comptroller of the household, Wharton obtained the lucrative office of chief justice in eyre, south of Trent; and his brother Godwin was honoured with a seat at the board of admiralty. The office of first lord of the treasury, which Godolphin had resigned in October, was now bestowed upon Montague, and the vacant seat at the board which Montague had held was filled up by one of the most consistent Whigs of the period—Sir Thomas Littleton. These honours and promotions fell to the lot of the great Whig party, and as the Whigs had so zealously served the king throughout the session, they neither created murmurs nor astonishment. There was one appointment made, however, which created great discontent among both Whigs and Tories. Sunderland, who had promoted the councils of the king behind the curtain, became chamberlain, in the room of Dorset—who retired loaded with the royal favour—and was also appointed one of the lords justices. But if the people could not understand the motives of the king, neither could he understand their feelings. Their murmurs were unheeded, and Sunderland's elevation was soon forgotten in the general peace and prosperity which prevailed during William's absence on the Continent. There was general quiet in England during the summer of 1697. Every one—except the Jacobites, who were humbled and silent—rejoiced in the revival of trade, and the prospect of peace with France. Tranquillity also prevailed both in Ireland and Scotland, no events of importance occurring in either country to enlarge the page of history.

William embarked for Holland on the twenty-sixth of April. The campaign had been opened by the French in Flanders with some degree of vigour. They had taken the small town of Adth, and were pushing forward for Brussels. William, however, saved that city from a second bombardment. By a rapid night movement over the plain of Waterloo, and through the forest of Soignies, he outmarched the French generals, and entrenched himself between their forces and the city. His entrenchments were so formidable that the enemy did not venture to attack him, nor was he now willing to attack them. At this time, indeed, the pen of diplomacy was busy at work to stop further effusion of blood. The French monarch had at length made a sincere offer of peace, and the conditions he offered were both equitable and honourable. To restore peace to Europe he offered to relinquish the conquests which he had made during the war. He would cede Lorraine to its own duke, and give back Luxembourg to Spain, and Strasburg to the empire. He would also acknowledge William as king of England. There can be no doubt that these offers were made more from necessity than from justice or humanity. His troops were in the field, but he lacked the means of supporting them with sustenance and the materials of war. William met these offers in the spirit of a true statesman. Although better able than ever to continue the war, he gave his voice for peace. In this he was supported by the public opinion of both England and Holland. On the part of some of the allies, however, there was a difficulty in the way of a general pacification. Spain wanted concessions from France, which she had no right to expect, and which the French monarch could not in honour concede. The emperor of Germany, also, with a view to his own interests in the succession to the crown of Spain, was desirous of prolonging the war. But for England and Holland, powers which alone of all the members of the coalition had done their duty manfully, both these potentates would probably have been driven from their thrones by the power of France; and yet, if their voices could have prevailed, the war which had lasted eight years might have lasted eight years longer still. William was justly indignant at such conduct Everything was done by Spain and Austria to circumvent the work of pacification. There was a long contention about the place of meeting. The emperor proposed that the plenipotentiaries of all the powers should meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the French proposed the Hague. The preliminaries of a treaty had been settled between England and France by the earl of Flanders, at first in a small cottage in the plains of Halle, and subsequently at Brussels. When the preliminaries were signed, William left his army and retired to his country house at Loo. He was at Loo when Austria and France were disputing about the place of meeting. It was finally arranged that the ministers of the allied powers should meet at the Hague, and the French plenipotentiaries at Delft, about five miles distant. Midway between the Hague and Delft there was a little village named Ryswick, and here it was that the question of peace or war was to be decided. The English plenipotentiaries were the earl of Pembroke and Edward Viscount Villiers; the French, Harlay, Crecy, and Callières; at the head of the Imperial legation was Count Kaunitz; and of the Spanish, Don Francisco Bernardo de Quiros. The ministers of the minor potentates were too numerous and too insignificant to be recorded. The king of Sweden, Charles XI., had been accepted as mediator, but he died before any great progress was made in the treaty, and his son, Charles XII., then but a youth, was called upon to succeed him in the mediation. The Swedish ambassador, Lillenroth, acted for his sovereign. Nothing was done for weeks, but some solemn trifling. June had arrived, and nothing had been effected. The hopes of peace were fast fading away. The olive branch offered by the French monarch seemed to be destined to bear nc fruit. It became too likely that the hostile armies would again draw the sword, and contend amid blood and slaughter for the empty glory of a victory. William, at his country house at Loo, became impatient. He was resolved to bring the mummery to a close. He would have peace, or if it was not speedily attained, would again mount his war horse, Sorrell. If peace could not be brought about by the pen, it should be by the sword. The sincerity of France should be tested. If she was really inclined to make peace, it should be made, despite the arrogance of Spain or the selfish ambition of the emperor. If his ambassadors would not accelerate the proceedings of the congress as they ought to do, *he* would. Accordingly he opened a direct and personal communication with the French king, through his brave Marshal Boufflers. The earl of Portland was intrusted with this negotiation. Portland and Boufflers met near Halle, a town about ten miles from Brussels, on the road to Mons. An explanation took place of a highly important nature. William had his misgivings as to whether the French monarch was sincere, and Louis had been led to believe that William was bent on protracting the war. Suspicions which had been entertained on both sides were at this interview removed. There was a warm friendship existing between Portland and Boufflers, for while the latter was retained as a prisoner after the fall of Namur, the former had treated him as a friend and a brother. Boufflers, therefore, readily undertook to explain everything to his sovereign, and to put the blame of the delay on those who were alone to blame. Boufflers corresponded with Louis, and Portland, still, as he received replies from Versailles, held conference with him at Halle. In six meetings they had done more than it was likely the plenipotentiaries would have done in as many years. Mutual demands were met by mutual concessions. There were no territorial disputes between them. At their first meeting Portland was authorised by William to say, on the part of England and the States-General, that they were satisfied with the terms of territorial arrangement that Louis had proposed. William's demands were personal. He required that France should bind herself never again to afford any aid to James or his adherents, to disturb the existing order of things in England; and that the exiled monarch should not be suffered any longer to remain in such dangerous proximity to England. On the other hand, Louis's demands were that a general amnesty should be granted to the Jacobites, and that Mary of Modena, the wife of James, should receive her jointure of fifty thousand a year. As regards William's requirements, Louis freely consented to pledge himself not to sanction any attempt to disturb the existing order of things in England, but he objected to the name of his kinsman, James, appearing in the agreement. He further objected to refuse his hospitality to an unfortunate monarch who had taken refuge in his dominions, and would not pledge himself even to indicate a wish that he should quit St. Germains; but Boufflers gave a significant hint that the matter might be managed, and that the exiled Stuarts would probably reside at Avignon. As regards the demands of the French king, William absolutely refused to make the exercise of his prerogative of mercy a stipulation with any foreign power, but expressed his readiness at all times to pardon the offences of every one who should feel disposed to live peaceably under his government. His reply respecting the annuity claimed by Mary of Modena was conditional. He would be willing to pay her that annuity if he could only be satisfied that it would not be expended in machinations against his person and his government. It was in the spirit of these objections that the mutual engagements of the two monarchs were drawn up and signed. No mention was made in them of James, or where he was to reside; and nothing was said of his Jacobite adherents, or of the jointure of Mary. So far as England and France were concerned, therefore, everything was settled. But the members of congress were still more disposed to quarrel than to proceed with the momentous business they had in hand. When it was known that Portland and Boufflers were concerting terms of peace between their respective monarchs, they were highly indignant. It was denounced as a most irregular and indecorous manner of negotiating for the peace of Christendom. The court of Spain was as arrogant as ever, while that of Vienna seemed resolutely bent on prolonging the war. Harlay, the French ambassador, wittily remarked: "It was odd, that while the ambassadors are making war, the generals should be making peace." They did their best to undo all that William had done. The plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, and France in vain united to bring the matter to a settlement. So indignant was France at the obstinacy of Spain and Austria, that early in July its ministers were instructed to declare that if the terms offered were not accepted by the 21st of August, France would not be bound by her offer. That threat had no effect. The 21st of August came and passed away, and yet the treaty was not signed. But Spain was brought to reason by two terrible blows which were about this time inflicted by France. Vendome captured Barcelona; and the French fleet, which had stolen out of Brest, had crossed the Atlantic and reduced the rich city of Carthagena. Spain was now humbled, and willing to accept terms of peace on any conditions. Austria, however, was still obstinate. To humble that power the French plenipotentiaries now announced to congress that his most Christian majesty intended to keep Strasburg, and that if the treaty, with this conquest conceded to France, was not signed by the 10th of September, further conquests would be exacted. On that day the treaty of Ryswick *was* concluded between France, England, the States-General, and Spain; and as there was but little doubt that the emperor would follow the example of the confederates, it was stipulated that he should be included in the treaty if he gave in his adhesion by the 1st of November. The expectations of the confederates were not disappointed. The ambassadors of the emperor signed the treaty of Ryswick on the 20th of October, and thus full peace, after a storm of war which had lasted eight long years, was restored to Europe.

During these negotiations James was employed in vain attempts to set them aside. Applications were made by him to all the Catholic confederate princes to join with France in a crusade against England to restore him to his rightful inheritance. The acknowledgment and recognition of William by the contemplated treaty was to him as gall and wormwood. In turn he poured forth lamentations and menaces. But no royal ear would listen to him. The pope, too, was as deaf to his entreaties as the associated monarchs. Innocent, then sitting in the papal chair, desired a lasting peace. The pacification of Italy was to him a matter of far greater importance than the restoration of James to his lost throne. Thus baffled, James pressed hard to have *his* plenipotentiary received at Ryswick. As the only true king of England, he asserted a right to send a minister to congress. That assembly, however, refused to admit him in any way as a party to the negotiations. Thus again baffled in his attempts to keep alive the flames of war for his own precious person, he issued in succession two impotent manifestoes. In the first he protested against the validity of all treaties to which William, as king of England, should be a party; pronounced all the engagements into which the government of England had entered since the Revolution null and void; and made a solemn declaration that *he* should not be bound by any of their engagements. James had the vanity to conceive that his threat would deter congress from entering into any engagements; and when he discovered that it was unheeded, that they *had* been entered into and solemnly ratified, he had recourse to a second protest of a still more high sounding but equally useless character. James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, &c., informed all potentates and princes who had been concerned in treating with "the prince of Orange," that he disclaimed and denied all proceedings adopted, and all articles inserted, in the treaty of Ryswick! They had been concluded without his participation, and therefore possessed no validity. It was with reluctance that his Jacobite adherents were convinced of the hopelessness of his cause. There was a full assurance among them that the French king, who had so long done battle for him, would not desert him at the congress. Even when the treaty had been signed by the plenipotentiaries, they could not believe that it would receive his most Christian majesty's ratification. When, however, peace was publicly proclaimed by the heralds, there was no longer any doubt. The most obstinate nonjurors began to despair. There was a breach made in their ranks by the great event. Many of them, losing all hope, at length swore allegiance to King William, while the fiercer and more determined still remained faithful to his cause. By the more zealous adherents of King James, the French monarch was looked upon as a grand deceiver. They had reckoned on his constancy, and he had betrayed them. *Louis le grand* had turned "rank Williamite." They were furious against him. Pamphlets and pasquinades of the most scurrilous nature issued from the press; one at least of which was so libellous that the lords justices had its author arrested and held to bail. This was something new in the history of the period. Many authors had been arrested for libelling King William, but never before had one of their tribe fallen under the ban of the law for writing evil of the king of France.

But the rage of the Jacobite minority was drowned in the loud acclamations of general joy. The public had been anxiously expecting during the summer the news of peace, and when at length, on the 14th of September, the Tower guns proclaimed the glad tidings, all London was in a ferment of exultation. In every part of the kingdom when peace was proclaimed there were heartfelt rejoicings. The general sentiment was expressed by thanksgivings in churches, by feastings, by bonfires of unusual magnitude, and by illuminations. There were but few lips in England which did not pronounce a hearty "God bless King William." The poet Prior was the messenger who brought the glad tidings, and William was close at hand to confirm them. When it was known that the king was coming, the Londoners busied themselves in raising triumphal arches. William made his entry into London on the 16th of November; and never did Roman emperor enter the gates of old Rome and pass through its streets amid greater acclamations than William was greeted with on his return after the peace of Ryswick. There was no work done, and no business transacted on that glad day. Every turn in its many streets exhibited tokens of the public gladness. Never were the citizens of London more loyal or more joyous. The evil days had passed away. Money had become abundant, and now that peace was obtained, and William's throne established, every one felt that a reign of prosperity had commenced. There was reason, therefore, for gladness of heart. All along from Southwark to his palace at Whitehall the streets were crowded with rejoicing spectators. The pomp and show can be more readily imagined than described. All classes came thither to greet the monarch who had brought about the peace of Ryswick. But what appears to have pleased William most was the multitude of well-dressed people along his route. Thousands in their Sunday clothes came to join in the universal shout of "God bless King William." "I never," wrote William to his friend Heinsius, "I never recollect seeing such an assemblage of well-dressed people." Nor was he untouched by the joy and affection with which he was greeted by the assembled multitude. "It is impossible," he wrote, "to conceive what joy the peace causes in England." And this was not a momentary feeling, nor was it confined to the good city of London. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him from all parts of the kingdom. Even the university of Oxford, tainted as it was with Jacobitism, presented an address in which his wisdom, courage, and virtue were lauded in language savouring of adulation. Every one hailed him as the restorer of peace. William, however, was not unmindful of Him in whose hands he was but the instrument of procuring the restoration of that great blessing to the nation. The 2nd of December was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving for peace, on which morning all the churches in the realm were filled with worshippers whose hearts were warmed with gratitude to God for his great mercy in bestowing upon them a sovereign who had so nobly defended their liberties and their religion. There was, indeed, great reason for joy and gratitude. England had passed through a fiery ordeal, which had threatened its destruction as an enlightened and independent nation. Dangers had surrounded her on every hand, and in every form by which a nation could be overthrown. She had been assailed by the threefold dangers of war, foreign and domestic; of treason; and of a terrible financial and commercial crisis, out of which at one time there seemed no hope of deliverance. But war was over; hydra-headed treason was crushed; and money, gold and silver, which are the sinews of trade and commerce and domestic comforts, as well as of war, had become abundant. There was peace abroad, and peace and prosperity at home. Nine years of incessant struggle, against difficulties which would have crushed many a king and many a people, had resulted in restoring England from a vassalage with which she had been enthralled by the perverse rule of the house of Stuart to her ancient standing in the first rank of European powers. Well might her people be proud of the sovereign of their choice, and rejoice in the great triumph which he had achieved for them by his indomitable courage, and almost unexampled skill in statesmanship.

Parliament met on the 3rd of December. It was a memorable meeting. William was a monarch of deep penetration. Secure for the hour, the nation was willing to believe there would be no future dangers. In this the king and the people did not agree. While in his speech from the throne he expressed his deep gratification that the long desolating war on the Continent was over, and that peace was re-established, he remarked: "The circumstances of affairs abroad are such, that I think myself obliged to tell you my opinion, that, for the present, England cannot be safe without a land force; and I hope that we shall not give those who mean us ill the opportunity of effecting that under the notion of peace which they could not bring to pass in war." In these remarks, as will be seen, there was matter for grave and even contentious deliberation. And yet it is evident that what he uttered was uttered with the full desire of securing the welfare of his people. In his speech he declared that what he most delighted in and best pleased to own, was that he had every proof of his people's affection a prince could desire, and that he gave them the most solemn assurance that as he never had, so he never would or could have, any interest separate from theirs. That was the language of a king who felt that he ruled over a free nation. The Commons replied in an address congratulatory of the peace which had been obtained, and of assurance that they would ever be ready to assist and support his majesty, who had confirmed them in their rights and liberties, and, by putting an end to the war, fully completed their deliverance. In his speech William expressed a hope that they would provide for him during his life in such a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. In this hope, so often expressed before, he was not now disappointed. With becoming gratitude, the Commons fixed the royal revenue at the liberal amount of 700,000*l.* per annum for his life, a sum with which William was well satisfied. But notwithstanding these appearances of good feeling between the king and his faithful Commons, there was one question on which they could not harmonize in sentiment. That part of his speech which recommended a standing army did not please either his parliament or the nation at large. As soon as it was known that the treaty of Ryswick was signed, men had asked one another what was to be done with the eighty-seven thousand soldiers then in arms? Were they in whole or in part to be retained in the service of the State? William knew, that now the war was over, that the country was no longer openly threatened by foes either foreign or domestic, it was impossible for him to keep up a single battalion without the sanction of the estates of the realm. And it was not without some show of reason that he impressed upon his parliament the necessity of keeping up a standing army. James still held his little court at St. Germains, and the French were slow in evacuating the fortresses and territories which they were bound to cede. But these considerations, as well as the danger which might arise from the machinations of the Jacobites, were lost sight of in the national detestation of a standing army. It was laid down as a fundamental principle of political science, that a standing army and a free constitution could not coexist. That such an army *had* been dangerous, both to the crown and the liberties of the people in previous ages, none could deny. History testifies to its truth. And at this time people had a lively sense of the dangers they had encountered by means of the soldiery in the reign of King James. It was by the military power that he had sought to trample on their liberties and to establish a rule of tyranny. While such was the feeling of the nation, the king, both as a statesman and a general, was reluctant to see the fine body of troops he had with such difficulty formed, disbanded. Both officers and men had given him many proofs of their courage and fidelity, and he looked upon them as guardians of his throne and the country. He did not think himself safe upon that throne in a kingdom where there were still many malcontents, men who had so often conspired against his person and his government. Nor was he quite at ease as to the future movements of his old enemy the *Grand Monarque.* Louis still retained a powerful army, and as a counterpoise he wished to follow his example. He was aware of the aversion of the people to a standing army, but he hoped that the Commons would distinguish between an army raised by a monarch's sole authority and a body of veteran troops which they themselves had voted for the security of the kingdom. In this hope he was encouraged by Sunderland. Sunderland, indeed, was generally accused as being the promoter of the plan of keeping up a standing army. And this was by no means favourable to its consummation. Of all statesmen round the throne of William, Sunderland was the most unpopular. He was looked upon, but most unjustly, as the deadly enemy of the liberties of the nation, and his support of the measure tended to make the nation more averse to it. It was on the 10th of December, that the question was considered in a committee of the whole House. It was on that day that the Commons received the king's answer to their address, in which they had assured his majesty that they would stand by him in peace as firmly as they had stood by him in war. No mention was made in the address of that part of the king's speech which referred to the keeping up a land force. This silence was perfectly understood by William, but he did not recede from his purpose. In his reply he told his faithful Commons, that as they had so nobly assisted him in the war, so no doubt they would with equal zeal aid him in the maintenance of peace. This answer plainly signified his wishes to retain a considerable land force in his pay. But in this he was disappointed. At the same time the Commons did not leave William wholly without a standing army. It had been the intention of many to propose that the defence of the country should be entrusted solely to the navy and militia. Harley, however, who came forward as the chief of the opposition, did not contend that there ought to be *no* regular soldiers. He simply maintained that it was unnecessary to keep up a larger force than that which had been maintained in 1680, and he moved that the military establishment should be reduced to that standard. His proposal was followed by a stormy debate. In that debate the feelings with which Sunderland was regarded by the majority of the House were strongly manifested. Sunderland had but few defenders in the Commons, and what defence those few made only served to increase the virulence of attack upon him by his numerous enemies. He was hated by both Whigs and Tories. He had recently given offence to the ministry. It was known that Trumball was about to retire from his office of secretary of state, and they designed recommending Wharton as his successor, but at the instigation of Sunderland William gave the seals to Vernon. Vernon was a Whig, and ministers had no personal objection to him, but the secrecy with which he had been appointed to office embittered their feelings. Sunderland asserted that he had exerted his influence on behalf of Wharton, but the Whig chiefs were not to be duped by a man whose reputation for lying was proverbial. Hence, when he was attacked by the Commons, ministers did not scruple to join in that attack. It became so furious that it seemed tolerably certain that an address would be moved requesting the king to remove him from his court and his councils. To save himself from such an affront, and perhaps from an impeachment, much against the wishes of the king, Sunderland tendered his resignation, and retired to his pleasant seat at Althorp.

Meanwhile the resolution of Harley had been adopted by a majority of one hundred and eighty-five votes to one hundred and forty-eight. The question at issue as to whether there should or should not be a standing army was decided. There was to be a standing army, but on a limited scale. But that decision did not end the debate. The war of words became fiercer than ever. One party, at the head of whom was Somers, argued that if it was right to have a standing army, it should be efficient; while another party, at the head of whom was Trenchard, contended that a great principle had been shamefully abandoned. It became now a question what number of troops should be maintained. The principle being established that there was to be a standing army, of what number of regiments it was to be composed was but of little consequence, except as to the cost of their maintenance. During the contention between the two parties, reflections were made on the character of the soldiers which threatened unpleasant results. Howe, in particular, who had seconded Harley's resolution, let his tongue run riot against the veterans who had so bravely fought at Steinkirk and Namur, for which he was threatened with their vengeance. Other members were in fear of being either called upon to fight or be caned for their contumely. The press, also, universally denounced the brave defenders of their country as its enemies and the very scum of society. William well knew that if any blow was given at this critical conjuncture by a soldier to a member of parliament, it would be adverse to his and their interests, and therefore wisely ordered the officers to their quarters, and restrained them from outrage by his authority and influence. By degrees the strong feeling which the Commons had displayed towards the army greatly cooled down. The tone of the House became more moderate towards the soldiers, and taking advantage of the reaction, on the 8th of January, 1698, ministers moved that Harley's resolution should be rescinded. That resolution, however, was confirmed by a small majority, and it was finally agreed that there should be a standing army of ten thousand men and no more. A vote was subsequently taken for 350,000*l.* for the maintenance of the army, and a few days later the House resolved to grant half-pay to the disbanded officers; a grant which was meant to be a retainer, and, probably, as a peace-offering to their outraged feelings. Later in the session, ministers also obtained a vote for three thousand mariners, so that after all William was not wholly shorn of military power. Before the question of a standing army was debated, it was urged that he should only have guards sufficient to escort his coach and protect his palace; but he not only obtained a small army, but by the vote of half-pay to his disbanded officers, the means of commanding the services of men of military experience if war should again break out. His own feelings on the subject are well expressed in a letter to the Dutch Grand Pensionary Heinsius:—"I shall get on as well as I can. It is fortunate that they have resolved to give half-pay to all the officers who shall be disbanded. I estimate their number at fifteen hundred or nearly so, so that if we could afford it, we should have the means of forming again a considerable army."

It was only on the subject of a standing army that the Commons opposed themselves to the king and his government. In all other matters they exhibited the warmest attachment to his person and his throne. As before mentioned, they voted that the sum of 700,000*l.* per annum should be settled on him for life, so that he was no longer a dependent monarch, asking year by year the means of supporting his regal dignity. A most liberal provision was also made for the navy, which was to consist of ten thousand men, a force considered in that age very great for a time of peace. Large sums were also voted to answer and cancel all exchequer bills, to provide for the deficiencies of former funds, and to discharge all subsidies due to the allies. Nor was it by pecuniary liberality alone that parliament testified attachment to William. By a bill which passed without opposition the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act was withheld for one year more from all those whom it was known had been implicated in the assassination plot, although their guilt could not be brought home to them by the indispensable testimony of two witnesses. As a safeguard to the throne, an Act was passed forbidding any English subject to hold intercourse, either in person, or by writing or message, with the exiled family at St. Germains. This may seem to have been an arbitrary measure, but it was not uncalled for. Since peace had been proclaimed, the young nobility and gentry had been going to and fro across the Channel, and it was feared that the subtle agents of James might seduce them from the allegiance of William. The agents of James, also, had been free to come to England and return to France, so that mischief might still, it was apprehended, be afloat. The peace, indeed, which had put an end to the apprehension of all foreign invasion, had, it was felt, created a new danger, that of facilitating domestic treason; and to guard against this it was made penal after a given day for any one who had been in France during the late war, or borne arms against his country, to reside in England without a special license from his majesty. The danger provided against by this measure was by no means imaginary. There were, when it passed, thousands of exiled English and Irish Jacobites who had long desired to return to their native homes. To them the Act became a salutary test. The great majority of them desired to live peaceably under the rule of William, and obtained his license to remain in England; but there were some fiercer nonjurors, who would not stoop to seek that favour of a king whose authority they would not own; and others, who, although they asked, from their known enmity to the government were denied the indulgence; both classes therefore were obliged to return to the Continent.

Early in February an attempt was made by the opposition to bring in a bill to apply a part of the forfeited estates to the use of the public. The country gentlemen, especially, felt the burden. The land tax of four shillings in the pound, which had been voted year after year, was a heavy encumbrance on their estates. This year it was reduced to three shillings; but with the return of peace they had expected still further reduction, if not its abolition. It was considered by them to be a war tax, which would cease when the war was over. But the question was, how could the grants voted by this parliament be met without a land tax? There were politicians abroad who taught them how it could be reduced still more, if not abolished. William's courtiers, English and Dutch, had been enriched by grants of crown property, and if those grants were resumed, then the country gentlemen might find further relief. Such was the object of the bill moved for by the opposition. It was a popular idea, and ministers were in a dilemma as to how they should deal with the question. They could not openly oppose it, for a general election was at hand, and such a course would have been dangerous to their interests. But what could not be done openly might, they conceived, be done covertly. Without finding fault with the bill, therefore, it was pretended that it ought to be retrospective. They moved, indeed, for leave to bring in two more bills, one for annulling the grants of Charles the Second, and another for annulling the grants of James the Second. These propositions, if carried out, would have deprived many Tories of their estates, and have driven them into poverty. Yet if the grants of William had been resumed, it would have been equally just to have resumed those which had been granted by the Stuarts. No valid objection could be made to the proposal of the ministers. Leave was given to bring in all the bills, but no one intended that they should pass. Both Whigs and Tories would have been affected by their operations, and although they quietly passed through several stages, they were first mutilated, and then strangled before they came to the birth. The interests of all parties were concerned in defeating the measure, and all parties were equally pleased with the abortion.

During the consideration of the resumption of grants another inquiry of financial importance occupied the attention of the Commons. When the exchequer bills were first issued they bore no interest; but on their being paid in upon any of the taxes, and issued a second time, they were entitled to an interest of seven and a half per cent. Montague was the inventor of these bills, and he it was who had induced parliament to enact, that even when they were at discount in the market, they should be received at par by the collectors of the revenue. There was a rumour abroad, however, that the Board of Treasury had placed false indorsements on the bills before they had been put into circulation at all. This heavy charge was chiefly laid on Montague himself. Duncombe, whom he had dismissed from his office of cashier of excise, instigated by Sunderland, was his accuser. According to Duncombe, the whole Board of Treasury was corrupt, and Montague in particular. He asserted that he was turned out of his office because he was too honest to join in their malpractices. Montague had many enemies in parliament, and there was a loud cry for an inquiry. That inquiry was instituted, but it resulted in a very different manner from what Montague's enemies—Tories and malcontent Whigs—hoped and expected. He was fully acquitted of malversation; but in the course of inquiry circumstances were discovered which pointed to Duncombe himself as the delinquent. He was put upon his examination, and so closely was he pressed that he convicted himself. He was at last, indeed, compelled to make a full confession of his delinquencies. He had bought exchequer bills, when at a discount, with the public money, and had paid them into the exchequer, by which he cleared a very large sum for his own private purse; and he had employed a Jew to forge names, some real and some imaginary, on the bills, by which he had amassed considerable wealth. His friends stood aghast at this confession, while Montague and his friends looked on exultant. No one could defend him. He was at once expelled the House and sent to the Tower. A few days later a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which provided that two-thirds of his property, real and personal, should be confiscated, and applied to the public service, passed the Commons. His property was estimated to be worth more than four hundred thousand pounds. Two-thirds of it were equivalent to about sevenpence in the pound on the rental of the kingdom, as then assessed for the land tax. If, therefore, it was confiscated, the country gentlemen might have been relieved to that amount of the burden of which they so bitterly and reasonably complained. No doubt they were as a body delighted at such a prospect of further relief. But there were stern objections to such a mode of remission of taxation. In a moral point of view, Duncombe deserved to be thus stripped of his ill-gotten wealth. Such an example, however, would have led to disastrous consequences in the state. If the estates of men who had become wealthy by crooked ways were to be confiscated for crimes which the law could not reach, there might have been a wholesale confiscation. There was a hot contest between the Lords and Commons on Duncombe's delinquencies, but in the end he was acquitted, but by a majority of one only;

and a motion moved by Rochester, that he should be set at liberty, being immediately carried, Duncombe was released from the Tower.

In the course of this inquiry it was discovered that one Thomas Railton held a grant in trust for Montague, chancellor of the exchequer. The grant was some securities forfeited in Ireland of the value of ten thousand pounds. Ostensibly the king had bestowed those securities on Railton, but, in reality, on Montague. Having failed to bring home the charge of peculation and forgery to the chancellor, his enemies conceived that they should from this discovery convict him of rapacity and prodigality. The Tories were loud in their denunciations of this transaction. The very man who brought the subject under the notice of the House was one of the last who should have stood forward as the champion of disinterested patriotism. This was Colonel Granville. Granville was a member of the house of Bath, a house which had been built up by the prodigality of the Stuarts, most undeservedly, if not most shamefully. But this second attempt of the Tories and malcontent Whigs to damage the reputation of Montague signally failed. A motion made that he should resign was negatived by a large majority; and it was moved and carried that Montague for his good services well deserved his majesty's favour.

It has been previously recorded that the House of Commons had affirmed the right of all Englishmen to trade with the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. Four years had elapsed since the Commons took this enlightened view of trade and commerce. The free-traders, however, had much to contend with in their enterprise. The old company looked upon them with jealousy, and did all they could to ruin them. On the other side of the Cape of Good Hope free-traders were in danger of being treated as smugglers, for the old company had power in the Asiatic seas which individual traders could not withstand. Very little progress, indeed, had been made in free trade with India. During this session the old company sought to drive them altogether out of the field of commerce. Government wanted money, and in return for a monopoly secured by law, they offered to advance the sum of 700,000*l.* at four per cent. for the public service. The Tories warmly urged that the offer should be accepted, but the Whigs did not feel inclined to receive it. They were in favour of a new company, by which they would be represented in the commercial world. Montague especially desired to see a new company established upon the ruins of the old. Under his auspices, another body of merchants offered to lend two millions at eight per cent., provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. This proposal was well received by the Whig majority in the House of Commons. But the Tories did not give up the old company, of which they were the original promoters and consistent patrons, without a fierce struggle. Petition after petition was presented against the proposal of the government. In their petitions the old company, and those who were interested in it, urged the sanctity of the existing charter, and the regard which was due to the numerous families, who, relying on its sanctity, had invested their substance in India stock. The services rendered by the company to the state from time to time were recounted in favour of its prolongation. In the hour of need they had supplied both money and the materials of war, and by desire of the lords of the treasury at a critical juncture had advanced 80,000*l.* for the circulation of exchequer bills. Finding that remonstrance was vain, the old company undertook to raise as much money as the new company had offered, and forthwith subscribed 200,000*l.* as the first instalment. But it was all in vain. The Whigs had their arguments in favour of a new company; the old company had in their opinion been weighed in the balances and found wanting. It was urged by them that there was a clause in the charter which reserved power to the government to revoke the charter, if, after three years' notice, it did not appear to be beneficial to the public; and as it did not appear to be so, then notice should be given that in the year 1701 it should cease to exist. As a proof that the old company had been prejudicial to the welfare of the public rather than beneficial, the Whig leaders recalled to memory the disclosures of 1695, which unfolded the startling fact that they had spent in one year the sum of 80,000*l.* in secret service money. The East India House, in a word, was denounced by the Whig leaders and many of their supporters as a den of corruption—as a plague spot, whence infection had spread to the court and council and the two Houses of Parliament. The contest between the Whigs and Tories was fierce and obstinate in both Houses. It lasted from the first week in May to the last week in June. But notwithstanding the fierce opposition which the bill encountered, it was finally carried, and received the royal assent. That body of traders chartered by Queen Elizabeth, and which was called "the London Company," was to cease trading in three years; and "the English Company," as the favoured adventurers were to be called, was to supersede them in the exclusive privilege of trading with the "far East." The old company, however, was not very easily uprooted. Its power and influence was to a considerable extent beyond the reach of legislation. Its directors had obtained territorial possessions in the East Indies. They had recently purchased Calcutta, and had erected a strong fort there, known as Fort William. They had their castles and warehouses in various parts, and their fleets of fine merchantmen on the seas. Moreover, the company had a powerful friend in the Great Mogul Aurungzebe. By the bill it was provided that the new company might send ambassadors from the crown to the potentates of the east, and Sir William Norris sailed from Liverpool as ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, to solicit his favour for the new company. But Aurungzebe had already taken the old company into his favour and protection. It was in his dominions that the original traders had their chief factories and settlements, and he was not disposed to listen to the professions of the representative of merchants who came to rival those to whom he had already granted his protection. During a century the old company had enjoyed prescriptive privileges in the Great Mogul's dominions. His ancestors had granted and repeatedly confirmed them, and was it to be expected that the Great "Alemgir," or "Conqueror of the World," should prove false to their solemn pledges and his own? Norris travelled to Agra with great pomp and show; but he had scarcely made known the object of his embassy, when he was ordered to return to England. Such an obstacle in their path to wealth and power in the East Indies had not been expected by the new company, nor by the Whigs who had called it into existence. The Tories were exultant over their discomfiture. In four years, however, the rival companies united, and from that period may be dated the gradual extension of the power of what was now called "the East India Company."

It is singular that while the parliament of this period promoted commercial intercourse with the "far East," it adopted severe restrictive measures against it nearer home. Soon after they met, the Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of trade. Complaints had been made, in petitions from merchants and manufacturers, that they were being undersold in the markets. They asked for additional protection. Despite the war with France, peaceable Frenchmen had a desire to trade with Englishmen; and despite the animosity of the Celtic population of Ireland, they had no objection to trade with their Saxon neighbours. The report of the committee appointed to inquire into the state of trade was demonstrative of the inutility of restrictive Acts of Parliament. The importation of silks and the exportation of wool were equally under the ban of the English legislature. It was believed to be a sound commercial policy to keep *out* of the country the delicate products of southern looms, and to keep *in* the country all the raw materials on which our own looms were employed. It was a policy as fallacious as it was mischievous. No laws can prevent nations in proximity to each other from carrying on a mutual interchange of national commodities. And so the report of the committee testified. It had been discovered and proved that during the whole of the war illicit cargoes of the prohibited articles had been constantly passing and repassing between Kent and Picardy. It was in vain that officers of the government scoured over the sands and marshes of the coast in search of smugglers; the illicit trade could not be checked. All the inhabitants of the south-eastern coast were concerned in it; and it was their boast, that if a gallows were erected at every quarter of a mile, their trade would prosper. Instead, however, of mitigating the penalty for importing French silks, it was this session made still more severe. And not content with laying a heavier hand on the importation of "foreign alamodes and lustrings," and the exportation of native wool, several opulent merchants, chiefly Frenchmen, whose local habitations were in Nicholas Lane and the Old Jewry, who had been concerned in the contraband trade, were proceeded against by impeachment for high crimes against the state; and, pleading guilty at the bar of the Lords, were fined in sums varying from five hundred to ten thousand pounds. As a prevention to the importation of foreign silks, an Act was passed giving to a joint-stock company a monopoly of lustrings for a term of fourteen years; but long before that term had expired the company which was formed had ceased to exist; for French silks were prized by the ladies of England far higher than those of home manufacture, and still found their way into the English markets.

But the commercial jealousy of this period was not confined to France. It was still more rampant nearer home. In the reign of Charles the Second, the importation of Irish cattle had been prohibited by statute as a "nuisance." After that period the Irish farmers had turned their attention to sheep-breeding. Sheep produce wool, and wool becoming abundant woollen manufactures were set up in Ireland. It was found that the Irish were actually making clothes for their own backs, and that having more wool than they required for that purpose, they were exporting the surplus to England and other countries. This was considered by the parliament of 1698 in the double light of a commercial and political offence. The progress of woollen manufactures in Ireland did not only concern the prosperity of those of England, but the dignity of the crown, the authority of parliament, and the unity of the empire. The Commons went up with an address to the king, in which it was stated, "that being sensible that the wealth and power of England in a great measure depended on the preservation of the woollen manufactures, they could not without trouble observe that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves, and as profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations." The Commons in their address implored his majesty "that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except imported hither, and for discouraging the woollen, and encouraging the linen manufacture in that country." In compliance with the addresses of the Commons, William wrote to the earl of Galway thus:—"The chief thing that must be tried to be prevented is, that the Irish parliament takes no notice of what has passed in this, here; and that you make effectual laws for the linen, and the discouragement of the woollen manufacture." In their address the Commons further implored the king to find means to secure the trade of England, by making his Irish subjects pursue the joint interests of both kingdoms. The "joint interests of both kingdoms" would have been secured on a firm basis, if, as modern legislators have discovered, mutual interchange of trade and commerce had been left free and unrestricted.

Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of July. In his speech the king recounted the services which the Lords and Commons, during three eventful sessions, had rendered the country: services (he said) which would give a lasting reputation to the parliament about to terminate, and would be a subject of emulation to all succeeding parliaments. Two days after the prorogation, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament in terms of the Triennial Act;

and towards the close of the month William embarked for Holland.

During this session several events occurred which require brief notice. One of these was the destruction by fire of the Palace of Whitehall, which had for centuries been the residence of our monarchs, except the banqueting house. This event occurred on the night of the 4th of January. It was caused by a laundress, a Dutchwoman, lighting a charcoal fire in her room, around which she had placed some linen, which caught fire, and burning furiously, soon involved the whole building in one vast conflagration.

Another event of significant importance was the restoration of my Lord Marlborough to his places, both in the privy council and the army. This was brought about by the Princess Anne. In the previous year her only surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, had arrived at an age to be placed under tutors and governors. The duke of Shrewsbury having refused the post of governor, Anne ventured to bring Marlborough forward as a candidate. William's antipathies to the man who had sought to betray him were still great, but they were overcome by the recommendations of Sunderland and Albemarle, both of whom were high in the king's favour, and of several noted Tories, whose party was at this time regaining the ascendant. Marlborough was appointed governor to the young prince, and the Whig Bishop Burnet became his preceptor. On the next day Marlborough was restored to his military rank and his place in the council; and when the king went to Holland, he was one of the members of the regency appointed to govern the kingdom in his absence. His days of treachery were over. He had plotted for the restoration of James in vain, and now seeing a bright prospect before him in the remaining days of King William, and still brighter when Anne should ascend the throne, he became a faithful servant of the state.

The courts of England and France were this year brought into more intimate acquaintance. Early in the year William sent the earl of Portland as ambassador to Versailles. He was at that time mortified by the reduction of his army. His parliament had prevented him from emulating, even for purposes of national defence, the great armies of France. His own Whig ministry had humbled him in the sight of the *Grand Monarque*—a circumstance which manifestly influenced him to favour their rivals. But William was a keen observer of human nature. If he could not rival France with the number of warriors surrounding his throne, he knew what pomp and show would effect at Versailles. It was resolved, therefore, that his first ambassador to Versailles should appear at that court with all the trappings of royalty. He could scarcely afford an expensive outlay. His palace at Whitehall had just been reduced to ashes, and he was in great straits. But he knew that in gay France, pomp and show would go far in the eyes of the Parisians to outweigh any report they might have heard of his being shorn of great military power. Accordingly Portland was sent thither with the utmost magnificence. No better choice could have been made of his first ambassador. Like his master, Portland despised display; but like his master, he was an astute politician. And with him there was a secretary eminently fitted to second his diplomacy—Matthew Prior, the celebrated wit and poet. It was on the 27th of February that Portland and his retinue entered Paris. All along the road from Calais, Portland had been received with extraordinary courtesy. But it was at Paris that the greatest honours were paid him. When Portland first entered the sublime presence of the great potentate, the courtiers wondered at the familiarity with which Louis entered into conversation with him. They wondered also at Portland's easy manners at his introduction. They had expected to see him embarrassed at the sight of the gorgeous assemblage that surrounded his French majesty, but instead of this, he seemed perfectly at home among them. This first interview of Portland with the French monarch was followed by others of a more familiar character. Nor was Prior the secretary neglected by the French king and his courtiers. His polished manners and his conversation were greatly admired by Louis and his nobles. But neither Portland nor Prior were sycophants. Portland well sustained the dignity of his master, William. In him Louis found a diplomatist of rare integrity; one that held the master he served to be equal to the *Grand Monarque* himself, despite the magnificence by which he was surrounded. Nor did Prior's politeness lead him to lower his master in the estimation of the French courtiers. On one occasion, as he was passing through the gallery of Versailles, which was covered with paintings by Le Brun, representing the exploits of Louis, he was sneeringly asked whether Kensington Palace could boast of such decorations. "No," said the wit, with pointed severity. "The actions of my master are to be seen everywhere but in his own house."

While, however, this first ambassador of King William was honoured at the court of Versailles, Portland's embassy bore but little fruit. James still held his court at St. Germains; and when Portland demanded his removal to Rome or Avignon, according to the verbal agreement between him and Marshal Boufflers, it was refused. Louis declared that it was his fixed determination to keep the peace of Europe, but his nearness of kindred to the dethroned monarch, his compassion for his misfortunes, and a point of honour, forbade him sending James out of his dominions. After such a declaration it could scarcely be expected that William would send the exiled queen her pension of 50,000*l.* a year; for which he has been denounced by the Jacobites as a faithless monarch. It was to be the less expected, because the court of St. Germains swarmed with the men who had proposed or actually engaged in the plan of assassination. The duke of Berwick and other assassins were even still countenanced at the court of Versailles. They were constantly crossing the path of Portland within its precincts. Portland loudly expressed his indignation at being obliged to meet them on the terraces and in the antechambers of Versailles. He spoke in his own blunt manner to Louis himself about those he called "the assassins;" but the only reply he obtained was that he, the king of France, was "not perfectly acquainted with this affair." It was represented that the duke of Berwick had only been engaged in the invasion; and as for the rest, if they were proved to be assassins, the protection of France would be withdrawn from them. It was soon after his arrival in Paris that Portland made these demands upon the French king, of which he gave a full account to his sovereign. William was not surprised at the French monarch's refusal to oblige James to withdraw from France, or to disperse his retinue abroad. In reply to Portland's communication he quietly replied:—"It would have been more desirable if you had received such a refusal at the close of your negotiations rather than at the commencement, for it may cause you much embarrassment throughout, and especially in regard to the most important part of all, the Spanish succession."

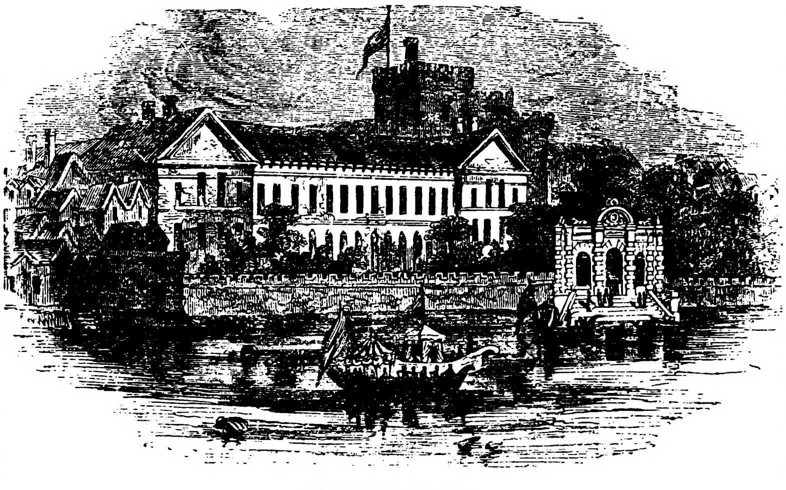
At this time the death of the king of Spain was daily expected, and William, foreseeing that the future destinies of Europe would depend on the Spanish succession, was anxious to maintain peace with France, in order that he might co-operate with the French monarch in the settlement of that great question. Or if he could not maintain that peace, he was anxious to find the means of carrying on a war by the issue of which the liberties of Europe would be preserved. What the policy of the French monarch would be at the death of the king of Spain was a mystery. It was known that he had some design in view, and it was one part of Portland's mission to discover what that design was. It was known, indeed, that for more than thirty years Louis had had his eye upon the Spanish succession, and that the laws of the French monarchy, and the inclination of a powerful faction in Spain, would justify and facilitate a seizure. But would he brave Europe by making it? This was the "most important point of all" on which Portland was charged to negotiate; but though his majesty of France expressed his desire to obtain from his majesty of England his promise of a hearty co-operation in that succession, no open proposal was made, and therefore no answer could be given. Louis, by his ministers, wanted to know from Portland what *his* master would judge suitable for the interest and security of England and Holland; and Portland replied that if he wrote to William to ask him, his only answer would be that his majesty would be willing to listen to what should be proposed to him. But, as if for the sake of talk, Portland told M. Pompone what he believed would be considered as contrary to the interest of the two countries; and there for a time the negotiation ended.

The scene of negotiation, indeed, shifted from Versailles to Kensington. If William sent an embassy to France, it was but natural that Louis should send an embassy to England. Accordingly, on the 19th of March, the count of Tallart arrived in London as the French ambassador. Tallart was chosen, as Portland had been, for his skill in diplomacy. But he had his secret instructions from the French foreign office as to his private as well as public conduct in England. He was charged to watch the movements of the public mind. In order that he might be able to watch those movements, he was to mingle with the utmost ease with Whigs and Tories. Nonjurors and plotters, however, were to be kept at arm's length. Not one of them was to be taken into his confidence, or even admitted into his house; for the surest way of stirring up English jealousies and animosities, which it was the French monarch's desire to allay, was to make the French embassy the head-quarters of the Jacobites. Louis had recently so far listened to the indignation of Portland, as to forbid Berwick and the "other assassins" coming to his court on the days when he was received; and if Tallart had received the Jacobites at his embassy, it would have been an insult offered to the king and the nation. But Louis was now by profession the sincere friend of England. In truth, Tallart was charged at all times and in all places to assert that his master had never been an enemy of the liberties of England! that the only thing which could really be fatal to her liberties was a standing army! In a word, the instructions of Count Tallart, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the king of England, were itemed down in a spirit of concealed dislike to its government. He was to watch over every manifestation of party hostility or popular discontent. He was especially to make friends with some members of the House of Commons, that he might gain from them a knowledge of all that was passing in that house, which he was charged to transmit to France. And all this and more was to be done under the mask which he wore—of a mission especially designed to show the high regard which his master had for the welfare of the king and the people of England.

Tallart came to England as Portland had gone to France, with great magnificence; and he was received with equal honour. His public entry into London was marked with a hearty welcome by thousands of spectators. His retinue was dazzling; running footmen, all dressed in scarlet and gold lace, ran before, and on the sides, and behind his excellency's carriage, which was drawn by horses of rare action and beauty. Portland was outrivalled. At Kensington the French ambassador was most graciously received. There was no ostentatious display at that court. In comparison with the palace of Versailles, that of Kensington was but a mansion of small dimensions; and William was a monarch who aimed at no display. But Tallart had no reason to complain of the reception which he met with in his humble cabinet at Kensington. Cold as his manners generally were, the French ambassador was received by William with the utmost cordiality.

It was the particular object of the wily Frenchman to circumvent William by his skill in diplomacy in the matter of the Spanish succession. This was Tallart's special mission. He found on his arrival in England that William had been shorn of military power by his parliament; and he saw on his road to Newmarket, and heard on all sides, the immediate effect of the disbandment of his army. The roads on every hand were infested with marauders from their broken ranks. Travelling had become dangerous in every part of the country. The kingdom was not only left defenceless against foreign enemies, but against domestic foes. In a letter to Portland at this time, William said that he was never more vexed and melancholy in all his life. He was almost in despair. If war should again break out, as he expected it would on the question of the Spanish succession, he felt that he was powerless. To the grand pensionary of Holland, his friend Heinsius, he wrote that he shuddered to think of the unprepared state of the allies to begin a war, and of the dilapidated state of Spain. It seemed certain to him that France was in a condition to take possession of the monarchy before he and the allies could prepare to avert the catastrophe. He exhorted Heinsius to rouse the allies on all sides to the necessity of remaining armed, and expressed his earnest wish that he could be armed too, but of which he saw no hope. It was while William was thus disheartened that Tallart pressed the Spanish question upon his attention. He conceived that it was a golden opportunity for carrying out his master's design. But he found William too keen a politician to be outwitted.

The question of the succession to the crown of Spain was very complicated. Charles II., whose death was daily expected, had no issue. The French monarch Louis had married his eldest sister; but the Infanta of Spain, by a solemn contract, when she was betrothed to the French king, had renounced for herself and successors all claim to the Spanish crown. The Emperor Leopold had married a younger sister of Charles, and she had made a similar renunciation as the Infanta; but as her renunciation was not confirmed by the Cortes, it was considered to be of no effect. Her daughter had married the elector of Bavaria, and their son, the electoral prince, possessed whatever claim his mother may have had upon the Spanish crown. But his grandfather, the emperor, was himself a claimant to the succession, as the grandson of Philip III. of Spain, and first cousin to the Spanish monarch Charles. Although the Dauphin of France was barred by the renunciation of his mother from the succession to the throne of Spain, the French monarch's ambition still led him to hope that he might, by diplomacy, annex the two kingdoms. What he proposed was that there should be a partition of the vast domains of the crown of Spain, in which he should have the Indies and the Spanish Netherlands. William readily went into negotiations for a partition treaty, but not on such terms. Nor would the English nation have consented to such a treaty. In May, Tallart wrote to his French majesty, telling him that he might be certain, if it were suggested he was desirous of rendering himself master of the Indies and Cadiz, they would resolve upon a war. They conceived, he said, that their commerce and their interests were at stake, and that they would be ruined by such an union of France and Spain. The object of William was to place the electoral prince of Bavaria on the Spanish throne; and though such an arrangement met with stern opposition from the court of France, it was finally acceded to. But wearisome months of anxious negotiation on the part of William passed away before he gained his point. The negotiations were not concluded when William sailed for Holland. There was then fair hopes of a settlement, and it was arranged that Tallart should follow him to Loo, where they might have the co-operation of the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, and of Portland, who had just returned from France. It would be tedious to trace all the windings of the negotiation, as carried on first in France, then in England, finally in Holland. So widely did the negotiators differ on the most essential parts of the treaty, that William at one time felt convinced that the question would not be decided by diplomacy. He remarked to Tallart that it was much to be feared it would be found necessary to have recourse to the sword before it could be settled. He did not desire war, as he was growing old and wanted repose; but France was to be feared, and he could only be guided by the interests of the kingdom which he governed. At length, however, the long negotiation touching the Spanish succession was brought to a conclusion. Foreseeing that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the crown of Spain while William was able to form another confederacy against him, the French monarch agreed upon the price on which he would consent to waive all claim to Spain and the Indies, and to support the pretensions of the electoral prince of Bavaria. He felt that it was more for his own interest and that of his family, rather to sell the Spanish crown, than to purchase it at the price of blood and treasure; and therefore he withdrew his opposition to the claim of the electoral prince, on condition that he was to have a portion of the disputed inheritance for his disinterestedness. And that portion was by no means trifling. The contracting powers agreed that in case the king of Spain should die without issue, the Dauphin of France should come into the full possession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He was also to have all places depending on the Spanish monarchy, situated on the coast of Tuscany, on the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, together with all the places on the French side of the Pyrenees, and the mountains



BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay. The Duchy of Milan was allotted to the emperor's second son, the Duke Charles. As the electoral prince was but a child, it was agreed that his father, then acting as viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, should be regent of Spain during his minority. Such was the first partition treaty, which was definitively signed on the 11th of October. It was mutually agreed by the contracting powers to keep the treaty a profound secret during the life of the king of Spain. But this condition, though necessary, was very difficult to be effected. It was necessary for the allies to satisfy the emperor, and that was no easy matter. By that treaty he was deprived of the great object of his ambition; and it was not till he found that the three powers of England, France, and Holland would unite their arms against him, that he gave in his adhesion. Meanwhile intelligence of the treaty reached Madrid. Charles was indignant that a division of his dominions should be made by foreigners. The pride of the Castilians was deeply wounded. Charles called a council of his whole ministry, and the result was a will which declared the electoral prince of Bavaria heir to all his dominions. In a few short months, however, neither the treaty of Loo nor the will of Charles were of any value to the young prince, for he died in his eighth year, and diplomacy had to do its work over again, and to no purpose.

Early in this year, a sovereign destined to found a mighty empire, whose growth has been the terror of Europe, visited England. He came without pomp or show. He had no splendid equipage, and no running footmen dressed in scarlet and gold lace to run before and behind him. This monarch came in humble guise in a small vessel from Holland to Greenwich, whence with a few attendants only he was rowed up the Thames to Norfolk Street, where he took up his abode. And yet that sovereign ruled over an empire more extensive than had ever obeyed a single chief in ancient or modern times. It was Peter I., czar of Muscovy, who thus came on a visit to England. But what object had he in view when he left his empire to sojourn in the western world? It was an object which no sovereign before him ever had in view. It was his ambition to become a good boatswain and a good ship-carpenter. Great as his empire was, he had only one single port, that of Archangel, and the whole of the shipping there was foreign. There was not a Russian vessel on all his coasts larger than a fishing boat. And he could scarcely hope to found a maritime power. The only access he had to the ocean was in a latitude in which navigation for the greater part of the year was perilous and difficult. But Peter had great designs in view. Barbarian as he was, he possessed a mind of vast comprehension. He conceived great things and carried them out; he disciplined large armies, founded schools, framed codes of law, organised tribunals, built cities in deserts, and joined distant seas by artificial rivers. To enable him to do this, he surrounded himself with adventurers from all parts of the civilized world, and sent many of his young subjects to study the arts and sciences of western Europe. For ages very little had been known of the Muscovite princes, and what little was known of them proved that they were barbarians. Peter himself did not impress the English with any high notions of his power and civilization. Burnet says he was of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion. But with all this, he was a man of great intellect. His chief taste seems to have been for maritime pursuits. Before he came to England, he had lodged in the dockyard at Amsterdam, and had there commenced his career as a ship-carpenter. His whole mind was absorbed in the art of shipbuilding. If an ambassador wanted to pay respects to him at Amsterdam, he had to climb up the rigging of a man-of-war to make his obeisance. Yet it was he that laid the foundation of the mighty Russian empire, which has been the terror of western Europe and of part of Asia, and from which both Europe and Asia have, perchance, still more to fear than hope.

William lingered in Holland till the beginning of December. It was with difficulty he could tear himself away from his native land. His seat at Loo was a happier home to him than his palace at Kensington. While there he had been free from the turbulence of faction. He was far happier in reviewing his Dutch troops, and in interchanging compliments with the princes of Germany, than in contending with the English Commons. And of this he saw no end. The general election had commenced before he set out for Holland, and his ministers had sent him the unwelcome intelligence that its result had been unsatisfactory. He was told that the temper of the new representatives of the people would require "much management." The elections had fallen upon men of revolution principles; men who were not much devoted to the person of their sovereign. William had no desire to hasten back to manage such men. He would rather have faced an enemy in the field of battle than return to encounter a refractory parliament. But there was no help for it. He wanted money, and he was compelled to return to ask for it. His people were offended at his going to Holland this year, for now peace was restored, it was thought that he should have remained in England. And this discontent was increased when it was discovered that he was in no haste to return. The opening of parliament was fixed for the 29th of November, which was considered to be a very late day. The new parliament was anxious to meet for deliberation, and the long delay raised a spirit of insubordination among them. And this spirit was increased when, from the non-appearance of his majesty on the day fixed for their meeting, it was necessary for the lords justices to prorogue parliament till the 6th of December. It was said, and that truly, that adverse winds had prevented his arrival, but that was not received as an excuse by the malcontents. It was argued by them that he ought to have made such arrangements, that in spite of wind and weather he should be able to keep his appointment "with the estates of the realm." But William came soon enough for his own repose. On the 6th of December he met his new parliament. He had arrived only two days earlier, and in the interim he had thus written to Heinsius:—"It is impossible to foresee the result of this session; but during the short time I have been here I perceive that my greatest difficulty will be in retaining the troops." He did not, however, shrink from repeating his counsel that it would be dangerous to disarm. In his speech he said that he was convinced the Houses would do what was necessary for the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom, which was all he required of them. It was for them to consider what strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up on land. He reminded them that the prosperity of trade, the support of credit, and the quiet of people's minds at home, would depend upon the opinion they had of their security; and that to preserve to England the weight and influence she had at present in the councils and affairs abroad, it would be requisite that Europe should see they were not wanting to themselves. William expressed a hope that some progress would be made in discharging the national debt; and that some wise legislative enactments for employing the poor, and promoting trade and commerce, would mark their deliberations.

The choice of a Speaker had fallen upon Sir Thomas Littleton, which looked like a good omen on the side of the court, promising a smooth and happy session. At first his majesty's speech appeared to be well received. But appearances proved delusive. There was no unanimity in the sentiments of William and the Commons on the subject of a standing army. He thought that twenty thousand troops would be too few, and they held that number to be far too many. His allusions to continental politics, and his opinion of a standing army, gave the Commons great umbrage. Omitting the usual compliment of an address, the House resolved itself into a committee on the great question as to what provision should be made for the defence of the realm. It was expected that the ministers would have made some proposition, but they were silent. They knew the desire of the king and the temper of the Commons, but they held their peace. Had they asked for ten thousand men it is probable they might have obtained them, but as ten thousand would not have satisfied the king, they declined asking for any. They had found the antipathy to a standing army to be intense in the last parliament, but in the new parliament they felt that it would prove to be insurmountable. Its members had not taken their seats with a view of discussing the subject dispassionately, but with a fixed resolve that the king should see they had power over him. A resolution was soon adopted to the effect that all the land forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith paid and disbanded: that the seven thousand should consist of natural born subjects; and that all the forces in Ireland exceeding twelve thousand men, these also natural born subjects, should be forthwith disbanded. There was a feeble attempt at resistance made by the Whig ministry, but a bill was framed upon the resolution, which passed through all its stages in both Houses.

William, who had so nobly rescued the nation from a tyranny under which the people had almost hopelessly groaned, was by his parliament thus humiliated in the sight of all Europe. His feelings were outraged by their resolve, for by it he was deprived of his Dutch guard, and of the faithful Huguenots, who during the whole of the war had been his companions in arms. Hallam justly remarks :—"These troops had claims which a generous and grateful people should not have forgotten. There were many of them the chivalry of Protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own. They were the men who terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance which, to speak plainly, we had neither the sense nor the courage to achieve for ourselves." In writing to his master, Tallart, who had followed William back from Loo to England, said that the "House of Commons had acted as in a fury;" and there could not have been a better description of their proceedings. The feelings of William can be better imagined than described. All writers agree that his agony of mind was so great, as for once at least in his troubled life to overthrow his wonderful equanimity and self-sacrificing discretion. To Heinsius he wrote :—"I am so chagrined at what passes in the Lower House with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foresee that I shall come to resolutions of extremity, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I thought." William did come to those resolutions of extremity. He made up his mind to quit England for ever, leaving the government to be vested in such persons as the wisdom (?) of parliament might appoint. That his intention was for a time firmly fixed is clear, for he wrote out with his own hand a speech to announce his purpose to parliament. That speech is well worthy of being recorded in the page of history. It reads thus :—"My lords and gentlemen, I came to this kingdom at the desire of the nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties. For this object I have been obliged to maintain a long and burdensome war, which, by the grace of God and the bravery of the nation, has ended in a peace under which you may live happily and in quiet, if you would contribute to your own security as I recommended at the opening of the session. But seeing, on the contrary, that you have so little regard to my advice, and take so very little regard for your own safety, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin in neglecting the only means necessary for your defence, it would neither be just nor reasonable for me to be a witness to your ruin, it not being in my power to defend and protect you, which is the only end I had in view in coming into this country. I am compelled, therefore, to recommend you to choose and name to me such persons as you shall judge most proper, to whom I may leave the administration of the government in my absence; assuring you, that though I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination for your advantage and prosperity. When I can see that my presence will be necessary for your defence I shall be ready to return, and hazard my life for you as in times past. I pray God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with all that is necessary for the well-being and safety of this kingdom." There were those who considered that William was not sincere in his resolve.

The Chancellor Somers at first thought so, but he was convinced at last that he meant to carry out his intention. In a letter to Shrewsbury he wrote:—"When he first mentioned the matter to me, I treated it as the most extravagant and absurd that was ever named, and begged of him to speak of it to no one for his own honour. When I last saw him he would not suffer me to argue with him, telling me plainly he saw we should never agree, and he was resolved. I told him that before he did it I hoped he would take the seal from me; for as I had it from him when he was king, it was my desire that while he was king he would receive it back again." Lord Hardwicke attributes the change which took place in the king's intention to Somers; but it seems more probable that his strong understanding came to his rescue. After a hard struggle his mind recovered its equanimity, and he resolved to fulfil his mission to the end.

William gave his assent to the bill for disbanding the army on the 1st of February, 1699. That assent has been called the "meanest act of his reign," and "below his greatness." It was the exact reverse. He might have put his veto upon it, but he saw it would be worse than useless. It would have created a breach between him and his people which never would be healed. Despite his stern objection to the measure, therefore, he resolved to bow to the will of the nation. His magnanimity was sublime; it was an example to all the sovereigns of Europe. There was not a particle of meanness in his conduct towards the parliament, nor the smallest shade of detraction from his greatness. He gave his assent with unequalled grace and dignity. He presented himself to his parliament with a serene and cheerful aspect. No one could have imagined from his calmness and mildness that he did not most heartily and willingly concur in "the wisdom of his parliament." His speech on the occasion was admirably composed. There was a calm acquiescence in the measure to which he gave his assent; but it was mingled with a judicious sting of reproof. He had come, he said, to the assembled Lords and Commons to give his assent to *their* bill as soon as it was ready for him. At the same time he could not refrain from telling them that they had carried the reduction of the army to a dangerous extent. Nor could he refrain from telling them that they had treated him unkindly in severing him from those guards who had come over to England with him to fight their battles. Nothing, he continued, could be so pernicious to the State as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between him and his people, which he must own was unlooked for by him after what he had undertaken, ventured, and acted for the restoring and securing of their liberties. With calm and quiet dignity he added, that he had told the Houses plainly the reason which had induced him to pass their bill, and that he would now as plainly tell them, and in discharge of his high trust, that no one might deem him accountable for evils which he had vainly endeavoured to avert, that in his judgment the nation was left too much exposed. There was an attempt made in the Commons by Howe, on their return to their chamber, to raise a storm on the subject matter of the king's speech. The House, he contended, had been insulted, and they ought to demand who it was who had put such words into the royal mouth. But Howe found very few supporters of his attempt to raise a storm. The majority were delighted with the king for passing a bill which he had so frankly declared he disapproved. In both Houses votes for an address of thanks were unanimously passed for his gracious speech and ready compliance with the wishes of his people. In their address the Commons assured him that they would never forget the great things which he had done for the country, and that they would never give him cause to think them unkind and undutiful; and both Lords and Commons engaged to defend his sacred person and throne against all his enemies.

As if to mock the idea which the parliament entertained that peace would be lasting, and that an army would no longer be required to preserve that peace, tidings arrived which indicated that the storm of war would ere long burst over Europe with redoubled fury. Four days after William had given his royal assent to the disbanding bill, there was a death at Brussels. The electoral prince of Bavaria, heir to the throne of Spain, died in the eighth year of his age. William felt the embarrassment of the position in which this event placed him, keenly. He had hoped by the partition treaty, in which he had taken so much interest, the peace of Europe would be preserved. Now all was doubt and uncertainty. The key-stone of the goodly fabric of the balance of power in Europe was gone, and no one could tell what would be the result of its removal. Charles II. was still alive, but his death was daily expected. Who now, therefore, would succeed him in his dominions, when he was laid in the cold tomb, became again the question. And it was a question which did not seem to admit of a peaceful solution. There were two powerful rivals, the king of France and the emperor of Austria, both of whom were more inclined to appeal to the sword than the pen. It would have been wise if the English parliament had at this juncture reconsidered the question of a standing army, and prepared for the defence of the kingdom; for if the two rival potentates drew the sword, on one side or the other that of William would be sure to be drawn likewise. That many presaged war is certain. The stocks had fallen when the army was reduced to seven thousand men; but when it was known that the destined heir to the throne of Spain was dead, they fell still lower. There was a reaction of feeling as regards the continuance of peace, both in and out of parliament. It seems probable, that if William had asked for an additional number of troops at this moment, he might have obtained them: but he did no such thing. Great as was the threatened danger, he submitted to the decision at which his parliament had arrived. But there was one thing he did which was worse than useless: instead of pressing for more English regiments, he made it known that it was his wish the Dutch guards should remain in the kingdom. The Lords were willing thus to gratify him; a resolution was passed by them, that they would willingly concur in any plan that could be suggested for retaining the services of the Dutch brigade; but the Commons would not listen to such a measure. If

William wanted soldiers to repel invasion, they must be Englishmen, not Dutch mercenaries. Men saw more danger—though in reality there was none—in retaining the Dutch brigade in England, than in a French invasion or an Irish insurrection. The sight of foreign uniforms and standards was an offence and a stumbling-block to the nation, of which William must have been well aware; and yet he flattered himself that the national prejudice would give way if he made a personal request for the gratification of his wishes. On the 18th of March, therefore, he sent this message to the Commons:—"His majesty is pleased to let the House know that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which he would take very kindly." This message was treated with great rudeness. The House would not even appoint a committee to consider it, but drew up an address which William in a letter to Heinsius called "very impertinent," explaining the reasons why it was impossible for the Commons to comply with his majesty's wish. In that address he was plainly told that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the kingdom than an entire confidence between him and his people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person to the care and protection of his own subjects. William was, also, reminded in language savouring of reproach, that in his declaration of 1688, he had promised to send his Dutch guards back to Holland, as soon as he had effected the deliverance of his country. William's answer was temperate and dignified. He was deeply mortified, but he showed no ill humour. "I came hither," he said, "to restore the ancient constitution of this government. I have had all possible regard to it since my coming, and I am resolved through the course of my reign to preserve it entire in all the parts of it." It was a great constitutional question. The Commons had the power of deciding what army should be maintained by limiting the supplies for its maintenance, and the patriotic monarch bowed to their decision. The Dutch guards were soon on their way to the coast, and they were accompanied to Holland by the brave French Huguenots. But after all, the populace regretted, rather than rejoiced, at their departure. It was felt that, despised as they were as foreigners, they had lived in England inoffensively; and that though aliens, they had done good service to the country. Hence as they passed through London, and all along their route, they were treated with unwonted kindness.

During the contention in parliament relative to a standing army, the Whig ministry had been powerless. It was at this time tottering to its fall. There was a league between the Tories and the discontented Whigs, which proved too formidable for them. The chief object of their attack was the chancellor of the exchequer, Montague. He had laid himself open to their virulence by some grave errors. Thus, just before the meeting of parliament, contemplating retiring from his chancellorship, he had, without consulting the other members of the ministry, appointed his brother Charles, in trust for himself when he did retire, to the lucrative place of auditor of the exchequer, which was then held for life. Montague had, in truth, become an object of envy. The Commons had raised him to his present pinnacle of greatness, from which they now sought to hurl him down. He was charged with many delinquencies. Taking advantage of his unpopularity, the old East India Company presented a petition, praying that the General Society Act, which by his influence had passed the late parliament, might be modified, and the bill which was brought in for that purpose was rejected only by a small majority. There was no financial question mooted by Montague but what was scrutinized with the utmost malignity. All that he proposed was considered to emanate from a sinister motive, and that therefore the best way to deal with his proposals was to negative them altogether. His influence as leader of the House of Commons was gone, although he still remained the first minister of finance. Montague, however, was not the only member of the ministry who was attacked by the Commons. Burnet says that the inclination which "those of the Whigs who were in good posts had expressed for keeping up a greater land force, contributed to the blasting of the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots;" and he adds that they were charged with robbing the public, and applying much of the money that was given for the service of the nation to the supporting a vast expense and raising great estates to themselves.

Early in the session the House had resolved itself into a committee on the state of the navy. In the course of their sitting it was discovered that Admiral Russell, now earl of Orford, had laid himself open to an attack. Orford was not only first lord of the admiralty, but treasurer of the navy. As treasurer of the navy, he was charged with keeping large sums of money for his own private use, to the great prejudice of the seamen and the public service. When his accounts were examined, there was *primâ facie* evidence of the guilt imputed to him. There was a balance in his hands of 460,000*l.*, but according to his own showing the whole of this sum was in the course of payment. There was, however, a hot controversy concerning his guilt or innocence. A resolution was moved condemning the manner in which his accounts were kept. This was lost by one vote only. It was then moved that the king should be requested to commit the direction of maritime affairs to other hands. This was lost by four votes. An address, however, was finally voted for a proper and legitimate change in the administration of the navy. It was, that he would be pleased to separate the incompatible offices of the first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy; the one of which ought, in good governments, to be a check on the other, and therefore held by two individuals. To this William sent a short and proper answer, and Orford resigned his twofold office; "as if from a foresight of the storm which was gathering around him in the House of Commons." The earl of Bridgewater became first lord of the admiralty, and the speaker, Sir Thomas Littleton, became treasurer of the navy. Orford might have retained one of his offices, but he refused, and retired to the country, where, it is said, he indulged in bitter invectives against the king.

The debates on the military and naval establishments occupied the attention of the Commons nearly the whole of this session. The naval forces were fixed at fifteen thousand seamen, and for the several demands of both army and navy, a grant was made of 1,484,000*l.*, to be raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound. Little had been said during the session about the resumption of the crown grants, but a clause was added to the land tax bill before it was sent up to the Lords, by which seven commissioners were appointed to inquire into the extent of Irish forfeitures of estates, "in order to their being applied in ease of the subjects of England." The object of tacking this clause to a money bill was to prevent the discussion of it by the Lords, and its rejection by the king. The Lords bitterly complained of this manœuvre, which was quite unworthy of the House of Commons. They contended, and very properly, that the commissioners should have been appointed under a separate Act, as then they might have made amendments, and conferred with the Lower House on the measure. As it was, their deliberations were negatived. They could not amend a money bill, and if they rejected it, public credit would be shaken and the kingdom left defenceless. The Lords passed the bill, but a strong protest was entered against the procedure: "first, because the clause was in substance and in fact foreign to the bill; and, second, because the principle of tacking such clauses to money bills was contrary to the ancient method of parliamentary usage, subversive of the freedom of debate, and derogatory to the privileges of the House." Nor was William less offended by the procedure than the Peers. He gave the bill his royal assent in high displeasure, which he also manifested, when on the 4th of May he prorogued his parliament. On that occasion there was a marked difference in the speech which he uttered from all others that had fallen from his lips. There was not a single word of praise or thanks from beginning to end. When they met again, he said, he hoped they would make provision for the public defence; meanwhile, he trusted no evil would happen. The Commons retired from the bar in great wrath; they were stung with his implied reproaches, and vowed to be avenged on him when they reassembled.

The king was anxious again to retire to his quiet retreat at Loo. He was heartily tired of England. In him the language of the poet was truly verified:—

> Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

He longed for rest from the cares of state. But before he went to Holland he had still much to do. It was after the prorogation of parliament that the changes were made in the naval administration. William did not resort to any sweeping measure, but he made considerable changes in the ministry. The duke of Leeds, lord president of the council, was dismissed, and the earl of Pembroke, who professed to be neither Whig nor Tory, yet was respected by both parties, became his successor. The privy seal, which Pembroke had held, was given to Viscount Lonsdale. The secretary of state, Shrewsbury, resigned, and his seals were given to Lord Jersey, who, like Lonsdale, was a moderate Tory. William hoped by the appointment of Lonsdale and Jersey to conciliate the opposition, but in this he was disappointed. The partial changes in their favour were not sufficient to lay the ghost of opposition from the ranks of the Tories.

William now repaired to Loo, to seek the repose he longed for, but which he did not find. He was king of Scotland as well as England. But he was king of the Scots with a distinct people, and a distinct church, and with a people who had no notion of submitting for ever to England. Although for several years they had lived peaceably under the rule of William, they still believed that the day was not far distant when they should be able to enter successfully into a contest for dominion. Meanwhile they had become, during the war on the Continent, rivals with the English in trade and commerce. A spirit of great commercial activity had recently sprung up in Scotland. Its natural commerce laboured under great disadvantages. The war with France cut off entirely their intercourse with that country; commerce with England was trammelled by prohibitions and heavy duties; trade with the English colonies was forbidden by the Navigation Act of Charles II.; and in consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company, trade with the East Indies could not be carried on with any great advantage. Scotland, moreover, was not blessed with an abundance of superfluous capital. But all hope of commercial prosperity, by which nations rise to greatness, was not cut off. There was a strong national desire in Scotland for new fields of enterprise; and while England was engaged in war, such fields were sought out with the greatest avidity. In 1693 the parliament of Scotland passed an Act "for encouraging foreign trade," which provided that merchants might enter into societies for carrying on trade to any kingdoms or parts of the world not being at war "with our sovereign lord and lady." At the end of the year 1695, however, the commercial enterprise of the Scots caused more alarm in the English House of Commons than their claymores would have done in the field of battle. It has been seen that William Paterson, a Scotchman, was the original projector of the national bank, or Bank of England. He was one of the original directors, but when the time came for a re-election, he was cast aside. His colleagues were jealous of him; they neither liked his race nor perhaps his talents. Paterson and Fletcher of Saltoun met at this time in London, and soon became intimate. Fletcher believed that if they only knew the way to riches, the energy of the Scots would soon outstrip their luxurious neighbours the English; and as Paterson believed that he had discovered that way, they returned to Scotland to make it rich, great, and powerful. On their arrival, the Scottish parliament, under the presidency of Tweeddale, was then about to meet. Paterson's schemes were unfolded to Tweeddale, who looked upon them with favour. Under his auspices they were brought forward in the Scottish parliament, and they received the unanimous sanction of the legislature. It was conceived that the desire of the nation would now be fulfilled. Paterson was looked upon now as the greatest man in Scotland. Men paid him more deference than even the lord high commissioner. By the Act of the Scottish legislature, a company was authorized to be formed "for trading from Scotland to Africa and the Indies." By the Act, the company, when formed, was empowered to plant colonies, hold cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited—or in others, with the consent of the natives; and they were vested with an exclusive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years from all duties and impositions. The Act was confirmed by letters patent under the great seal, directed by the parliament, without any further warrant from the crown. Paterson's scheme was to form a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien, in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South Sea, as well as in the Atlantic. *Into* Darien, besides the wealth which might be produced from its soil, would be poured still greater wealth from Canton and Siam, from Ceylon and the Moluccas, and from the mouths of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay; and *from* Darien, ships freighted with all this accumulated wealth would be ever sailing to Scotland, which would make it one great warehouse for all Europe. It was a golden prospect the Scots had before them, and they rejoiced in it. Great was the national enthusiasm. Dreaming of gold and rubies, of copper mines, of untaxed trade and of untold wealth, no sooner were the subscription books opened than every one who had a hundred pounds—the price fixed for the shares—hurried to have their names put down. In six months, poor as Scotland was, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was subscribed. The majority of the subscribers were professional men and shopkeepers, but there were a few large subscriptions from the mercantile classes and nobility. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow in their corporate capacities each took three thousand pounds, and Perth took two thousand. But the scheme which held out such golden prospects was fraught with perils. Spain was not likely to give up a province, however worthless it might be, which she had once taken possession of—and which was in the very centre of her possessions—to adventurers who came to share in her trade and commerce. And if Spain drew the sword against them, how could they withstand her power? Scotland was in no condition to wage war in favour of her colonists. Paterson himself seems to have had some idea of the perils they would have to encounter. While the subscription books were being filled up in Scotland, he and Lord Belhaven repaired to London. He seems to have flattered himself that England might be induced to lend her powerful aid to the company. An office was opened in Clement's Lane, and a board of directors formed, auxiliary to the board at Edinburgh. There were some few moneyed men allured by the bait—and but a few. There was a general cry of indignation in the city and throughout the nation against the scheme. And that cry was soon echoed by the legislature. Both by Lords and Commons the scheme met with the sternest opposition, but by the king more gently. But the attitude of the English parliament seemed only to have confirmed them in their resolve to carry out the project. The public spirit of Scotland was roused. By the general consent it was resolved that this opportunity of asserting their national independence should not be lost. Rochester, who brought the subject before the Lords, was burned by the people of Edinburgh in effigy; and the votes of both Lords and Commons were treated with contumely. Shares in the company were bought up faster than ever, twenty-five per cent., or nearly so, being paid up within the year. Preparations for the enterprise were commenced. Bank notes were issued, by which device and the general credit they built warehouses, and filled them with all manner of stores, such as iron goods and cutlery, and all kinds of wearing apparel, not forgetting the Highland home-woven tartan. As ships for war and trading were required, and no ships were then built in Scotland, and none could be procured in England, recourse was had to the dockyards of Amsterdam and Hamburg. At Hamburg the company attempted to dispose of stock, but were prevented by the English resident, of which the Scots complained to William in vain.

It was not till the 25th of July, 1698, that the expedition took its departure. On that day three vessels, armed as ships of war, with about twelve hundred seamen and colonists on board, sailed from Leith. Many of them were the younger sons of the aristocracy; others were vassals of the Scottish chiefs; and others were officers who had been disbanded since the peace. Every man among them was impressed with a belief that he was on the high road to wealth and distinction. To many they were objects of envy, for room could not be found for all who were desirous of emigrating. It is said that hundreds, who had in vain applied for a passage, were with difficulty prevented from forcing their way into the ships. If it is true that the destination of the adventurers was then unknown to them, this infatuation is most extraordinary. It is said that all they knew was that they were going to plant a colony somewhere, which was to be called Caledonia, but where that "somewhere" was, remained a mystery. They sailed under sealed orders; and all Edinburgh poured down upon Leith to witness their departure. The direction of the expedition was entrusted to a council of seven. Paterson sailed in the Saint Andrew, but he held no responsible position. At Madeira the sealed orders were opened, and the destination of the colonists was no longer a secret. A voyage to the antipodes was at that period no light matter. The speed of a ship did not then form any part of the study of ship-builders. Long before they reached their destination the passengers were reduced to short allowance. There was much suffering, and consequent murmuring. Throughout the voyage, indeed, Paterson was at issue with the officers and the council of seven. At length, however, they reached the Gulf of Darien. There was an old buccaneer on board with them, who knew the coast of Central America better than Paterson. Under his pilotage, after more than three months' voyage, the colonists landed at Acta, a convenient harbour, one of the sides of which was formed by a narrow neck of land. By cutting through this neck of land, a sort of island was formed, where a fort was erected, on which guns were planted for their protection against the Spaniards. This fort was called "New St. Andrews." The colony settled on the mainland, which was named "New Caledonia." On the peninsula where they landed, which was united to the mainland, and was about three miles in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth, they resolved to build a city, to be named New Edinburgh.

New Edinburgh was to be the emporium of both the Indies. Its commerce was to be free. Ships of all nations were to exchange their commodities without restriction. There was to be a perfect freedom of trade and of religion to all nations in New Caledonia. It was to be not only a golden but a happy home. Their first communications were with the aboriginal race. Negotiations were opened with the chiefs of the Indian tribes, who on the whole were highly favourable to their enterprise. Allured by a promise that they, the new comers, would treat them better than the Castilians had done, most of the Indian chiefs entered into treaties with the council of seven. For a brief period all seemed to augur well for the success of the colonists. But soon the Antilles, and all the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, were arrayed against them. The Spanish governors of settlements began to fit out armaments; the governors of the French dependencies in the West Indies expressed themselves ready to help the Spaniards; and the governors of the English settlements issued proclamations prohibiting all communications with the Scottish colonists. The Spaniards were the most to be feared. It was in vain, therefore, that the Scottish colonists sent civil messages to the governors of the Spanish settlements. All their overtures were rejected with disdain. By taking part, indeed, in a dispute between the Spaniards and the native chiefs, they very soon brought down the vengeance of the Spaniards upon themselves. At Carthagena a vessel belonging to the company, armed with fourteen guns, driven into the bay by stress of weather, was seized, and the captain and crew were condemned to death as pirates. They were saved by the interference of the English resident, but it was the signal of war between the colonists and the Spaniards. Having first sent an envoy with a letter to the authorities of Carthagena, demanding the release of their countrymen, and threatening them with the speedy vengeance of the king of England if they did not comply with their demand—which letter was treated with contempt—the council of seven issued letters of marque and reprisal against all Spanish vessels. When it was known in Europe that the Scottish colonists had settled at Darien, the Spanish court made preparations for an expedition against them. By its ambassador a formal representation was made to the government of William that the Spanish territories had been invaded by his subjects. But previous to this remonstrance, the event had caused the English government great alarm. Foreseeing that it might disturb the foreign policy of England by a rupture with Spain, William did all that then lay in his power to preserve a good understanding with the Spanish court. Notice had been sent to all the English governors, both in the West Indies and in America, that the objects of the expedition were unknown to the king, and that the proceedings of the Scottish colonists had neither his sanction nor approval.

Paterson and the colonists sent home at first glowing accounts of the prospects of the expedition. The country was "healthful to a wonder;" so healthy, that those who were sick when they landed—and they were not a few—very generally and rapidly recovered their health. The country was also fertile in a high degree, and the weather temperate. As for its riches, they were beyond all conception. There was an abundance of provisions, and there were gold mines far richer than those on the coast of Guinea. So glowing were the accounts published, that all Scotland exulted in the grand success of their infant colony. People in the south began to envy the enterprising northerners, who were now more mad than ever. Another expedition was fitted out for the land of promise with incredible alacrity. In August, 1699, four ships more, with thirteen hundred emigrants on board, sailed from Leith to swell the colony. Scarcely had they left their native land, however, when other reports of a different character began to be spread abroad. And *these* reports were founded on fact. For a time, the people of Scotland would not believe them. They were received, in truth, with scornful incredulity. They were attributed to the envy and malice of the southerners. But, nevertheless, they were true. Instead of rejoicing in abundance of provisions, the Scottish colonists had been starving. No supply of provisions had reached them from home, for Scotland was suffering from a deficient harvest; and the yams and plantains of the tropics were ill-suited for the stomachs of those accustomed to nutritious oatmeal. Nor was the weather so temperate as had been represented. On the contrary, the heat of the summer sun was such—Darien being within ten degrees of the equator—that no Scotchman could endure it. Health and strength soon began to fail from want of food and an oppressive atmosphere. There was misery and death among them. Famine and pestilence made fearful havoc in their little community. They perished by dozens in a day. The survivors were fast losing heart and hope. Paterson, indeed, strove to encourage them. He had sent for provisions from Jamaica, but no provisions came. Proclamations had there been issued, wherein it was declared that, by their settlement in Darien, the colonists had broken the peace with his majesty's allies, and wherein it was also declared penal for any of his majesty's subjects either to furnish them with supplies, or to hold any correspondence with them. The despair of the survivors now became overwhelming. Those who remained alive, therefore, at length resolved to abandon the land to which they had gone with such high hopes of wealth and greatness. Sick and feeble, they sailed away in their three vessels—the Caledonian, the Unicorn, and the St. Andrew. Paterson begged hard to remain, with some twenty or thirty of his companions, to keep up a show of possessing this "land of promise." They could live (he said) by catching fish and turtles. But his request was unheeded. He was carried on board, sick and helpless, and the vessels set sail. But not all those who went on board survived the passage. It was a fearful voyage. Two of the ships reached New York, and one got safe to Jamaica; but before they reached their destinations nearly four hundred of those who had sailed from Darien were buried in the deep.

Meanwhile the second colony was sailing hopefully on the ocean towards the golden land: their voyage was marked with disaster. Their vessels had been prepared in haste and were not seaworthy. So eager were the Scots to emigrate, that they little thought of the dangers of the seas. One of their vessels was lost at sea, and another wrecked on the Spanish main. Those who reached their destination were but little more to be envied than those who had perished. On their arrival they expected to find a flourishing colony, happy brethren who would give them a right hearty Scottish welcome. How great was their disappointment, therefore, to find that many of those brethren had been buried in the soil of Darien, and that the remainder had fled to escape their fate! How deeply must they have felt that, instead of finding a flourishing young town, surrounded with well-cultivated fields, the result of the enterprise of their sanguine and enterprising pioneers, they landed in a wilderness! Four months only had elapsed since the departure of their "kith and kin;" but the fort they had erected was in ruins; the huts which they had formed for shelter, with canes and palmetto roofs, were burned to the ground; and the site marked out for a city, which was to rival Tyre of ancient days, and outrival the existing marts of Europe and Asia, was overgrown with jungle, where lazily moved about that emblem of the sluggard—the sloth, and where grinned that mimic of man in general—the baboon. Around them were a few wild Indians, but from them they did not receive the friendship which they had accorded to their brethren. The red men had expected great things of their countrymen, and those expectations having failed, they had renewed their intercourse with the Spaniards, with whom they were not disposed again to quarrel. As the new comers looked around them their hearts began to fail; but still they did not give themselves up to despair. There were brave hearts among them as among their pioneers. There were, at all events, some attempts to re-establish themselves in the wilderness. They erected a new fort on the ruins of the old, and within the ramparts built a hamlet of some eighty or ninety cabins, wherein to eat and sleep. But they did not work as men who thought they were about to make an abiding home, as the first colonists had done. There was no union among them. The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland had sent out with them four fiery Presbyterian ministers, with orders to take "charge of the souls of the colonists." They were to form a Presbytery in Darien, in all respects like that which existed in Scotland. There were, however, many of the colonists who neither were, nor wished to be Presbyterians. Shunned by these, the preachers sowed discord among them and those who were willing to attend kirk and prayers. Factions were formed, and where faction exists there can be no unity of action. But though the first and second colonists had assembled together and united as one man, there could now be but little hope of carrying out Paterson's great designs. The Spaniards were gathering round the isthmus of Darien in formidable array. When this second colony had been on the isthmus about three months, Colonel Campbell of Finab joined them with a company of his clan, most of whom he had commanded in the war in Flanders. Of all the highlanders of Scotland, none were more brave than the Campbells. On his arrival there was a Spanish force encamped at Tubucantee, near the colony of St. Andrews. That force consisted of one thousand six hundred men, and they were awaiting the arrival of a Spanish squadron of eleven sail, in order to make a joint attack on the little colony by land and sea. Campbell anticipated their movements. With a force of two hundred men he came upon the Spaniards suddenly, and scattered them with great slaughter. It was an heroic exploit, but it was as rash as it was heroic. Campbell had the warlike instructions of the company, but not of his sovereign. It was, indeed, the commencement of a war, not only without a commission from, but against the orders of King William. It was rash, also, because with his handful of men Campbell could not hope to withstand the Spanish forces that were gathering round the little colony. He returned to St. Andrews in safety and in triumph; but during his absence the Spanish squadron had arrived at the mouth of the harbour. Troops were landed, and the Scottish colonists were soon hemmed in by land and sea. Surrender became inevitable; Campbell capitulated upon terms more honourable than might have been expected. Every one of his officers had perished before the capitulation, and he, with those of his clansmen who survived, set sail in his own ship back to Scotland, where they were received as heroes. The colonists whom Campbell left behind were embarked by the Spaniards in one of their ships, called the Rising Sun. Their voyage homeward was disastrous. At every English port they touched, in hope of finding relief in their distress, they were treated as outlaws; and of all who sailed from Scotland, amid the cheers and the blessings of their countrymen, only about thirty returned to their native land. Three out of the four Presbyterian preachers survived, and, with more zeal than charity, proclaimed abroad from the pulpit and the press that the wrath of God had fallen upon the colonists, whom they described as "an accursed crew," for their wickedness. Paterson, who had returned home with the remnant of the first colony, went mad on his passage homewards; but he recovered, and still confident of success, projected a new plan by which both the English and Scotch were to become rich. But no one now heeded the dreamer, and he spent the remnant of his days in neglect and poverty.

The Darien expedition was not only lamentable in its results to those engaged in it, but unfortunate in its political consequences. All Scotland mourned for the loss of their countrymen. Then, again, they were disappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, which, perhaps, was considered one of their greatest calamities. Their cherished hopes of becoming an independent nation too had been crushed, so that their pride was wounded, and Scotland stood for a while isolated among the nations. For several years the Darien affair was a theme which caused continual irritation against England; but the day came when this very calamity produced the greatest blessing to both Scotland and England, that which William himself had set his heart upon, their "political, commercial, and social union." The consideration of an union between the two kingdoms had been suggested by him to his parliament soon after his accession, and the affair of Darien had more than ever convinced him that their union, politically, commercially, and socially, was the only way by which the two peoples could be made great, prosperous, and happy.

In the midst of the storm of indignation from Scotland which burst over the head of King William while he was at Loo, other elements equally stormy disturbed his repose. The death of the electoral prince of Bavaria had turned all the wisdom of the negotiators of the first partition treaty into foolishness. That plan proving abortive, it was thought necessary, to preserve the peace of Europe, to arrange another settlement of the Spanish succession. But the difficulties surrounding the question were greater than ever. The death of the young prince favoured the designs of the king of France in various ways. The choice of a successor to the throne of Spain seemed to lie between an Austrian and a French prince. It became a contest between the House of Hapsburg and the House of Bourbon; a contest which was marked by bribery, intrigue, deception, and corruption. Before he left England for the summer, William had been sounded by Tallard, in obedience to the French king's orders, as to a new treaty. At first, William thought that the elector of Bavaria should be his son's heir; but this he found to be untenable. The elector had no connection with Spain, and it would have been just as reasonable to select any other German prince to succeed to the throne as him. William was compelled, therefore, to stand between the two houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon. And the interests of these two houses were irreconcilable. It was hinted to William while at Kensington that the king of France might possibly be induced to suffer the archduke of Austria to succeed to the throne of Spain. If, indeed, he had, in addition to what had been assigned to him in the first partition treaty, the Milanese, and with the Milanese was allowed to purchase Lorraine from its duke, then he would consent to the archduke's succession. William was willing to negotiate on this basis, and, as far as regarded himself and the French king, while the negotiators sat round the council board at Loo, all seemed to promise a happy solution of the intricate question. The terms of the second treaty of partition were nearly adjusted; the chief obstacle being the reluctance of the emperor to give his consent. He lowered his pretensions so far as to enter into a negotiation, but his policy was singularly irresolute; the negotiation went on week after week, but with no result. "The emperor's ministers," wrote William to his friend Heinsius, "go on dawdling." As before, the negotiations were conducted with great secresy; but, as before, they became known to the Spanish court. It was well known on whom the indignation of the Spanish court would fall when it was discovered that the governments of France, England, and Holland were engaged in framing a second treaty of partition. It would not fall on Louis, who had first suggested the partition of the Spanish monarchy, but on William, who had to preserve the peace of Europe. It must, however, be concluded that it was his ministers, and not the weak and dying monarch, who took action in the matter. Passing by the French monarch, whom they knew it would be dangerous to insult, all their concentrated wrath fell upon the head of William. If they could not insult Louis, they could him; he had no power to hurt them. His parliament had cut down the ranks of his army, so as to render him almost powerless; and as he could not restore it without the sanction of the House of Commons, whose chief study was to thwart his wishes, the Dons imagined that they could domineer over such a king. Accordingly the Spanish ambassador in London received instructions to present a strong remonstrance against the negotiations in which William was engaged at Loo; and the marquis of Canales did not scruple to go beyond his instructions. His memorial, which in the king's absence was presented to the council of regency, was insolent beyond all precedent. Having appealed in haughty terms to the honour and justice of the English nation, he added, that if "these inclinations and projects were not speedily put a stop to, there would be a dire and universal war over all Europe, difficult to stop when wished, and most sensible and prejudicial to the English nation, which had tried and felt what innovations and the last war had cost them." Canales threatened to lay the whole case before the two Houses of Parliament when they next met, but William did not give him that opportunity. The council of regency read the memorial with burning indignation, and immediately transmitted it to Loo. Every one denounced it as a most unjustifiable insult to the king. He was charged with committing a wrong; was treated as a subject rather than a sovereign, who had been guilty of an offence against public law; and was threatened with something like an impeachment before his parliament. William was not a sovereign to be thus trifled with and insulted. No sooner had he read the memorial than orders were despatched to send the ambassador of Spain out of the country; and, at the same time, Mr. Stanhope, the English ambassador at the Spanish court, was recalled from Madrid.

The king returned to England on the 18th of October. The nation was in no very pleasant humour. His hopes of a compliant parliament were fainter than ever. Since their last session the Commons had been during the entire summer brooding over their threatened vengeance. The ministry despaired of being able to manage them. Montague, remembering the attacks he had undergone when they last met, determined to resign his office as chief minister of finance. Retaining his auditorship, he did resign, and one Smith became chancellor of the exchequer. A new commission of treasury was issued, at the head of which was Lord Tankerville. Only two Whigs now remained in the cabinet: Somers, who still retained his post as chancellor; and the duke of Shrewsbury, who became lord chamberlain in the room of the duke of Sunderland. Parliament was opened by the king on the 16th of November. His speech was one calculated to disarm all hostility. He assured the Houses that he would do his best to merit their love by constant care to preserve their religion and liberties, by a due administration of justice, by discouraging vice and encouraging virtue, and by shrinking from no danger when the welfare of the nation was threatened. He added:—"Since our aims are wholly for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, by God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people." It seems strange that any part of this speech should have given offence. Rarely ever has a royal speech been so carefully worded, and expressed in such affectionate language. In it, however, the malevolence of faction found one clause on which they contrived to pick a quarrel with his majesty. "Let us act in confidence with one another" sounded in their ears like subtle words of reproof. What could those words mean but that they had been wanting in respect to their sovereign? In their address it was declared to be the opinion of the House that the best way to establish an entire confidence between his majesty and parliament, would be for him to brand with high displeasure all those who had, or should in future, dare to breathe misrepresentations in his ears against his faithful parliament. William's answer was as prudent as it was gentle. No one had dared, he said, to make any misrepresentations of the proceedings of either House, and if any calumnies should ever be attempted, those who breathed them should be treated as his worst enemies.

Malice was silenced by William's soft answer. But the ill-humour of the Commons still existed. If they could not prolong the dispute with the king, they could pick a quarrel with the chancellor Somers. During the war the colonies of North America had grown rich by piracy. The Indian Ocean swarmed with pirates; and as the English navy was fully employed in the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean, they ravaged the Indian seas at pleasure. Fearful stories were told of their rapacity and cruelties. At that time Lord Bellamont, an Irish peer, was governor of New York and of Massachusetts. When he received his commission, William charged him to use his utmost endeavours to sweep these freebooters from the seas. He had made choice of Bellamont, he said, as an honest and intrepid man for that purpose. And Bellamont was not wanting in his duty. As soon as he arrived at New York he consulted some of the most loyal colonists as to the best means of putting down piracy. They suggested a plan which, had the man who was charged with its execution been faithful to his trust, would no doubt have attained the object. As the brigantines of the pirates, though numerous, were small, they thought that if a man-of-war with some thirty or forty guns were fitted out to make a raid among the marauders they might be so dealt with in succession as to be annihilated. And there was then a man in the settlement who, they further thought, if intrusted with the command of that man-of-war, would achieve the end Bellamont had in view. That man was William Kidd: a mariner who had passed the greater part of his life on the waves; who had distinguished himself by seamanship, and valour in action against the French; and who, from his knowledge of the Indian Ocean, was well calculated to root out pirates. Acting upon these suggestions of the colonists, Bellamont recommended them to the king, and the king referred them to the Admiralty, who put their veto upon them. Bellamont was disappointed, but not discouraged. If government would not aid him he thought that his object might be effected by private enterprise. He wrote to some of his friends in England complaining of the public spirit, and urging them to fit out a ship to remedy the evil. Six thousand pounds, he said, would be all that was required, and whoever subscribed would be amply repaid by the prizes, while the commercial world would be benefited, and England in particular, by their patriotism. This appeal of Bellamont was successful. Somers the chancellor, Oxford, then at the head of the Admiralty, the duke of Shrewsbury, with Lord Romney and others equipped the "Adventure Galley" in the port of London, and sent it on its mission. Kidd took the command, and he carried out with him not only the usual letter of marque given to privateers, but a warrant under the great seal, empowering him to seize pirates, and to take them to some place where they might be dealt with according to the then existing law. Kidd sailed from the Hudson early in 1697, and in July he reached the coast of Madagascar. But the choice made of him as a commander was unfortunate, for Kidd and his crew turned pirates themselves. Instead of making war upon the rovers of the seas, he established friendly communications with them, and joined them in attacking peaceful traders whom he had bound himself to defend. The remedy proved worse than the disease. Many a rich merchant ship was plundered, and their crews most wantonly and cruelly treated. When it became known in London, as it did in August, 1698, that the "Adventure Galley" had, instead of protecting merchant ships, become their greatest terror, there was a loud burst of indignation against the promoters of the enterprise: but that any blame could be attached to them no man possessing an unprejudiced mind could fairly imagine. It was clear that Bellamont had acted in all good faith for the public service, and it was equally clear that his friends in England had acted upon his recommendation, and not from any corrupt motives. Notwithstanding, the address to the king had scarcely passed when the House called for copies of the papers relating to Kidd's expedition. At that time Kidd was in prison, and Bellamont was awaiting orders from the Admiralty to send him to England, when the House moved for the papers relative to the expedition. The papers were moved for in the hope that their subject-matter might furnish material for a vote of censure against the chancellor Somers. The subject was considered in a committee of the whole House on the 6th of December. It was contended that the letters patent to which Somers had affixed the great seal were illegal; that it had been affixed by him in order to enrich himself, his friends, and his sovereign by the fruits of piracy. A resolution was moved that the letters patent were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the statutes of the realm, and destructive of trade and commerce. If this resolution had passed Somers could no longer have held the great seal; but he was so ably defended by Cowper, that many who had entered the House with a fixed resolve to blast the fair fame of a man of whom the nation was justly proud, stole away before the resolution was put to the vote, and it was negatived.

The opposition, however, had not yet poured out all their vial of wrath against the Whig chancellor; there was a renewed attack on Somers for receiving a grant of some crown property near Reigate, which was a signal failure. It was difficult for his enemies to think of any device by which they might assail him for receiving this mark of royal favour. As one of them justly remarked, he was "a man of eminent merit," and he had given up a lucrative profession to serve the state. It was but just, therefore, that some provision should be made for him should he be dismissed from office, and such a provision could only then be made by the crown. At the present time, retiring chancellors, by Act of Parliament, have ample retiring allowance, but if a chancellor of this period retired or was dismissed, if he had not accumulated a fortune, notwithstanding he had been made a peer on his acceptance of office, he was commonly reduced to the verge of poverty. Shame, therefore, ought to have prevented the enemies of Somers from assailing him on such a ground as a delinquent; but malice knows no bounds, and omits no device to attain its ends. On the slender ground that William had made his grant to Somers—which, after all, was scarcely sufficient to support the dignity of a retired chancellor—in a time of war, it was moved, that "any minister who had been concerned in passing a grant for his own benefit, while the nation was burdened with taxes for the support of war, violated his trust." But this device to ruin and disgrace the Whig chancellor was as shallow as it was mischievous, and the motion was ignominiously rejected.

It would appear by this failure of the attack on the Whig chancellor that the House of Commons was becoming more manageable. But there was still a bitter hostility among its members against the government. Early in the year 1700, there was a grand field day of political strife in the House. In the last session, as before recorded, by a clause tacked to a money bill, seven commissioners were to be appointed to inquire into the extent of Irish forfeitures of estates, to the end that some relief of taxation might be afforded to the "subjects of England." Those commissioners had been appointed, and during the recess they had visited Ireland, and had returned to England to make their report. It proved, when laid before the Houses, to be replete with bitter reflections on the king and the ministry. It was all that the Tories and their allies, the dissentient Whigs, could wish for. But the report was not signed by all the commissioners: three out of the seven dissented from its tone, if not from its facts, and drew up a separate memorial. From the report, it appeared that about one hundred and seventy thousand English acres had been forfeited during the war in Ireland and its after consequences. The value of this quantity of forfeited lands was conjectured by the commissioners to be of the value of 2,600,000*l.* This, however, was mere conjecture. By those who knew the rentals, and how a large portion of the estates were heavily mortgaged, it was asserted that about a fifth part of that sum was as much as it was worth. There was manifest exaggeration; the more so, because a fourth part of the total acreage had been restored to the ancient proprietors according to the treaty of Limerick, while about one seventh of the remaining three-fourths had been freely bestowed on subjects whom his majesty had thought deserving of clemency. What remained, William had given either to men whose exalted merits deserved his royal favours, or to his personal friends or favourites, such as Portland, Albemarle, the countess of Orkney, and others. The naked facts of the report were sufficient to raise a storm of indignation in a House of Commons predisposed to quarrel with the king, and almost every one around him. But the four commissioners who signed the report, of which Trenchard the pamphleteer was the penman, did not stop at narrating naked facts. All their skill was employed to inflame still more passions which were already over-inflamed. In their report William was blamed for everything he had done; he had even been too liberal and compassionate to the conquered race. It was especially alleged that he had committed a grave error in allowing many Irish papists, known to have favoured King James, still to enjoy their estates. It was suggested by the commissioners that inquisition might still be instituted, whereby there would be a plentiful harvest of confiscations. Much, also, was urged in the report of the iniquity of bestowing the Irish forfeited lands on foreign favourites. The grant to Elizabeth Villiers, countess of Orkney, was especially descanted upon with spiteful malevolence in the report. That was a discovery over which the four commissioners who signed it greatly rejoiced. They had nothing to do with that grant, for it was made out of the old hereditary domains of the crown, and not out of the Irish forfeited estates. But it suited the views of the four commissioners to drag it to light. When the other three urged that they had nothing to do with it, and that if they held it up to obloquy they would be flying in the king's face, it was answered that they were sent to Ireland for that very purpose. Accordingly Lady Orkney's grant was added to the report, and in so grossly an exaggerated manner, that William was made to appear a more extravagant monarch than the gay and voluptuous Charles Stuart. It was represented that the grant was of the value of twenty-four thousand pounds per annum, whereas, in reality, the "twenty" should have been omitted. Altogether, the report was just the very document which the House of Commons wanted to act upon. The nation, also, was delighted with its contents. Both the people and their representatives hated taxes, and it was thought that if the report was acted upon with vigour they would be largely diminished. It was represented, and gross as the representation was it was believed, that by taking away that which had been given to the hated Dutch, and that which the no less hated Irish Papists were allowed to possess, there would be a clear gain of 300,000*l.* per annum to the kingdom. Here was a golden harvest to be reaped by the nation! And the House of Commons resolved to reap it with a sharp sickle. No sooner was the report laid on the table than they resolved, in a spirit which cannot be too strongly condemned, that no petition from any person who might feel aggrieved by their proceedings should be received. And their very next step was an act of gross injustice. They resolved that those commissioners who signed the report should each have a thousand pounds for their services, while the three who did not sign it should only receive money out of pocket in their journey to and fro, and their sojourn in Ireland. One of the three dissentient commissioners, Sir Richard Leving, had mentioned in private that Langford, one of the four, had, during their investigations in Ireland, spoken disrespectfully, if not treasonably, of the king. What Leving said in private, Montague, with more zeal than prudence, repeated before the House of Commons. It was dangerous in the present temper of the House for any one of the minority to open their lips. A vote of censure was passed on Montague, and Leving was brought to the bar and examined. What he had said he affirmed, and Lord Drogheda and Sir Francis Brewster, the other two of the dissentients, not only confirmed his testimony but strengthened it, by repeating other disrespectful language used towards the king, which Leving had not reported. It has been said in Holy Writ, that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established," but the House of Commons on this occasion disregarded that sublime truth. Their evidence was flatly denied by the favoured four. They could not be disloyal to their king. What they had said was strangely perverted, for there were no more loyal subjects in the kingdom than they were. And the Commons believed them. It was resolved that divers groundless and scandalous aspersions were cast upon the four commissioners who had signed the report, and that they had acquitted themselves in their duties with understanding, courage, and integrity. And it was further resolved that Sir Richard Leving had been the author of those aspersions, for which said offence he was ordered to be committed to the Tower: which order was forthwith executed. If the Commons had had the power, from the temper they were in, it is morally certain that Leving's head would have been forfeited on Tower Hill.

Having thus paved the way, the Tories brought in their famous Bill of Resumption. By that bill the whole of the Irish forfeitures were to be applied to the use of the public. The Bill of Resumption sent up to the Lords eight years before provided that a third part should be reserved to the king for his own use, but now he was not to have a tittle of the forfeited estates. Every grant which William had made was to be annulled. It was imagined by the king that, if appealed to, the Commons would at least reserve some portion of the forfeited estates for his disposal; but when Vernon proposed a clause to that effect, its reception was such that he did not venture to demand a division. On the other hand, two resolutions moved by Howe—one attributing the burden of taxation under which the nation was suffering to the Irish grants, and the other censuring every one indiscriminately who had taken any part either in advising or passing those grants—were passed by a large majority. Nor were the Commons satisfied with passing those resolutions. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the king's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the House, to be printed and published for their justification; and resolved "that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counsellor, in this or any former reign, to his use and benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour." By the bill thirteen trustees were authorized and empowered to determine all claims relating to the forfeited estates, and to sell them to the highest purchaser; the purchase money to be appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. All this was done under the profession of the most exalted patriotism. But there was no love of country in their proceedings. If the king had showed indulgence, so did the Commons; if he had his favourites on whom he showered favours, so had they. Many an estate was carved out of the forfeitures for those whom the Commons delighted to favour, either "without money or without price," or only for their nominal value. They took every acre from the Dutch general Ginckel, earl of Athlone, who had rendered William the most exalted services in Ireland; while the Tory duke of Ormond, who hated foreigners, was set free from the heavy load of debt which he had owed to persons whose estates were confiscated, and which on their confiscation became due to the crown. But in the sequel the Tories were made to suffer as well as the foreigners and Whigs. An amendment was moved by the Whigs that the grants of all lands and revenues of the crown made since the 6th of February, 1684, should be resumed. That was the date of the accession of James, and from that time to the day of his flight the Tories had monopolized the favours, grants, and pensions of the crown. This was a much more sweeping resumption than the Tories had desired, but they could not for shame resist its adoption. The bill, with this amendment, passed, and to neutralize the opposition of the Lords, it was tacked to a land-tax bill of two shillings in the pound, which was necessary for the support of the fleet and the army. But the Lords, moved with indignation at this second attempt to tie their tongues, were not now so easily silenced. There was a fierce dispute between the two Houses. Amendments were ventured upon by the Lords, which the Commons indignantly rejected. Reasons were given for their rejection in a paper which was delivered at a conference of the two Houses. Answers were given in writing by their lordships at a second conference; but although the Commons had set the example, they declined to pursue this species of literary argument. Their lordships' paper was read at the bar, and it was a concise but lucid exposition of the grounds on which they conceived themselves to be acting in harmony with the constitution. The country gentlemen, however, though they were ready enough to give their reasons for rejecting the amendments of the Upper House, were not in a temper to listen to reason. The bill was sent back with an announcement that the decision of the House of Commons was unalterable. It was a reflection of the "law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." Backed by the voice of the nation, the Commons assumed a threatening attitude. The language of some of the members was that of ultra-revolutionists. The Lords objected, as well they might, to the tacking of the bill to one of supply, and one member hinted that they must take care they did not have bills of supply with bills of attainder tacked to them. Another infamously asserted that a war as long, as bloody, and as costly, would do less mischief than had been done by the introduction of Dutchmen among the English peerage. England seemed to be on the very brink of a fearful revolution. The king and the Lords, however, saved the nation from that catastrophe. Warned on every hand that they must yield or bring on a perilous crisis, the Lords passed the bill in its entirety, and on the 11th of April, William gave it his royal assent. He gave that assent without a murmur, but evidently with deep mortification: and the Commons were preparing a still deeper mortification for him. They were preparing a motion for an address to his majesty that no person, not a native of England, except Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his councils. This resolution was levelled against the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but William could no longer endure the insults of his Commons. After passing other bills that were ready for his assent, he commanded the early of Bridgewater—in the absence of chancellor Somers, who had been too ill to attend the House during the discussion on the Bill of Resumption—to prorogue the parliament. For the first time since the revolution, parliament was prorogued without a speech. It was impossible for William, with any degree of sincerity, to thank the Commons; and to rebuke them in their present temper would only have been throwing oil on flames already too brightly burning.

And there were other acts besides the Resumption Bill for which the king could not in conscience thank his "faithful Commons." As unfolded in previous pages, his policy was that of complete toleration to all his subjects. He loathed a spirit of persecution. But his parliament was not so tolerant. Among those "other bills" which passed this session there was one which was a disgrace to the statute book. During the reign of William the old penal laws against Papists were in many respects a dead letter. No one could accuse him of any leaning towards popery, but no one could accuse him of persecuting its members for their faith. In his communications to his master, the French king, Tallard informed him that the Catholic religion was tolerated in England more openly than it was in the time of Charles II., and that it was evident the king of England had resolved to secure his own, by leaving those professing the Catholic religion in peace. No doubt the Papists were encouraged by his enlarged toleration to be more open in the profession of their faith; but so long as they remained peaceful members of the community, good neighbours, and loyal subjects, William felt that he had no right to interfere with them in matters of faith. And he was right. In modern times it has been discovered that in England Protestants and Papists may live side by side as good neighbours, and in the kingdom as loyal subjects. There may be displays of bigotry on both sides, but they do not tend to breaches of the peace. The parliament of 1700, however, was not only a factious but an intolerant parliament. It not only attacked the king and his government, but, solely on the ground of their religion, a large section of his subjects. There was an Act passed "for the further preventing the growth of Popery." That Act recited there had been a greater resort into this kingdom than formerly of Popish bishops, priests, and Jesuits. It decreed a reward of one hundred pounds to any person apprehending and prosecuting to conviction any such bishop, priest, or Jesuit for saying mass, or exercising the priestly function in England. It enacted also, that the punishment for such convicted persons, or for a Papist keeping a school, was to be perpetual imprisonment. It further enacted that every one educated in the Popish religion, upon attaining the age of eighteen, was to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints; the penalty for non-compliance with this enactment being to render such persons incapable of purchasing lands, or of inheriting lands either in their own name, or in the name of any one in trust for them. Many wealthy Catholic landowners came under the ban of this law; but says Hallam:—"The judges put such constructions upon the clause of forfeiture as eluded its efficacy; and I believe there were scarce any instances of a loss of property under this law."

During the session a second attempt was made to couple chancellor Somers with the pirate Kidd. That attempt signally failed; but the animosity displayed by the Commons led to his dismissal from office. The cabinet was now entirely in the hands of the Tories. William, however, encountered a difficulty in supplying the place of Somers with a successor worthy of the office. The seals were finally given to Sir Nathan Wright, with the title of lord keeper, "in whom there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had lately filled it." Wright was an obscure Tory serjeant-at-law, ill fitted for so high a post in the state. But from the late opposition to all his measures, the king had concluded that the Tories only were capable of carrying forward with facility the public business, and the chancellorship therefore was filled up from their ranks. At the same time he was not very sanguine that the violent hatred of factions would cease under a Tory government. Their rivalries, indeed, made many able and honest statesmen shrink from the responsibility of office, so that he was obliged to fall back upon men of mediocre talent, and of no great note in the country. Shrewsbury, who had helped to make the king, resigned his office of lord chamberlain, which was bestowed upon Lord Jersey.

While parliament was engaged in fiery debates, William still paid attention to the affairs of Europe. The negotiations for the second partition of the Spanish dominions still proceeded. As regards the French king it was a solemn farce: that he never meant to be bound by any treaty is certain. While William was only allowed by his parliament eight thousand men for his army, and seven thousand for his navy—the numbers voted for this year—Louis had an array of sixty thousand troops in the camp of Compiègne. This was ominous. Europe had thought that his resources were exhausted by the long war, and was astonished at this ostentatious display of power. Still he went on negotiating with England and Holland for Europe's repose. It was hoped that the emperor of Austria would finally be induced to enter into their proceedings; but after various evasions he declined absolutely to mix himself up with the proposed treaty of partition. Every hour seemed precious to the negotiators, for the king of Spain was fast going the way of all flesh. Although Portland had retired from the court through jealousy of Albemarle in anger, he consented to continue the negotiations for the second partition treaty. It was signed by him and Jersey and the French ambassador Tallard in February of this year; and in the following month at the Hague by the French ambassador Biord and the plenipotentiaries of the States. It was a treaty which differed materially from that which had destined the youthful electoral prince of Bavaria to the throne of Spain and the Indies. The archduke Charles of Austria was to be the lucky possessor of that throne, but his dominions were to be shorn of many valuable possessions which were to fall to the share of the Dauphin. France might well have been satisfied with the arrangements made by this treaty, but the French king, while consenting that the throne of Spain should fall to the lot of a member of the House of Hapsburg, was all the while intriguing at the court of Madrid to make the treaty his ambassadors had signed with his own professed approval a dead letter. And he succeeded.

Although by a vote of the Commons William was left with only a fragment of an army and a navy, at which France and other European powers curled the lip of scorn, he maintained an attitude which made them feel that he was still a king. England and Holland were under treaties of alliance with Sweden, by which they were bound to protect each other in the hour of danger. At this time a league was formed between the king of Denmark, the elector of Saxony and king of Poland, and the Czar Peter, for the dismemberment of Sweden. The king of that country, Charles XII., was but a youth, and the three potentates thought it a good opportunity to despoil him of his kingdom. Though young, Charles was brave and energetic, but he was unequal to the contest alone. He called upon England and Holland to assist him. The king of Denmark had declared publicly that, as William was not supported by his parliament, he could do nothing in Europe. To this insolent declaration William retorted that he would let Denmark see that he could and would do something. He did not ask support from his parliament. Small as it was, he had a navy made up of seamen bold and brave. The States-General readily came forward to assist in the cause. The fleets of England and Holland united, and were placed under the command of Sir George Rooke: a graceful compliment to England which disarmed all opposition to the king's proceedings. At first William remonstrated with the confederates; but of this no notice was taken. He offered himself as a mediator, and with the same result. The confederates despised his remonstrance and his offer of mediation. There was nothing left for him but action. In July the united squadrons of England and Holland entered the Sound, and forming a junction with the fleet of Sweden, they scoured the Baltic and drove the Danish fleet into Copenhagen, which they bombarded. There was but little damage done to the capital, but the operations of the combined fleets had the most wonderful effects. Inspirited by them, the Swedes drove the Danes and the Poles from their frontiers and the towns they were besieging, and then Charles prepared, with his allies, for a siege of the Danish capital. The king of Denmark, Frederick IV., now became alarmed for his own safety. He implored Rooke to desist from further hostilities, and expressed his willingness to accept that which he had before haughtily refused—the mediation of England and Holland. Rooke replied that he would agree to a lasting treaty, but he had no power to consent to a truce. Preparations for the siege continued. Charles took up his position on the isle of Zetland, the combined fleets co-operating with him by sea. Thus threatened, Frederick consented to a treaty of peace under the guarantee of England and Holland, without the concurrence of France. William had proved to the king of Denmark, and to all Europe, that he could still do something, and in England he was highly applauded for the protection he had afforded to the young monarch of Sweden. Rooke having seen Charles and his army safe back to Sweden, returned home in triumph.

Contrary to his usual custom, after his parliament was prorogued, William lingered in England three months. It had been "a dismal session" to him, and he hoped never to witness such another. Hence it was that during his stay in England he rearranged his ministry. But before he repaired to Holland, there was another parliament in his dominions, which was even more refractory than that at Westminster. The parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh on the 21st of May, and from the time of its opening to its close there was nothing but complaints of grievances. The ferment about the affair of Darien was at its height, and the duke of Queensberry, the lord high commissioner, found the Scottish parliament more unmanageable than the king's ministers had found the English parliament. William sought by letter to Queensberry to soothe the members into a better temper, but it was to no purpose. The national flame of disaffection could not be quenched by soft words. The refractory members of the Scottish parliament talked loudly of forming themselves into a convention. So violent was their discontent that they even affirmed the army was ready to join their cause; and that money only was wanting to declare the throne of Scotland vacant.

Such was the state of England and Scotland when the king again repaired to his quiet retreat at Loo. The summer and autumn succeeding his departure were marked by events of the highest importance to the future of England. On the 30th of July the young duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark, after a short illness expired at Windsor. The death of the young prince was no sooner made known, than the subject of the succession became the popular theme in England. The Jacobites, says Burnet, "grew insolent upon it, and say, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the prince of Wales' succession;" while, on the other hand, "the eyes of all the Protestants in the nation turned towards the electress of Brunswick." Next to the Princess Anne, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and granddaughter of James I., was, on account of her Protestantism, the personage preferred by the great bulk of the nation. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession that the electress, as soon as she heard of the death of the young prince, paid a visit to William at Loo, which, as will be seen in a future page, was not without its fruits. At the same time, the English Jacobites renewed their intercourse with the court of St. Germains. Lord Preston was sent thither to represent that the succession of the young prince might safely be reckoned upon; but according to Lord Manchester, the English ambassador at Paris, the bigoted James and his queen both declared that they would rather see their son Charles dead, than that he should change his religion. As, therefore, by an express act of parliament, all Roman Catholics were excluded from the succession, the Jacobites could have but little expectations of seeing their hopes fulfilled. It was reported that the Princess Anne sent an express clandestinely to notify the death of the young prince to her father, and joined with the Jacobites in their zeal for the prince of Wales: if so, it may account for the apathy which William displayed at the loss the kingdom was supposed to have sustained in the death of her son.

It was of importance that the succession to the throne should be early settled, as, at this time, William's health was visibly declining. His anxieties and the cares of state had told upon his naturally enfeebled frame. But other and more pressing considerations forced themselves upon the attention of the king, before he could take any steps in the matter of the Protestant succession in England. The second treaty of partition had been duly signed by France, England, and Holland, but not by the emperor. He still refused to sign, expecting to obtain greater advantages than that treaty had given him. The possession of Naples, it was argued, together with the ports of Tuscany, would subject Italy to the dominion of France, and would interfere with the English trade to the Levant and the Mediterranean. Guipuscoa, also, would on any future rupture open up another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions. On these grounds the treaty was pronounced by the English malcontents both prejudicial to the interest of England and destructive of the balance of power in Europe. But, after all, the labours William had undergone in promoting that treaty were thrown away; and the loud cry raised against it was breath spent in vain. While William was at Loo, he wrote to Heinsius to assure the ambassadors of France from him that he should rigidly observe the treaty, in the expectation that their master would do the same. William's expectation of the French king's sincerity in the matter was not realized. He was playing a double game. Both Louis and the Austrian emperor had their agents at the court of Madrid, intriguing to obtain a will in favour of their respective houses, which would render the treaty null and void. The Spanish monarch was now on the eve of dissolution, and time was precious to the rivals. At first, the interests of the emperor seemed to predominate. In June, Charles made a will which gave the inheritance of his whole dominions to the archduke of Austria. But the agents of the French still lingered in the court of the dying monarch. His last hours were distracted by the contending rivals. Although Louis had been the promoter of the partition treaties, he contrived to persuade the king of Spain that England and Holland were alone to blame in the matter. It was necessary to free himself from blame, or his agents would have been dismissed from the Spanish court with contumely. Now, however, they were permitted to surround his death-bed, where they used all their arts to influence Charles to dispose of the succession by will in favour of the Bourbons. For a long time the enfeebled monarch resisted all their arts. He clung to the idea that he ought to preserve the inheritance to the House of Hapsburg, from which he had sprung; an idea which was strengthened by the counsels and importunities of his queen and her confessor. On the other hand, Cardinal Porto Carrero, and the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, worked with unremitting energy for the interests of the House of Bourbon. The authority of the pope, also, was called in to decide the matter. Innocent the Twelfth then sat in the papal chair, and, when consulted, his decision was, that the whole Spanish monarchy belonged by right to the dauphin; but that, in order to avoid giving offence to Europe by the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the dauphin's second son, Philip duke of Anjou, should be the recognised successor to the Spanish monarchy. Thus armed, Porto Carrero, and other ecclesiastics in the interests of the House of Bourbon, drew closer around the dying monarch's bed. Under the penalties of divine wrath, they urged upon him to pay obedience to the councils of the Vatican. Charles trembled as they held forth the vengeance of an offended Deity, if he suffered himself to be swayed by mortal love or hatred in opposition to the dictates of the church. His soul, it was represented, was in danger if he did not dispose of his crown by will in obedience to the sovereign pontiff; for by his refusal he would entail on his country the horrors of a civil war, which would richly deserve the vengeance of heaven. Charles yielded. The famous testament which was to plunge not Spain alone, but all Europe into war, for ten long years, was produced and signed. As soon as Charles had affixed his fatal signature to it, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Now I am as one of the dead." Charles still lingered four weeks between life and death. During that time he was watched over by Porto Carrero and the ecclesiastics with tender solicitude, not for his soul's health, but lest he should cancel that will, as he had that in favour of the duke of Austria. The will in favour of Philip of Anjou was kept a profound secret to the day of his death, which took place on the 1st of November. There was then no longer occasion for concealment. France was not ashamed to reveal to Europe the transaction in which her agents had been engaged. When the last breath of Charles had departed, the Spanish duke of Abrantes came forth from the council—of which Porto Carrero had been nominated by Charles as the chief—came forth and announced, that by the will of the deceased monarch, Philip duke of Anjou was his successor to the throne of Spain and the Indies. St. Simon relates that Count Harrach, the Austrian ambassador, was in the crowd round the council door when Abrantes made his appearance, and that he was so deceived by the duke's manner that he thought the succession had fallen upon either his master the emperor, or his son the archduke of Austria. And well he might so think. With a bland smile Abrantes took the hand of Harrach, and thus addressed him: "Sir, it is with much pleasure—it is with extreme joy that for the rest of my life, and with the greatest contentment, that *I part from you*, and take my leave of the House of Austria." France had triumphed, but in her triumph she had sown the seeds of a deep revenge among the powers of Europe. Louis' exultation over his triumph of diplomacy could not be concealed. Having made a show of consulting his council, he accepted the will, and sent his grandson Philip into Spain; the *Grand Monarque* exclaiming, as he parted from him, "The Pyrenees exist no longer."

William had returned to England a few days before the death of the Spanish monarch. The news of his will, and the acceptance of it by Louis, deeply mortified him. He felt that he had been duped. And he was not only mortified, and duped, but alarmed. Writing to Heinsius, he remarked, that he was perfectly satisfied, if the will was executed, England and the republic of Holland were in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined. At the present time, he said, his chief anxiety was to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. He bitterly deprecated the conduct of the wily French monarch, and deplored his own almost helpless condition in England. But he did not despair. While he told Heinsius that he must for the present look to the republic, he expressed a hope that he should by a prudent policy, and by degrees, obtain the support of his English subjects, whereby he might be enabled to act with vigour, and even to set the States an example. William's aim now was to gain time. As the emperor had yet two months before him to sign the treaty, or absolutely to refuse, he sent orders to his ambassador to declare in solemn terms that he held himself bound by the engagement. If the French monarch had proved false, he at least was resolved to prove true to his contract. Nor was he to be turned aside from his purpose. When he was told, through his ambassador, that France held out a threat that, if he attempted to annul the will, he would find that he had two kingdoms to conquer—France, which would not give up its rights, and Spain, which would not consent to the partition—William replied, that until the emperor's mind was known no alteration could be made in the treaty, and that in the mean time he should consult with his allies. Tallard was sent over to England to enter into fresh negotiations with William, in the hope of again overreaching him, but this time it was to no purpose. The charms of his eloquence were lost upon ears that had been once deceived. On the other hand, the ambassador of the emperor sent over to the English court to keep William firm to his purpose of resisting the will of the Spanish monarch was listened to with eagerness. But it was a dark period of William's history. Burnet says, that "there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene." And what made William's situation more critical was that the majority of his English subjects were in favour of the will rather than the treaty. It was the general supposition that the duke of Anjou, being only a child, would, as he was henceforth to be brought up in Spain, imbibe Spanish maxims, and be guided solely by Spanish councils, without any relation to France: a supposition which William rightly conceived was as fallacious as it would prove dangerous to the interests of Europe. If his subjects were disposed, therefore, to yield to the tortuous diplomacy of the French court he was resolved to oppose it with all his energies. Of William's heroic conduct on this momentous occasion, Burke truly remarks:—"In all the tottering imbecility of a new government, and with parliament totally unmanageable, he persevered. He persevered to expel the fears of his people, by his fortitude; to steady their fickleness, by his constancy; to expand their narrow prudence, by his enlarged wisdom; to sink their factious temper in his public spirit. In spite of his people he resolved to make them great and glorious; to make England, inclined to shrink into her narrow self, the arbitress of Europe, the tutelary angel of the human race. In spite of the ministers, who staggered under the weight that his mind imposed upon theirs, unsupported as they felt themselves by the popular spirit, he infused into them his own soul: he renewed in them their ancient heart, he rallied them in the same cause. It required some time to accomplish this work. The people were first gained, and through them their distracted representatives."

How William brought about this great change in the sentiments of the people now remains to be related. But first, it must be mentioned that the storm which had been raging in Scotland, and which threatened the repose of Britain, was entirely laid by William's well-timed policy. In the autumn there had been a national address promoted by the malcontents in Scotland for the meeting of the Scottish parliament; but it had been defeated by the king's ordering that assembly to meet before the address was presented. It met on the 28th of October, and William's letter was well calculated to disarm all hostility to his person and his throne. In that letter he promised to give his assent to all acts for the better establishment of church government, the security of personal liberty, and above all, for the repair of the losses sustained in the Darien expedition. The state of Europe, he said, had imposed upon him the necessity of withholding his protection from that commercial enterprise, but as that state was now changed, he would support to the utmost the just rights and claims of the people of Scotland. At first William's promises failed to soothe the indignant humour of the Scots, but a better temper soon prevailed, and the Scottish parliament became all compliant with the views of the English crown. And this change in the humour of the Scots foreshadowed a still greater and more radical change in the humour of the English. At the close of the year the parliament which had proved so refractory was dissolved, and as the Tories were in the ascendant they had all the advantage of government influence in the elections. It seemed, however, but of little consequence to the king as to whether the Whigs or the Tories were the dominant party in the state. By his dismissal of the Whig leaders he had given mortal offence to their whole body; but he had not yet done sufficient to obliterate the deep-rooted ill humour of the Tories. William himself observed to Montague—recently removed to the Upper House under the title of Lord Halifax—that the only difference he knew between the two parties was, "that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon." On the retreat of the Whigs, however, he endeavoured to conciliate the Tories by placing Lord Godolphin once more at the head of the treasury, and Rochester at the head of the government in Ireland.

Parliament met on the 6th of February. Harley was elected Speaker by an immense majority over the Whig nominee, Onslow. In his speech William touched upon the two great events of the year—the deaths of the duke of Gloucester and of the king of Spain. As regards the first of these events he remarked:—"The loss of the duke of Gloucester makes it necessary there should be a further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line after me and the Princess Anne. The happiness of the nation, and the security of our religion, which is our chief concern, depend so much upon this, that I cannot doubt but it will meet your concurrence, and I earnestly recommend it to your consideration." As regards the death of the king of Spain, William observed that it had made so great an alteration of affairs abroad, that he must desire them very maturely to consider their present state. "I make no doubt," he continued, "but your resolutions will be such as will be most conducive to the interests and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. These things are of such weight, that I have thought them most proper for the consideration of a new parliament, in order to have the more immediate sense of the kingdom in so great a conjuncture." William concluded his speech by recommending the Commons to provide for the deficiencies and public debts occasioned by the late war, and to inspect the state and augment the strength of the navy, which he rightly termed "the great bulwark of the nation." During the elections there had been much bribery and corruption, and some days were spent in weeding the House of Commons of members who had notoriously resorted to corrupt practices. On the 14th of February, however, the Commons resolved "that they would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe." There was, however, a diversity of opinion expressed as to the best means of securing the "peace of Europe." The party who thought it could be secured by an appeal to arms was greatly in the minority. William was aware of this, and although he secretly wished, and had probably determined to quarrel with France for the gross breach of faith displayed in departing from the second Treaty of Partition, he durst not yet venture to hazard such a quarrel. But in the address of the Commons William saw signs of a return to a well-grounded hope that at no remote period he might be able to throw down the gauntlet to the perfidious *Grand Monarque.* And that hope soon arrived at a full assurance. Taking advantage of the tone of the address of the Commons in his reply, he not only thanked them for their ready concurrence with the sentiments uttered in his speech, which he considered to be important to the honour and safety of England, but he laid before them a translation of a memorial which he had received from the States-General, well calculated to bring them over to his views. That memorial consisted of two parts: on the first of which, he said, he asked the advice of his Commons, and on the second he desired their assistance. The memorial set forth that the States-General had acknowledged the new king of Spain, but under the condition that a negotiation should be entered into in concert with their allies to secure the peace of Europe. It prayed William to send instructions to his minister at the Hague to act in concert with them; and at the same time, as French troops, they said, were moving towards their frontier, they demanded that the succour provided under a treaty made by England with the States in 1677 should be sent for their defence. Here was a direct appeal to the honour of England, to which the Commons could not turn a deaf ear. An address was voted to the king, praying that he would be pleased to enter into such negotiations with the States-General and other potentates, as might conduce to the safety of these kingdoms and the United Provinces; and promising their hearty support in performance of the treaty, a copy of which had been laid before them for their decision. William was gratified by this decision. It went beyond his most sanguine expectations. He replied in terms expressive of his warmest approbation of their conduct. Nothing, he said, could more effectually conduce to the security of England than the unanimity and vigour they had thus displayed. From that hour all William's fears, that if a war should result from the will of the Spanish monarch—as he felt certain it would—he would be unsupported by his parliament, vanished. The nation was again rallying round the monarch of their choice. All along, indeed, William was more beloved by his people than he was aware, and their sentiments were now telling in his favour on their representatives. The people were no unconcerned spectators of the contest between the king and the House of Commons in the matter of the disbandment of the army. That proceeding on the part of the Commons had their unqualified aversion. Swift says, that there was "a great love and sense of gratitude in the people toward their king, grounded upon a long opinion of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires;" and that for some time they had expressed an opinion he had in this, as in many other things, been hardly used. William, however, took no part in the contest which was growing up between the people and their representatives. He calmly watched events, leaving the parliament to take its own course, and the people to follow the dictates of justice. But no opportunity was omitted by the king of inducing his parliament to put the nation into a better state of defence than it had been during the past few years. There was nothing more likely to effect this object than to excite their fears of France. So long as it was thought France was sincere in its desire for peace and amity with England, so long it was thought a large military force was unnecessary. But at the slightest intimation that France was insincere, William well knew that his parliament would take the alarm. And so it proved early in this session. On the same day he communicated the Dutch memorial to the Commons, he communicated an intercepted letter from that desperate Jacobite, the earl of Melfort, to his brother the earl of Perth, suggesting that the present conjuncture ought to be improved for the benefit of the exiled family, and that every advantage should be taken of the animosity which existed at the court of France against King William. Melfort, indeed, stated in his letter that Louis intended to put a large fleet to sea in the summer, by means of which James, who was now more of a monk than a king, would return to England and repossess himself of his throne. Melfort had been dismissed from the service of James, who was now directed in his councils by the earl of Middleton, a man of moderate principles in his politics, and a Protestant; but the ex-secretary was still as zealous for the cause of his old master—and as unscrupulous in plotting for his restoration—as ever. There were no good grounds for fear from the plot in which he now appears to have been engaged, but nevertheless, both Lords and Commons took serious notice of the contents of his letter. They urged the speedy fitting out of a fleet for the defence of the kingdom. To this latter measure the Commons warmly assented. They voted unanimously that such persons as should advance the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the service of the fleet, the guards, and garrisons, should receive six per cent., and be repaid the principal out of the first aid granted in the present session. A few days later they also resolved that thirty thousand men should be employed in the naval service of the year; thus increasing the force more than fourfold as compared with that of 1699. The French court disclaimed all connection with Melfort, and denounced him as a fantastical schemer. When Tallart was taxed with the contents of the intercepted letter, and with the design forming in France to invade England, he owned that Melfort had been to Versailles, and had been admitted to an audience with Madame de Maintenon, the mistress of Louis, who had been represented as favouring the plot, but he assured the English government that Melfort had nothing to do in the court of France.

That portion of the king's speech which related to the Protestant succession was brought forward in the Commons on the 3rd of March. According to Burnet, great lukewarmness was displayed on the subject. He says that the motion was put off from day to day, and that it gave place to the most trifling matters. Whether those matters were trifling or not will be seen: if they were, they gave rise to the most furious broils between the two great parties of Whigs and Tories. But the House was not indifferent to the great question of the succession. Although he complains of the delay, when the succession was finally settled, Burnet was well satisfied with the settlement. There was a great party, he writes, formed in favour of the pretended prince of Wales; but it is a great point gained that " we have now a law on our side for a Protestant successor." It was resolved that the Princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, be declared next in succession to the crown of England in the Protestant line after his majesty and the princess and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and that the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. But this resolution was clogged with previous limitations which mortified William, as he considered them to be an insult to his own conduct and administration. Among the most offensive of these limitations were that no future monarch, not native born, should engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England; that no sovereign should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of parliament; and that no subject born out of the kingdom, or the dominions thereto belonging, should be a member of the privy council or of parliament, or enjoy any office or place of trust, civil or military, or have any grants of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him. It was also resolved that no person holding office or trust under the king, or who received a pension from the crown, should be capable of serving as a member in the House of Commons. This latter clause was repealed early in the reign of Anne, but there was now little discussion about the conditions which clogged the Act of Settlement. They were considered by both Whigs and Tories essential for "the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject;" and Burnet says "that those who wished well to the Act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it."

William gave his royal assent to the Act of Settlement on the 12th of June. Meanwhile, what Burnet calls "trifling matters" had engrossed much of the attention of parliament. Negotiations for the removal of French troops from the Spanish Netherlands, and for securing the balance of power in Europe, were still proceeding at the Hague between England, Holland, and France. By his envoy extraordinary to the States-General, William took high ground. He not only insisted upon the withdrawal of the French troops from the Spanish Netherlands, but that Neuport and Ostend should be delivered up to him; and that Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons, should be given up to and garrisoned by the States-General. He also insisted that no towns belonging to the Spanish Netherlands, and no ports belonging to Spain, should be possessed by the French; and that the subjects of England should enjoy the same liberties and privileges throughout the Spanish dominions as heretofore, and in as ample a manner as the French or any other nation. And the treaty which he was willing to enter into on these conditions was not to be confined to the powers of England, Holland, and France, but the emperor and all other princes or states who were willing to unite in the preservation of the peace of Europe were to be included as parties to it. These demands were by no means agreeable to the views of the *Grand Monarque*. Burnet says, that the French, seeing they run so high, and being resolved to offer no better security for the peace of Europe than the renewal of the treaty of Ryswick, "set all their engines at work to involve us in such contentions at home, as should both disable us from taking any care of foreign affairs, and make the rest of Europe believe that nothing considerable could be expected from England." The same authority asserts that the French had a great party in parliament, and that French gold came over in abundance during the winter; thereby intimating that some of its members were open to bribery. But French intrigues and French gold were scarcely needed to stimulate the rage of parties in parliament. In both Houses the Partition Treaties gave rise to unpatriotic struggles between Whigs and Tories, and to unseemly animadversions upon the part the king had taken in those treaties. The Lords having called for the treaties, and having examined them, in their report enumerated several circumstances which they deemed deserving of reprobation. They particularly complained that the last treaty had been entered into without being laid before parliament, then sitting, and even without being considered in council. This they thought was as unjust as the treaty was fatal in its consequences. They held that treaty to be the primary cause of the will of the Spanish monarch in favour of the duke of Anjou, and that the cessions made by William in that treaty—as seen in a previous page—were contrary to its professed pretensions, namely, the peace and safety of Europe. In their address to the king they requested him for the future in all matters of importance to consult his natural-born subjects, and for that purpose to constitute from them a council, to which all affairs, foreign and domestic, which concerned his majesty or dominions, might be referred. After the repeated demonstrations of his subjects' duty and affections, they remarked that his majesty could not doubt of their zeal in his service, or lack the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in his secret and most arduous affairs. William simply replied that it contained a matter of great moment, and that he would always take care that all treaties should be made for the honour and safety of England. In the Commons the debates on the Partition Treaties were marked with greater freedom of speech than usual. The Partition Treaties were assailed with the most bitter invectives. Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territory to a highway robbery, and the fiery Howe did not scruple to denounce the partition as "felonious." Party spirit was so inflamed by the debates that the Tories finally resolved to impeach the Whig chiefs—Portland, Orford, Somers, and Halifax—for their concern in the treaties, and for other alleged offences. They were ordered to be impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, and at the same time an address was sent up to his majesty, praying him that he would remove them from his presence and councils for ever. These violent measures produced a counter-address from the Lords, which besought him not to pass any censure upon the accused until they were tried upon their impeachments, and judgment given according to the usage of parliament and the laws of the land. It was the policy of William to avoid any contest with the Commons. They had on various occasions manifested their displeasure at his late measures, and exhibited a distrust of his future conduct, and he sought rather to soothe than exasperate them. Between the two addresses he was placed on the horns of a dilemma. If he gratified the Lords by a gracious reply the Commons would be incensed, and if he took part with the Commons the Lords would be equally offended. William, however, surmounted his difficulty with his usual prudence. He was resolved not to take any part in the battle of the factions. He returned no answer to the address of the peers, and that which he gave to the Commons was expressed in terms at which they could not well be offended. He would employ none, he said, but those he thought deserving of trust. At the same time he allowed the names of the impeached lords to remain in the list of the council; and yet the Commons were so far soothed as to return an address of thanks. But the Commons were not wholly soothed. To support their own resolutions to enable the king to adhere to the treaty of Ryswick, they voted three shillings in the pound on land, but they applied the savings on the civil list to the current service.

Hitherto the contests of the two great factions had been carried on between themselves. But before parliament met, Swift had warned its members of the consequence of their bitter animosities. "It would be wise in them," he wrote, "as individuals and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have raised, as well as those they have escaped; to reflect that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent." Macpherson says, that the people had been hitherto unconcerned spectators of the contests which agitated the parties in parliament. But that is not strictly correct. If they had been silent they were not unconcerned in the matter. There was an undercurrent of feeling among the people, which during the sitting of parliament grew stronger and stronger, until at length it took "a form which has shaken many a faction, and disturbed many a scheme of blind and selfish policy." In May there was a ferment out of the House which began to make "topping men uneasy." The voice of the people was about to be heard as a third and no mean power in the nation. And it was in vain that an attempt was made to stop their utterance. There was an endeavour to suppress petitions, which signally failed. In the midst of the violence of party animosities the famous Kentish petition was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Meredith, one of the members of the county. It was drawn up at a meeting of magistrates, grand jurors, and freeholders, at the general quarter sessions held at Maidstone, and it was a respectful and temperate, but at the same time a plain-spoken document. Many of those who signed it appeared in the House to own to their petition and their signatures, and when they had withdrawn the petition was read. The petitioners, after having expressed their deep concern at the dangerous state of the kingdom and of all Europe, said that as the fate of the country depended upon the wisdom of its representatives in parliament, they felt called upon with all humility to lay before the House the consequence of their most speedy resolution and most sincere endeavour to answer the great trust reposed in them by their countrymen. The petitioners continued:—"And in regard that from the experience of all ages, it is manifest no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never without the blackest ingratitude be forgot. We most humbly implore this honourable House to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for, that your addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The House was not disposed to have "regard to the voice of the people." The "Petition of Kent" raised a storm of fury among its members; but the men of Kent were not to be turned aside from their purpose. They claimed their right to petition under the statute of Charles II., and would offer no concession. Proceeding to extremities, therefore, the petition was denounced by a resolution as "scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution, and to subvert the established government of these realms;" and that the petitioners should be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. The gentlemen of Kent were committed to the gate-house, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament. Meanwhile the voice of the people grew louder and louder. The prisoners at the gate-house were considered as marytrs to the liberties of the people. There was a great commotion throughout the country. A flood of petitions would soon have been poured into the House, if its policy had not eventually undergone a change. One from the good citizens of London was only prevented from being sanctioned by the common council by the interference of the king, who sent messengers to divert the leading men from their design. Yet, says Burnet, it was so near being sanctioned, that it was only negatived by the single vote of the lord mayor. Taking advantage of the general feeling of the country, Daniel Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," whom Smollett designates, unjustly, a "scurrilous party writer, in very little estimation," penned a memorial which was signed "Our name is Legion," and which was conveyed to Harley the Speaker surreptitiously in a packet. The "Legion Memorial," as it is called, contained stronger language than the "Petition of Kent." It was in these words:—"Mr. Speaker: The enclosed memorial you are charged with in the behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither popish, Jacobite, seditious, court, or party concerned in it; but honesty and truth. You are commanded by two hundred thousand Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons, and to inform them that it is no banter, but serious truth; and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require and power to compel—viz., the people of England. We could have come to the House strong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any tumults, not desiring to embroil, but to serve our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it." This memorial can only be regarded as a satire, but it caused a great panic in the House. At the same time there was a deep-rooted feeling in the heart of the nation in favour of the king, and adverse to the measures of parliament. This feeling was manifested when the Kentish gentlemen at the close of the session were released from the gate-house. A public dinner was given them at Mercers' Hall by the chief citizens of London. A Tory writer says that "nothing was wanting to show their respect to them, and the cause of sedition they had been carrying on; no not so much as some of the nobility themselves, to give a stamp of authority to what had been done, contrary to all law, manners, or prudence." Defoe dined at the Mercers' Hall with the gentlemen of Kent, and as he sat by their side, says a Tory writer, "one might have read in his countenance the downfall of parliaments." The pen of that immortal writer was a power in the nation at this period. While devoted to the king, he was the sturdy and sagacious representative of the great middle class of the people of England; and there can be no doubt that the Kentish Petition and the Legion Memorial served the cause of both.

In the mean time the impeachment of the Whig chiefs had been foregone by the Commons. They even needed reminding of it by the Lords. It seems probable that they would not have renewed the subject if the Lords had not, while they were shaking with fear at the contents of the "Legion Memorial," sent them word, that although they had sent up their articles against Orford, they had not exhibited any against Portland, Somers, and Halifax. Thus reminded of their intended prosecution, they drew up their impeachments of the accused in great bitterness of spirit. It would, however, be as uninteresting as it would be useless to detail the particulars of these impeachments. At this time the French were taking steps to possess themselves of the whole of the Spanish dominions. It had been in vain that the States-General had made the most urgent appeals to England for aid. The Commons had passed two votes of support to the king, in carrying out the old treaty with the republic, but they were only formal votes. No action had been taken upon them. This was another of the heavy charges brought against them in the memorial of Defoe. They were, he said, deserting the Dutch when the French were at their doors, and it was almost too late to help them. But if the English House of Commons were not, as they were bound to do, helping the Dutch, they were helping themselves. Having sought the aid of England in vain, they were preparing for the same sort of resistance to the power of France as they had adopted under the guidance of William while "only prince of Orange." They had cut their dykes, and overflowed their country to secure their frontiers. The intelligence from the Continent became daily more and more hostile to the peace of Europe. France stood in battle array, and as yet Holland only was preparing for resistance. Gradually, however, the English parliament began to reflect upon the great question upon which William had so often and so urgently asked their advice and assistance. The people had been more clear-sighted and patriotic than both Lords and Commons. But *their* eyes now began to discern the danger by which Europe was threatened if the union of the crowns of France and Spain should be consummated. They also felt that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France. Hence towards the close of the session they thought fit to change their measures on this subject. The Lords especially became zealous for the liberties of Europe. In an address to the king, they prayed that he would not only be pleased to make good all the articles of any former treaties to the States-General, but that he would enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, with them for their common preservation; and that he would invite all princes and states who were concerned "in the present visible danger," arising from the union of France and Spain. This address must have been most welcome to William, as it was the very policy he desired to be enabled to pursue in connection with his parliament—a policy to which he now devoted the remainder of his life. It was a policy which could have no other end than war, but which could alone save Europe from thraldom, and hence a stern necessity. The Commons, however, did not exhibit the same zeal as the Lords. They saw the danger; but if they directly sanctioned the extensive alliance which William desired, and the Lords now urged upon him, they would have condemned their prior proceedings throughout the session, and hence they stopped short of voting an explicit address like that of the peers. But they did that which was equally, if not more pleasing to the king, for they voted sufficient supplies to enable him to send assistance to the States. Funds were voted for raising about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds for the ensuing year. This liberal "money bill" was presented to the king on the 24th of June, on which occasion the Speaker told his majesty that the Commons had gladly complied with all his desires; an assertion which must, after all the opposition he had met from them, have sounded strangely in his ears. The Commons, through the Speaker, took especial credit to themselves for having passed the Bill of Succession, and for the liberal supplies they had voted; reminding him "that they were more than were ever given in a time of peace." They were given, he was told, to enable him when abroad "to support his allies, procure a lasting peace, or preserve the liberties of Europe by a necessary war." William returned a gracious answer, and then prorogued parliament.

There can be no doubt that such an issue to a session which had commenced with a very inauspicious aspect was pleasing to the king. The whole nation was now on his side. It had been a trying session to him, but the trial was over. Standing aloof from the two great parties while they were engaged in their strifes, neither declaring for the one nor the other,—making no advances to the Whigs, or gratifying the Tories, he at length commanded both parties. In his description of the great crisis of the summer of 1701, Burke says: "The whole nation split before into an hundred adverse factions, with a king at its head evidently declining to his tomb—the whole nation, Lords, Commons, and people, proceeded as one body, informed by one soul." At this time William was "declining to his tomb." He had grown prematurely old, worn out with his labours and anxieties. Yet in the last six months of his life he manifested a marvellous energy and decision of character. He had a great work to perform, and he stretched every nerve for its full accomplishment. Leaving the government in the hands of a regency composed of Whigs and Tories, so mixed "that no judgment could be formed to which party he most inclined," on the 30th of June he left Hampton Court for Holland. Troops from Ireland, levies from England, and regiments from Scotland, under the command of Marlborough, had preceded him. Thus prepared in some measure for war, he proceeded to negotiations nominally calculated for preserving the peace of Europe. But these negotiations were a mere empty form. France never meant to yield to the demands upon her, and England and Holland could not forego their demands. The Netherlands must be given up, or war would be the alternative. Despairing of obtaining a treaty to retain them, therefore, in August, d'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, was recalled, and war was inevitable. Meanwhile William was employed in his great work of forming a confederacy against the threatening power of France. And that was no easy task. He directed his chief attention to the formation of a Grand Alliance with the greater powers of Europe. The first to join that Alliance was the emperor of Austria. A treaty was signed between the emperor, the king of England, and the States of Holland, on the 7th of September. The articles of that treaty were no doubt drawn up by William himself, for they were characterized by extreme prudence. No mention was made of the inheritance of the crown of Spain. In truth, William had in the spring of the year acknowledged the new king of Spain, under the pressure of his parliament, and for the sake of their commerce the States had done the same. The professed objects of "the second Grand Alliance" were these; to procure satisfaction to the emperor for the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. Two months were to be employed in obtaining that satisfaction and security by peaceable means, and these failing, the confederates bound themselves to assist one another to obtain them with all their forces. The Spanish Netherlands were to be recovered as a barrier between Holland and France; and the emperor, for his loss of the Spanish crown, was to be put in possession of the duchy of

Milan, Naples, and Sicily, together with the lands and islands upon the coasts of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. The confederates further agreed that the king of England and the States-General might take whatever cities and lands they could belonging to Spain in the Indies, and keep them. These were the primary articles of the treaty of "the second Grand Alliance." By others the confederates provided that no party should treat of peace but jointly with the rest; that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government, and in hindering the French from possessing the Spanish Indies; and that in concluding a peace the trade of England and Holland should be protected.

Meanwhile, on the part of the emperor, war had commenced in Italy. The imperial army, commanded by Prince Eugene, early in the summer had advanced to the passes of the Alps. On his part the French king had been forming alliances to strengthen his cause. The duke of Savoy, whose daughter was now married to the young king of Spain, had formed an alliance with him, and had been declared captain-general of a powerful French army which had been poured into Milan. Before the duke arrived, Marshal Catinat and the Prince de Vaudemont, governor of Milan, took possession of the ground, and posted themselves along the Adige. Prince Eugene, however, forced that passage, entered the entrenchments of the French at Carpi, and compelled them to retire behind the Mincio, with great loss. Their retreat left Prince Eugene master of the whole country lying between the Adige and the Adda. Catinat was now joined by the duke of Savoy, who placed himself at the head of the army. But the duke was no match for the prince. It seems doubtful, indeed, whether he was sincere in his alliance with France. Having been driven by Eugene in successive encounters behind the Adda and the Oglio, the French Marshal Catinat despatched a letter to the French court, throwing doubt on the duke's fidelity. Attributing Catinat's suspicion to jealousy or impatience, he was superseded in his command by Marshal Villeroy, who joined the duke with orders to attack the Imperialists. Eager to distinguish himself, Villeroy marched to Chiari, where Prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked the Imperialists in their camp, but he was repulsed with great loss. There was no more fighting, for after this repulse the French retired into winter quarters between the Oglio and the Adda. By this campaign Prince Eugene did good service to the cause of the allies. His easy victories had lowered the reputation of the French, not only in Italy, but in the Swiss cantons and the German states. By them the Swiss were prevented from closing with some tempting offers made by the French king; and the German princes, who had stood in awe of the French, rescinded their declaration of neutrality by allowing a free passage of troops through their territories to the Rhine. Emboldened by the events in Italy, some of these princes expressed themselves willing to accept subsidies from England and Holland, and join the Grand Alliance.

That article in the treaty of the 7th of September, between the emperor, the king of England, and the States-General, which set forth that two months should be employed in an attempt to procure peace, was never acted upon. The steps taken by William and the States were well known to the court of France; but intelligence of the treaty could not have reached that court when events happened which rendered a rupture between England and France inevitable. For some years the health of James had been declining. Ever since the peace of Ryswick he had lost all hope of being restored to the throne, and had resigned himself to all the austerities of religious enthusiasm. His penances and his mortifications had told upon a constitution naturally robust. Age, too, was creeping on towards the period when men, kings as well as people, expect to be called to their long home. Now that his death was approaching, Louis was unusually tender and gracious to him. He was his "good brother" to the last. But there was a question dependent on that death on which he was for some time undecided. He had treated James as "king of England;" in what light was he to consider his son? Twice he visited the dying exile, but in these interviews he said not a word about the future position of that exile's family. He had not then made up his mind. Doubtful as to what course to take, Louis called a council, to take their advice whether he should recognize the young prince as James III. All his ministers were against the recognition. He was reminded that to recognize him would be a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, by which he had bound himself to do nothing which could, directly or indirectly, disturb the existing order of things in England. And that he would disturb that order by such a line of policy, was certain. It would be a solemn declaration in the face of the whole world that he regarded the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement as nullities, and William as an usurper. But Louis had other counsellors besides his ministers. The Dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, and all the princes of the blood declared that it would be beneath the dignity of the crown of France, if Louis should shrink from declaring that the titles of the father did not at his decease immediately devolve upon the son. This advice was consonant to the inclinations of the French monarch. Acting therefore upon the advice of the princes of the blood, and swayed by these and other considerations equally fallacious, the French monarch went for the third time to the bedside of the dying exile. James was then almost insensible. "I am come" said Louis, "to communicate something of great moment to your majesty." There was no answer either by word or look. "I am come," he continued, "to tell your majesty that whenever it shall please God to take you from us, I will be to your son what I have been to you, and will acknowledge him as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland." As Louis uttered these words, the English exiles present fell on their knees to bless him. So noisy was their gratitude in that chamber of death, that some indistinct murmurs uttered by James could not be heard. They were interpreted to mean thanks by some, but it seems more likely that they were the mutterings of a disturbed spirit just quitting its tenement of clay. The scene was a melancholy one. Bursting into tears, the French monarch retired; but as he passed through the court of the palace, he called the officer of the guard, and ordered him to attend the prince of Wales as soon as his father was dead, and treat him as king. James died on the 16th of September, and was buried in the church of the English Benedictine monks in Paris.

When the intelligence arrived in England that the French king had acknowledged the Pretender, the public indignation knew no bounds. Some of the more eager partisans of the Stuarts, indeed, were in ecstasies at the event, but the great body of the nation were enraged at it. Almost as soon as Louis had committed his error—for error it was—he began to feel serious uneasiness as to its consequences. His ministers were instructed to declare, and to prove what they declared, that the recognition of the prince's title was not a breach of the treaty of Ryswick, inasmuch as no assistance was given him to make good his claim. The French minister Torey, who, before Louis had taken the fatal step, had demonstrated to him that it would be a breach of that treaty, now used all the arts of sophistry to show to the English ambassador, the earl of Manchester, at Paris, that no portion of its articles was infringed. In like manner Poussin, the French ambassador in London, sought to impose upon the lords justices, but failed to do so. The common council of London without a dissentient voice voted an address expressive of the highest indignation at the insult France had offered to England and its sovereign. Similar addresses were voted in all parts of the kingdom. A spirit of loyalty and patriotism pervaded the whole nation. Some of the addresses contained severe reflections on the conduct of the House of Commons for the last three years. This was William's opportunity, and it was embraced by him with alacrity. His ambassador at Paris had sent him intelligence to his retreat at Loo of the recognition of the Pretender by the French king, and his mode of action was instantly decided upon. He was at table with some of his nobles and princes of the German empire, who had visited him in his retreat, when he received it, and he instantly sent off messengers commanding Manchester to quit France, and to the lords justices, to send Poussin out of England. In thus acting, William was convinced that he would have the people on his side, and he was right. Public opinion *was* in his favour. If the Commons had been refractory, the nation was still sound at heart. The time was come when factions which had so long harassed him shrunk away "before the might of public opinion," and when the king, whom France believed was worn out and dying, was enabled to join hand and heart with his people in working out the national salvation.

Before the news of the death of James arrived at Loo, William had been in communication with Sunderland, who still remained in his quiet retreat at Althorp, on the state of affairs in England. The great question was whether he should retain his Tory ministry, or call the Whigs into his service. The Tories had by their opposition to his desires rendered themselves obnoxious to him, but the Whigs, although they had been bidding for his favour, were not as a body to be depended upon. In his correspondence with Sunderland he told him that the Tories gave him great hopes, and made him great promises, but in his reply Sunderland shook his faith in them. "It is melancholy," he wrote, "that the king, who has more understanding than anybody who comes near him, is imposed on by mountebanks, or by such as he himself knows hate both his person and his government." The substance of Sunderland's advice was that he should dismiss the Tories, and call the Whig ex-chancellor Somers and his party back to office. He was, he said, the life, soul, and spirit of his party, and could answer for it; whereas the Tory ministry had no credit with theirs, "any further than they can persuade the king to be undone." Acting upon Sunderland's advice, early in October William sent Lord Galway to Somers, to confer confidentially with him on the state of English politics. Meanwhile, Sunderland and Somers had made a compact of friendship with each other, and had come to a perfect understanding that there ought to be at this crisis a new parliament. Sunderland even promised, that if the king should be persuaded to call a new parliament, he would quit his retirement and return to town. It was the first business of Somers, when consulted by the king, to urge him to adopt this policy. He drew up a body of arguments in its favour. The arguments of Somers prevailed. William resolved, on his return to England, to dissolve his Tory parliament, and the state of the public feeling on his return confirmed him in that resolution.

William landed at Margate on the 4th of November. Great preparations were made for welcoming him to his capital on the following day, but his frame was too much enfeebled to bear the fatigue of a public demonstration in the crowded streets of London. His weak state had almost rendered him invisible at Loo, and it was necessary to avoid all excitement. Accordingly he slept at Greenwich, and from thence proceeded to Hampton Court without passing through London. His return, however, was celebrated with the usual demonstrations of joy with which the English are prone to indulge on noted occasions. Hampton Court was soon besieged with deputations, from cities, counties, and universities. In writing to his friend Heinsius, William said that he was exhausted by the labour of hearing and answering the harangues of his loyal subjects. His court at Hampton became crowded with the most eminent of both parties. Somers and Halifax, who had been so bitterly persecuted by the Commons, were among those who offered their congratulations on his return, and were received with marked kindness. The utmost loyalty was displayed by both Whigs and Tories, the Whigs hoping to recover, and the Tories to retain their sovereign's favour. The great question with both parties was, would there be a dissolution? It was on that the supremacy of either party depended. William propounded that question to his privy council on the 7th of November, and opinions were divided on the subject. But the question was settled by the king himself. William determined to dissolve, and writs were issued with all expedition for a general election.

The election of the autumn of 1701 was distinguished by intrigue and virulence of party feeling. Seats were hotly contested in town and country. What the result of the elections would be, must have been evident. If the Whigs did not obtain absolute ascendency, they gathered strength by which they were enabled finally to triumph over their rivals. Several Tories were deprived of their seats; but at the opening of parliament, on the 30th of December, they still appeared to have a majority. That appearance was on the choice of a Speaker, Harley being placed in the chair in opposition to the Whig nominee, Sir Thomas Littleton. Harley became Speaker, but by a majority of fourteen only. William opened the new parliament on the last day of this memorable year. Burnet says that it was the best speech he or any other prince ever made to his people. It is said that it was drawn up by Somers, which may well be supposed, as it was unusually eloquent. And if Somers drew up that speech—which was the last William ever addressed to his parliament—it proved the king's now manifest leaning towards the Whigs. There had been changes made recently in the ministry, but Somers, although consulted by the king, had not been recalled to office. Charles Howard, earl of Carlisle, had succeeded Lord Godolphin as first lord of the treasury; Montague, earl of Manchester, had succeeded the Tory Sir Charles Hedges as secretary of state; and the earl of Pembroke, supposed to be a Whig, having been made lord high admiral, was succeeded in the presidency of the council by Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset. The Honourable Henry Boyle, also, had some time before succeeded Charles Smith as chancellor of the exchequer; and at this time the privy seal, left vacant on the death of the earl of Tankerville, was in commission. If, therefore, Somers drew up this last speech of King William, it was not as one of his responsible ministers, but as one whom, after all the persecutions he had endured, William "delighted to honour." There can, however, be no doubt that every sentiment it contained was in accordance with William's inmost feelings. They might be called "the utterances of his heart." Having expressed his gratification at the loyal addresses which he had received expressive of resentment at the late proceedings of the French monarch, and denounced the setting up of the pretended prince of Wales as the highest indignity that could be offered to himself and the nation, he proceeded to expatiate on the position of England with reference to the Spanish succession. He remarked: "By the French king placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he has become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy. He has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions, and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconveniences of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner; in respect to our trade, which will become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe." To avoid these impending calamities, William next announced that, acting upon the encouragement given him by both Houses of Parliament, he had concluded several alliances, and that others were in the course of formation. He continued: "It is fit I should tell you that the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament. All matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and, therefore, no time ought to be lost. You have yet an opportunity by God's blessing to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another." William earnestly called upon the Commons to provide a great maritime strength, and a land force equal to their allies; and exhorted them to support the public credit, which, he said, "could not be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security." He concluded his speech with this soul-stirring exhortation:—"My lords and gentlemen, I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session. I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy, fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. In like manner, do you lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of amongst us for the future but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. I will only add this, if you do, in good earnest, desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

This last speech of King William was received with universal applause. It was printed with decorations in the English, Dutch, and French languages, and all well-wishers to the Revolution looked upon it as his legacy to his own and to all Protestant people. It was so earnest, and so manly, that not a dissentient voice was heard against it in parliament. Divided as the Houses still were into parties, Whigs and Tories alike bound themselves by addresses, which were voted with unanimity, to promote the ends which William had in view. In the address of the Lords, which was presented on the 1st of January, 1702, their lordships echoed the just resentment of the king as to the acknowledgment of the prince of Wales by the French monarch, and solemnly declared that they would assist their rightful sovereign against all his enemies. Nor did the Lords stop here. They carried their resolution beyond the period of William's existence. "When," said their lordships, "it shall please God to deprive us of your majesty's protection, we do further declare our resolution to assist and defend to the utmost of our power against the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who have a right to succeed to the crown of these realms, by virtue of the Acts of Parliament settling the succession." As a further proof of their zeal, the Lords having taken into consideration the evils that threatened Europe from the accession of the duke of Anjou, adopting the general sentiment concerning the new confederacy against the French king, declared that England and her allies could never be safe and secure till the House of Austria should be restored to its rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason. The Lords further pledged themselves that no time should be lost nor anything wanting on their parts to give weight to the treaties of alliance made by William; "not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name when engaged under so great a prince in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe." The address of the Commons was equally emphatic in its sentiments and declarations as those of the Lords. They too assured the king that they would do all in their power to enable him to make good all such alliances as he had made or might hereafter make, pursuant to the addresses and advice of his last parliament. Copies of the treaties which had been made were laid before both Houses on the 6th of January. In them all the diplomacy of the Grand Alliance was unfolded. It was sadly marred by the mercenary motives of some of the contracting powers. The House of Commons, however, manifested such loyalty and love of liberty, that no objection was made to any of the treaties. England had gold at her command, and they would not scruple to spend it in so glorious a cause. The spirit of the nation was up, and the Commons knew that any sacrifice would be made for that cause. They too voted a second address, more emphatic both in its language and meaning than those presented by the Lords, or that which they had before presented. They resolved unanimously that William be requested that it might be a fundamental article in the several treaties, "that no peace should be made with France until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Nor did the addresses of the Commons contain sentiments which they did not now mean to carry into effect. The supplies voted were of the most liberal character. They voted forty thousand men for the land forces, and an equal number for the sea service; and as ways and means for the support of these forces, as well as for subsidies and other expenses contingent on the great war in which the nation was about to engage, there were granted a tax of four shillings in the pound upon land, annuities, pensions, stipends, and professions; a tax of two and a half per cent. on stock-in-trade and moneys out at interest; and five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites, a capitation tax of four shillings to be paid by every one not receiving alms; a tax of one per cent. upon all shares sold or bargained for in the capital stock of any corporation or company; and finally a tax of sixpence per bushel on malt. Nor was the zeal of the Commons confined to the voting of loyal addresses and granting unwonted supplies. On the recommendation of Sunderland, a bill for attainting the prince of Wales was brought into the House, and passed with the greatest unanimity. But the Lords were even more zealous than the Commons in their legislative capacity. They not only sanctioned the Bill of Attainder against the prince, but returned it to the Commons with an amendment attainting Mary of Este—whom James had nominated regent—as well as her son. The Commons, however, took exception at this amendment, and it was withdrawn; and when subsequently the Lords passed a separate bill for the attainder of Mary, if the Commons did not absolutely reject it, they ignored it by their neglect to take it into consideration. The longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, also recommended by Sunderland, for abjuring the prince of Wales, and swearing to the king, by the title of rightful and lawful king and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement. In the Commons there was a dispute as to whether the oath should be compulsory or voluntary, but it was finally resolved, by a majority of one only, that it should be compulsory. When the bill was sent up to the Lords the same question gave rise to warm disputes. The bill was seconded and its principles warmly supported by Bolingbroke, who in after years became the zealous friend of the Pretender. The bill passed on the 24th of February. Nottingham now moved for an address to the king, that he would dissolve the parliament of Scotland then sitting, and summon a new one, that they might treat of a union between the two kingdoms. His idea was that the existing parliament of Scotland, being originally a convention, could not legally enter into a treaty on this vital subject, or that if it did, the legality of a successful result of such a treaty might be questioned. But at this time there could not have been any hope of bringing about a union between England and Scotland.

The king's end was approaching. When he went to Holland in the previous summer he appeared in almost the last stage of bodily weakness. His spirit was oppressed by the mortifications he had endured from the last refractory parliament. Calm as he had appeared, the opposition he had met with affected him to the heart's core. During the labours of the autumn, however, he appeared to recover both spirits and bodily strength. His soul held dominion over his bodily powers. There were no signs of languor or decline in his labours, either in his labours to form the alliance, or in the alliance itself when he had formed it. Before his return from Holland he had concerted with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. But William was not destined in person to carry into execution the great schemes he had formed. He returned from Holland in an exhausted condition, and during the winter the state of his health became more and more alarming. Headaches and shivering fits were almost of daily occurrence. All the most eminent physicians were consulted, but in vain. His end was approaching. His strong mind, however, still continued to struggle with the weakness of his body. The altered spirit of his parliament, also, seemed to inspire him with fresh vigour. He still toiled hard in his cabinet, and in his moments of relaxation still rode, and even hunted once a week at Hampton Court. But he was so weak as to be obliged to be lifted on his horse, and when seated, it was evident to all his attendants that he no longer had that firm seat or that command of the bridle for which he had been celebrated. As spring approached it was hoped that he would recover, but an accident accelerated his death. On the 21st of February, as he was riding through the park of Hampton Court, his favourite horse, Sorrel, stumbled at a mole-hill, and falling from it he fractured his collar-bone. The bone was set, and he returned to Kensington, but trifling as the accident appeared to be, it had a serious effect upon his enfeebled frame. He had borne up manfully against his malady, but he now felt that his time was short on earth. It is said that his great grief at the conviction of his approaching end was that his work would be left unfinished. It was while he was thus grieving that he sent the letter to the Commons urging them to devise some happy expedient for making England and Scotland one kingdom. That was one of his most cherished plans, and in his letter he said he would esteem it a peculiar felicity if it could be consummated during his reign. That message was the last bearing William's sign-manual, and it was listened to by the Commons with heads uncovered. The appeal was most solemn, and it was rendered still more solemn by the event which was impending. The Commons resolved that the message should be taken into consideration on the 7th of March, but on that day it was known that the king was rapidly sinking. When apparently recovering from his accident, on the 4th of March he was suddenly attacked with fever, and all hopes of recovery soon vanished. A commission had been previously issued to certain peers to give the royal assent to the Bill of Attainder against the prince of Wales and such other bills as were then ready; and when on the 7th the Lords passed the Abjuration Bill, and a Malt-tax Bill which had been under their consideration, a second commission was issued to give the royal assent to them. William was not then able to use his hand, and the sign-manual was affixed to the commission by means of a stamp. Albemarle had been sent to Holland to arrange for an early campaign, and on that day he returned to Kensington. Burnet says that he came back with so good an account of everything, "that if matters of that kind could have wrought on the king it must have revived him; but the coldness with which he received it showed how little hopes were left." It was received with the calmness of a man who felt that his work was done; that he neither in his cabinet as a statesman should labour any longer, nor in the field of battle as a warrior fight for the cause of Protestantism and the liberties of Europe. "I am fast drawing," he remarked, "to my end." And his end was worthy of his life. Earnestly as he had desired to live a little longer, that he might see his work fully accomplished, he bowed his head in submission to the Divine will. On the 8th of March he was evidently dying. He received the sacrament, "looking up to heaven in many short ejaculations." The antechambers were crowded with lords and privy councillors, several of whom were called in to receive his affectionate farewell. His words were equally those of a monarch and a Christian. His life, like the sweet singer of Israel, had been one of war; but like him, he had noble aspirations and glorious heavenly hopes. When his friends Keppel and Lord Albemarle arrived from Holland with good news for him, he simply and submissively said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.*"

While, as a foreigner, he had to combat against the jarring interests of three kingdoms, he was at the same time the very soul of the continental alliance against France; and but for his energy, that alliance would have been shivered into fragments.

Constitutional monarchy, previous to William's reign, was an unsolved problem; but since that period princes have found their duties systematic and easy. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity of mind, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity, and his natural sagacity was pre-eminent: he was temperate, just, and sincere, and a stranger to violent gusts of passion. It was William who preserved the liberties of Europe from the all-grasping and ruthless hand of the French monarch.

To say more regarding him, both as a man and a monarch, would be superfluous. It has been fully unfolded in the pages of his history; and few who read that history will deny him the high distinction of being one of the most enlightened and most sagacious monarchs that have ever ruled over the destinies of England.

SECTION III.

The Civil and Military History of the Reign of Anne. 1702—1714.

THE sceptre of England passed from the hands of a strong-minded king into those of a feeble-minded woman. William died, and the Princess Anne ascended the throne. At that time Anne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age, but though ripe in years, she was still "under tutors and governors." Having scarcely a will of her own, she was almost entirely under the tutelage of Lord and Lady Marlborough. They were her mentors. Notwithstanding, her accession appears to have been satisfactory to all parties in the state. On the same day that William died, which was Sunday, both Houses of Parliament met, and unanimously voted addresses of congratulation. Glowing speeches were made in honour of the deceased king, and speeches equally glowing were uttered in praise of his successor. Her proclamation took place amidst the applause of the populace, and addresses of congratulation were presented by churchmen and dissenters from all parts of the kingdom. As the queen was childless, it is probable that they were induced to pay allegiance to her government in the hope that, influenced by natural affection, she might alter the succession in favour of her half-brother. Be that as it may, all Scotland continued to obey the authorities established in that country by William, all of whom were retained in their places by Anne. As for Ireland, there was no fear of a commotion there, for the papists had been rendered powerless to do harm.

It was to the Continent that people's thoughts were chiefly directed. The great question was, whether, now the "master workman" in the Grand Alliance was dead, the government of Anne would adopt his foreign policy and fulfil his engagements. It was greatly feared at the Hague that the States would be left to battle for national liberties and the Protestant religion unaided by England. There was great consternation in that assembly at the prospect before them. But that consternation was soon turned into joy. At the privy council which assembled as is usual on the demise of the crown, Anne remarked upon this great question: "I think it proper, upon the occasion of my first speaking to you, to declare my own opinion of the importance of carrying on all the preparations we are making to oppose the great power of France; and I shall lose no time in giving our allies all assurances that nothing shall be wanting on my part to pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause." That speech was translated and published at the Hague, and all the fears of the States and the people of Holland vanished. In truth they had but little cause for apprehension. Marlborough had been appointed by William to the command of the troops sent to the aid of the States-General, and it was not likely that he would recommend Anne to abandon the policy which had raised him to an appointment of such high trust.

By virtue of an Act passed in 1696, parliament was not dissolved by the demise of the crown. Three days after her accession, Anne went to the House of Lords, where she expressed her resolution to adhere to the foreign policy of the late king. "He had been," she said, "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." But although she paid this high compliment to his memory, words were put into her mouth which savoured of censure upon his conduct. Her own heart, she said, was entirely English, and she would agree to everything they could desire for the welfare of England. This was an evident allusion to the predilection of the late king for his countrymen, and was well calculated to stir up prejudices against his memory. Nor did Anne stop here with her implied censure. They would always find her, she said, a strict and religious observer of her word; thus insinuating that the word of her late brother-in-law was not to be depended upon. With regard to foreign affairs, she repeated what she had said to the privy council; adding that too much could not be done for the allies to reduce the power of France. Anne concluded her first speech to parliament by recommending a union with Scotland, as necessary to the peace and security of both kingdoms; and demanding a revenue suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. Provision had already been made for a summer campaign, so that no further supplies were demanded from the nation for the purposes of war. The queen, however, gained considerable popularity by her voluntary contribution. The civil list having been continued to her which had been granted to King William, on giving the royal assent to the bill, she stated that directions should be given to apply one hundred thousand pounds of her revenue to the public service of the year. In compliance with Anne's desire, a bill was passed empowering her to appoint commissioners to treat for a union between England and Scotland. But this bill did not pass without some display of hostility towards the Scottish nation. Sir Edward Seymour and other Tories indulged in bitter invectives, such as had irritated the Scotch in 1700. Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of May. In her speech Anne declared, in somewhat ambiguous language, her intention of preserving and maintaining the Act of Toleration. She would be very careful in that matter, she said, to set the minds of all her people at quiet; but she added that her own principles would always keep her entirely to the interests of the Church of England, and would incline her to countenance those who displayed the sincerest zeal for its support!

On the accession of Anne, her favourite, Marlborough, attained the object of his ambition. He was decorated with the order of the Garter, and made captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad. It is probable, however, that his ambition would not have been thus gratified if he had not made the queen believe that he was a Tory. Anne had imbibed an unconquerable aversion to the Whigs from her infancy. But Marlborough could be Whig or Tory as it suited him; and his all-powerful wife has left it on record that neither her lord nor my Lord Godolphin would have had so great a share of her favour and confidence if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories. The queen's aversion to the Whigs and favour to the Tories was shown in her choice of ministers. All the offices of the household were filled with men of high principles for monarchy. But Marlborough refused to command the forces abroad unless Godolphin was made lord high treasurer—feeling that he could depend on him alone for punctual remittances. Recently, also, their private interests had been united by the marriage of the eldest daughter of Marlborough with the son of Godolphin, so that he felt they could work together in harmony. And Marlborough was right. They finally obtained such an ascendency in the state by their united action that they were enabled to change sides without giving mortal offence to the queen, and to give the Whigs the preponderance in the affairs of government. But that was in part brought about by the magnificent success of the war, which the Whigs supported.

There were great rejoicings in France when the death of King William became known. He had been the soul of the Grand Alliance, and now he was gone, it was expected by the French king and his people that it would be dissolved. But they were mistaken. Anne despatched a letter to the States-General, announcing her intention to maintain the Alliance; and before the end of March, Marlborough was sent to Holland as ambassador extraordinary. Marlborough was received with great joy at the Hague. In a speech which he delivered to the States-General, he declared the resolution of the queen not only to maintain the alliances formed by King William of glorious memory, but to form such other alliances as might conduce to the interests of both nations and the preservation of the liberties of Europe. As the chosen general of the deceased king, and the representative of Queen Anne, Marlborough was in high favour with the Dutch and their allies. Before he left the Hague it was arranged that there should be a joint declaration of war against France by England, Holland, and the emperor, on an appointed day.

War was proclaimed at London, the Hague, and Vienna, on the 4th of May. Eight days after, Marlborough left London for Holland. The principal army of the allies had been under the command of William's old general, the earl of Athlone, but on Marlborough's arrival he was appointed generalissimo of all their forces. Military operations had already commenced on the frontiers of Holland, and after a brief stay at the Hague, Marlborough repaired to Nimeguen to assume the command. At that time other alliances had been formed among the minor German states. The House of Brunswick and the electors of Brandenburg and the Palatine had joined the allies. Other states had been induced or compelled to renounce their connection with France, and to engage to be neutral in the great struggle. Marlborough's first object was to draw the allied forces together. He assembled sixty thousand men, all well provided with necessaries. This done, Marlborough convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. This was no easy task. But early in July he was enabled to take the field. On the 16th of that month he passed the Meuse and encamped at Over-hasselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy. The French were commanded by the duke of Burgundy, under whom was the famous Marshal Boufflers. But there was no fighting during this campaign in the open field. Marlborough was disappointed in all his endeavours to bring the enemy to battle. Burgundy finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, left the command to Boufflers and returned to Versailles. Thus baffled in his attempts to engage the enemy, Marlborough turned his attention to the reduction of the fortresses on the Meuse. Venlo was taken by storm on the 23rd of September, the English grenadiers being the first that entered the fort. The same fate awaited Ruremonde and Stevenswaert, both of which places were captured early in October. Confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's successes, Boufflers retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city. At the approach of Marlborough, however, he directed his route towards Brabant, leaving Liege exposed to his victorious enemy. On his arrival at Liege, Marlborough found that the French garrison had retired into the citadel and the strong castle of the Chartreuse. The allies immediately took possession of the city, and in a few days the citadel was taken by assault. The garrison of the Chartreuse surrendered, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the capture of Liege the Dutch frontier was secured, and the navigation of the Meuse opened. The success of this campaign raised the military character of Marlborough above all censure, and confirmed him in the confidence of the States-General. He had saved their country, and had driven the French back to their own borders.

Having put his troops into winter quarters, Marlborough commenced his journey homewards. Accompanied by the Dutch field deputies, whom the States-General were accustomed to send out with their armies, to watch and report on the operations of the wars in which they were engaged, he embarked in a barge on the Meuse, and sailed for the Hague. At Ruremonde he was joined by the celebrated Cohorne, the Dutch engineer, who had greatly aided him in his conquests. Cohorne sailed in a larger and swifter vessel than that of Marlborough, and he was left behind with only a few soldiers to protect him. French partizans lurked among the rushes on the banks of the Meuse in search of prey, and seizing the tow-rope of Marlborough's barge, they hauled it in and made all in it prisoners. Had they known the value of the man they had intercepted, the allies would have lost their general. On hearing of his capture they were in great consternation, but after some detention he escaped. The object of the party seems to have been plunder, and when they had pillaged the boat and the passengers, they were allowed to depart. At the Hague Marlborough was received with great joy. Crowds of people hailed him as he appeared on shore with shouts of welcome. His reception in London was equally warm, and his return was followed by honours and rewards. The Commons did him the honour to thank him for his signal services. The queen was still more grateful. Anne raised Marlborough to a dukedom.

Marlborough's exploits were dazzling when compared with the operations of officers in other quarters. William had planned an expedition against Cadiz, and his plan was adopted by the government of Anne. A fleet of Dutch and English ships, with fourteen thousand troops of both nations, was despatched on that expedition. Sir George Rooke was commander of the fleet, but the duke of Ormond was his superior in command of both the land and sea forces. There was also an English and a Dutch general over their respective contingents. This divided command was fatal to the success of the expedition. The Spanish governor having refused to surrender to "the allies of the rightful sovereign of Spain," there was a long debate among the leaders as to the plans to be pursued. They were "not only divided, sea against land, but land against land, and sea against sea." Ormond wanted to attack the Isla de Leon, but Rooke thought it was too dangerous; and in a council of war the majority sided with the admiral. Meanwhile the Spaniards were removing their goods into the interior, and preparing to defend their landing-places. The whole population was roused, and when at length some troops landed and marched to Port St. Mary's, an unwalled town, they found it deserted. The wine stores were plundered, the soldiers got drunk and lost to all discipline, and no attempt was made to accomplish any object worthy such an armament. Had they not been hastily re-embarked, it is probable they would have fallen a sacrifice to the indignant population fast gathering around them. While Cadiz was blockaded by the allied fleet, a convoy of plate ships sought refuge at Vigo. If Ormond and Rooke had been united in council they might have made prize of the whole of this rich treasure. While, however, they were quarrelling in Cadiz Bay, the Spaniards had time to strengthen the fortifications of Vigo and to throw a boom across the harbour. Notwithstanding, the confederates made for Vigo, in the hope of capturing the Spanish galleons. Two thousand men were landed, and Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom and made a way for the fleet to enter the harbour. As they entered the galleons fled down the bay, and being hotly pursued, threw much of their wealth into the sea, and set fire to their ships. Eight ships of war, and six galleons with merchandize and plate of a value exceeding eight millions dollars, were destroyed. Seven ships of war, and six galleons with about seven million dollars, fell into the hands of the allies, but much of the treasure taken was embezzled, and "the public was not much enriched by the capture." But it was a fearful blow to the enemy. There was a great loss of life among the French and Spaniards, and for the moment the Spanish marine was annihilated. Rooke returned in triumph to England, and Ormond was received with marks of favour by the queen and with the acclamations of the populace; their miserable failure at Cadiz being forgotten in their success at Vigo.

The parliament sitting on the accession of Anne was dissolved on the 2nd of July. The predilection of the queen for the Tories was favourable to them in the general election. When the new parliament met on the 20th of October, it was found that they were greatly in the ascendant. Burnet says that the Tories in the House of Commons were double the number of the Whigs, and that they met full of fury against the memory of the late king and against those whom he had employed. Harley was chosen Speaker. The strength of the Tories, however, was more fully manifested in the matter of controverted elections. According to the Whig Bishop Burnet, they were all judged in favour of the Tories with such a barefaced partiality, that it showed they were resolved on everything that might serve their ends. As instances of their partiality, the borough of Hindon near Salisbury was convicted of bribery, but as the member chosen was a Tory he was not unseated; and Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, though his rival candidate had a decided majority. But this was a trick of party in which the Whigs of the age were as prone to indulge as the Tories. Had the display of party spirit ceased here, there would not have been much harm done. But it did not. The Tory majority were determined that the Whigs should see that they had power in the state. In their address to the queen, the Commons in the spirit of flattery told her that she "had always been an illustrious ornament to the church," and expressed a hope that in her reign they should see it "perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges."

This was ominous to the Protestant dissenters, whom the Whigs had relieved from "the penalties of certain laws" under which they had long suffered, by the Toleration Act of 1689. Yet one of the first proceedings of the Tory ministry, in this session, was to bring in a bill to prevent Occasional Conformity. The professed object of that bill was to prevent hypocrisy in religion and danger to the Church, but in reality it was designed to destroy the Toleration Act, root and branch. Burnet says that the preamble of the bill "asserted toleration, and condemned all persecution for conscience sake, in a high strain." This was nothing but a solemn mockery. The bill was worthy the age of the Stuarts. Not only were holders of office to be subject to its intolerant provisions, but also all electors in boroughs. If a person who had once taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church entered a dissenting place of worship, he was to be punished with heavy fines, and if he repeated the offence he was doomed to be transported. The bill passed the Commons by large majorities; in the Lords, however, it met with a stern opposition. Many of the spiritual peers of that period were distinguished for their moderation, and they opposed it from motives of conscience. The whole influence of the court was exerted to get the bill passed in the Lords, but to no purpose. The feeble-minded queen had the matter deeply at heart, but the bill was lost. In this great battle of principle, therefore, the Lords of the reign of Queen Anne ranged themselves on the side of the popular interest. When the Commons would have destroyed that interest, they stood in the breach, manifesting a regard for civil rights and religious liberty which ought ever to be remembered to their honour. According to Burnet, the bishops especially objected to the measure, for which they "were censured as cold and slack in the concerns of the Church: a reproach that all moderate men must expect when they oppose violent motions."

It is remarkable that in this first parliament of Queen Anne the Commons were more subservient to her wishes than the Lords. Early in the session she sent a message intimating her desire that further provision in case of her death should be made for her husband, Prince George of Denmark. The Commons readily voted an annual allowance of 100,000*l*. In that bill there was a clause introduced which exempted him from the effect of that part of the Act of Settlement which prohibited foreigners holding offices of state on the accession of the House of Hanover. The object of this clause was obvious. It was to continue the prince in those high offices which the queen had conferred on him, after her death. Objections were urged against this clause by the Whig portion of the Commons, but it met with a sterner opposition in the Lords. "The Court, however," says Burnet, "managed the matter so dexterously, that the bill passed, and the queen was highly displeased with those who opposed it." The Whig bishop affirms that the obnoxious clause was only introduced by the Tories in the Commons because they believed it would be opposed by those against whom they intended to irritate the queen. That may have been one object, but a still deeper design appears to have been involved in its meaning: that of putting a restriction upon the House of Hanover. The Act of Settlement was a stumbling-block to the

Tory party, and highly distasteful to the queen. A bill was brought in this session, which, had it passed, might eventually have led to its repeal. This bill was in favour of those who had not taken the oath abjuring the prince of Wales by the time named. Another year was to be granted them for reflection. It was urged in favour of the measure that the whole Jacobite party were in the queen's interest; and against it, that the Jacobites were well known to be still corresponding with the court of St. Germains. It is affirmed, indeed, that Godolphin, and even Marlborough, were still no strangers to that court. This Bill of Indulgence to political offenders passed the Commons, but the Lords added several clauses to it which completely changed its character. Thus, by one clause, it was emphatically declared high treason to attempt to change the succession to the crown, as fixed by the Act of Settlement, or to set aside the Princess Sophia, the next lawful successor; and by another, the abjuration oath was to be taken in the same manner in Ireland as in England. The bill, as amended by the Lords, was passed into law, and by it, says Burnet, "a new security was given both in England and Ireland for a Protestant successor."

In her opening speech the queen had desired her parliament to inspect all the accounts of receipts and payments, and to punish abuses. Commissioners were accordingly appointed for that purpose. Their report was made early in the year 1703, and a committee of the House of Commons founded upon it a long address to the queen, in which the Whigs were charged with having been the sole cause of the whole of the increase of the national debt. The blow was especially aimed at Lord Ranelagh, the paymaster of the army, and Lord Halifax, the auditor of the exchequer. Ranelagh was charged with flagrant mismanagement; he was expelled the House of Commons, and he resigned his post, which was divided into two parts, the most profitable being given to the Tory, Howe. Halifax was a member of the Upper House, and therefore not so easily reached by the Commons as Ranelagh. He was charged with having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of trust, and the Commons in an address to the queen prayed that she would give directions to the attorney-general to prosecute him for those offences. Anne promised to comply with their prayer, but the Lords having called for his accounts, vindicated his character in a resolution, in direct opposition to the accusation of the Commons. This gave rise to a fierce contention between the Lords and Commons. Conferences were held between the two Houses, but the quarrel grew hotter and hotter. Both sides, despairing of an accommodation, resorted to the press to explain their several motives and conduct. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. Serious consequences might have ensued, if the queen had not in the midst of their quarrel put an end to the session by a sudden prorogation.

Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of February. By their opposition to the Tory House of Commons, the Lords had made themselves popular among the people. The Lords had declared, in defence of their amendments to the bill to prevent "Occasional Conformity," that Englishmen could not be reduced to a more unhappy condition than to be put by law under an incapacity to serve their prince and country; and that therefore nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to place them under such a disability. These sentiments, as noble as they were just, were highly applauded by the people, who for once looked up to their lordships as the true guardians of their welfare. But the lords were not unanimous in the defence of civil rights and religious liberty. Throughout the session they had narrow majorities, the scale being frequently turned by a single vote. In order therefore to have the preponderance in the next session, the Tories induced the queen to create four new peers. Four of the most vehement of their partizans in the Commons were raised to the peerage; Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour being the persons selected for elevation. But this addition to the strength of the Tory party in the Upper House proved, as will be seen, insufficient to reverse the victory won by the Whig lords in the great battle of principle fought during this session.

Marlborough had been a warm supporter of the famous "Occasional Conformity Bill." To him, also, the queen attributed the passing of the bill relative to the prince of Denmark. In truth, every measure of government had been warmly supported by the duke, thus at once gratifying the Tories and pleasing the queen. His support, however, was not unmixed with selfish motives. It was during this session that Anne granted him five thousand a year, which the Tory majority in the House of Commons refused to confirm. There was a loud outcry against such a grant. Thus smitten in the house of his friends, Marlborough grew cool towards them, and began to veer round to the side of the Whigs. It was not long indeed before the duke nailed the Whig colours to his mast, and, combined with Godolphin, brought the Whigs back into power. Marlborough and Godolphin were all powerful at court. Even Rochester was compelled to bend before their power. Finding himself outweighed by their interest, he had become sullen and intractable, and was therefore entirely removed from the queen's councils. Then, rather than repair to his government in Ireland, he resigned the office, which was conferred upon the duke of Ormond.

The war continued with unabating vigour. Early in the year the duke of Savoy had abandoned the alliance of Louis XIV., and had concluded a treaty with the emperor; and in May, Peter II., king of Portugal, followed his example, and entered into the Grand Alliance. These defections from the cause of the French monarch were of serious moment, as both these princes were of considerable note and power. It was to them, indeed, that the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. But at this time there was an insurrection in the French territories, which for a time was equally adverse to the interests of the French king as the defection of the duke of Savoy and Peter II. In the treaty of Ryswick no stipulations had been made for the free exercise of the reformed faith in the provinces of France. This was an error of which the Roman Catholic church was not slow to take the advantage. There was a bitter persecution in the Cévennes, a mountainous district of Languedoc: the inhabitants were roused, and the insurrection now became general. Under the leadership of a young man named Cavalier, the Camisards, as the insurgents were denominated, even braved the proud marshals of France. The French king was distracted and distressed by this insurrection. On the other hand, it was favourable to the allies. Marlborough desired to take advantage of it. He proposed that assistance should be sent to the insurgents. Had this been done, it is probable that the chief seat of war during this campaign would have been in the French monarch's own territories. Cavalier had twelve thousand veteran troops under his command, brave and enthusiastic as the famous Cameronians of Scotland. It was hard to suffer them to perish by the swords of overwhelming numbers; but Nottingham and the other Tory ministers opposed Marlborough's proposition upon the grounds that it would be impolitic and unjust to assist rebel subjects against their legitimate king. Their opposition, however, was in some degree overruled in the cabinet. Arms and ammunition were sent to the Camisards, by which means they were enabled to prolong their conflict; and a great number of French troops where thereby prevented from marching to the great seat of war in Flanders and on the Rhine.

The campaign of 1703 in Flanders was not signalized by any action of importance. Parliament had voted an augmentation of troops, and Marlborough took the field in March. There was no want of decision on his part to employ the forces under his command in a manner most likely to be productive of great results. He was not, however, free to act, as a great general should be allowed to act, without control. His two chief rivals, the prince of Saarbruk and the earl of Athlone, were dead, but the States-General presumed to guide his movements. At this time the French under Boufflers and Villeroy threatened Holland. They had commenced operations for recapturing the towns on the Meuse from which Marlborough had driven them the year before. It was his desire and design to attack this army and to carry the war into French Flanders and Brabant. The States-General, however, objected to this bold movement. They urged him to commence operations by the siege of Bonn. Bonn was invested on the 24th of April, and it capitulated on the 25th of May. Meanwhile Boufflers and Villeroy had increased their strength upon the Meuse. They had advanced upon Tongeren with forty thousand men, compelling the confederate army commanded by M. d'Auverquerque to retreat under the cannon of Maestricht. Marlborough now resolved to march against them, and to carry the war into French Flanders and Brabant. Detachments under three Dutch generals, Cohorne, Spaar, and Opdam, were pushed forward to Bergen-op-Zoom to make the necessary preparations. With the main body of his army Marlborough crossed the Yaar close under the walls of Maestricht. His movements were so rapid that the French generals were taken by surprise. They had taken possession of Tongeren, but on Marlborough's approach they abandoned that place and retreated precipitately three leagues beyond Thys. Marlborough fixed his camp at Thys; but here again his plan was disconcerted by the States-General. Cohorne had obtained leave of their high-mightinesses to make an irruption into the country of Waes, to levy contributions. Marlborough bitterly complained of this interference with his plan, but to no purpose. He was compelled to remain inactive till Cohorne's raid was over. It was not till the 10th of June that he was able to march forward. In the mean time his army was weakened by the States-General, who detached twenty battalions and eight squadrons to aid the confederates, who were hard pressed by the French on the Upper Rhine. When Marlborough moved he marched upon Hanef, the French retreating before him to a position on the Mehaigne. Their lines stretched from the Mehaigne to Antwerp, and they occupied a series of fortifications from Antwerp to Ostend. It was against these two latter places that Marlborough now directed his operations. Antwerp was to fall first, and then Ostend. Antwerp was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar. It was Marlborough's design to attack the enemy's lines with the grand army on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin. To ensure success, Cohorne was detached with his flying camp on the right of the Scheldt about four miles from Antwerp, to amuse Bedmar, while Baron Opdam was directed to advance suddenly upon Antwerp from Bergen-op Zoom. Opdam was to take post between Eckeren and Capelle, to act against that part of the lines guarded by the Spanish forces. The plan was well conceived, but it failed. It was in vain that Marlborough attempted to bring the main body of the French army to an action. As he wrote to Godolphin, they "always decamped when he came near them." Marlborough marched to Opheer, and the French sheltered themselves behind their lines near Landen. Cohorne crossed the Scheldt, and forming a junction with the Dutch General Spaar, who had been watching a flying camp near Bruges, under Delamotte, attacked the French lines near Antwerp. This service was performed with spirit and success. Spaar penetrated as far as Steenbrook, and Cohorne to the point of Callo, where he reduced fort St. Anthony. By crossing the Scheldt, however, Cohorne left Opdam without the support he needed. Opdam established himself in an isolated position near the village of Eckeren, where the French under Boufflers surprised him, and routed his division. Believing all was lost, Opdam fled to Breda, but his second in command rallied his troops, repulsed some charges, and effected a masterly retreat to Lille. By this movement of Boufflers, however, the plan of Marlborough, of capturing Antwerp and Ostend, was frustrated. After this action Villeroy declared he would wait for Marlborough, but on his approach the French marshal set fire to his camp and retired within his lines. There was no more fighting in the open field during this campaign. Marlborough had to return towards the Meuse. The campaign was closed by the capture of Huy, Limbourg, and Geldern. These conquests were not unimportant. By the capture of Limbourg the country of Liege and the electorate of Cologne were secured from the incursions of the enemy; and by the reduction of

Geldern the allies remained masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland. But the moral effects of these conquests were perhaps of more importance than their immediate results, as by them the allies were encouraged to prosecute the war with vigour.

On the Rhine the French were more successful. In March, Marlborough informed Nottingham that the affairs of the allies went on very ill in Germany, and so they continued to go on during the campaign. At that time the elector of Bavaria had joined his arms to those of France, and had surprised the strong fortress of Ulm. Thus victorious, he marched forward to Ratisbon. At Ratisbon he was joined by the French Marshal Villars, who had crossed the Rhine in February, and cut his way through the Imperialists, and marched through the defiles of the Black Forest to form the junction. A plan had been conceived by the French monarch for the destruction of the House of Austria. But that grand plan was frustrated by ill-concerted movements and divided councils. Considering Bavaria safe under the protection of Villars, the elector marched into the Tyrol, and made himself master of Innspruck and of all the country within eighteen leagues of Trent. He expected to have been joined by the duke of Vendome, who was to move from beyond the Alps, and from thence to open his way through the Tyrol. The several armies, then moving in different directions, were to form a junction between the Inn and the Danube, and when combined, to roll on like a flood to Vienna. Had this project succeeded, the emperor's affairs might have been ruined. The duke of Vendome, however, who commanded the French forces in Italy, was unable to enter the Tyrol, and the elector was compelled to retreat and rejoin Villars. The French marshal conceived the idea of marching by Passau upon Vienna, but the elector opposed his views. Notwithstanding, they crossed the Danube at Donawert, and attacked and completely routed the Imperialists under Count Styrum, and continued their success by the capture of Augsburg. The road to Vienna was now open, but the elector and Villars again disagreed, and the French general threw up his command, and returned to France. Vienna was saved. Vendome had been driven back by the brave Tyrolese, and their valour, combined with the want of concert between the French and Bavarians, defeated the design of the French king to destroy the Austrian empire.

It was during these events that the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal joined the Grand Alliance. Their defection filled the House of Bourbon with well-grounded apprehension. That of the king of Portugal was especially ominous for the cause of France, as he could open a passage for the allies through his country into Spain. Encouraged thereby, the emperor was induced to declare to the world his design to recover for his family the crown of Spain. In order to obviate the objection against uniting that crown with those of Austria and the empire, Leopold and his eldest son, the king of the Romans, renounced their claim to the Spanish succession in favour of his second son, the Archduke Charles. This young prince was proclaimed at Vienna in September. A few days after this ceremony was over, Charles III., king of Spain, left Vienna for the Hague, where he was received by their high-mightinesses with great honour. Marlborough, who had met him at Dusseldorf, arrived at the Hague with him. He had been charged by Queen Anne to offer her congratulations to the "young sovereign without a kingdom;" but it is said that Marlborough swore by all that was dear to him, he would make Charles the greatest prince in Christendom. Marlborough left Charles at the Hague, who came to England on the 26th of December. He was received at Portsmouth by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor, where he was right royally received and entertained by the queen. His design was to pass over to Portugal, and in conjunction with Peter II. to invade the kingdom of Spain. Accordingly, on the 4th of January, 1704, he set sail with a great fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg, and after some delay by a storm, landed at Lisbon, there to watch events and prepare for his enterprise.

Meanwhile parliament, which assembled on the 9th of November, had tacitly acknowledged his pretensions to the Spanish throne. In her speech the queen boldly announced that it was the intention of the allies to recover the monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, and restore it to the House of Austria, and neither Lords nor Commons in their addresses urged any objection against the measure. On the contrary, the Lords expressed their satisfaction at the zeal which Anne displayed for the public interest, even "beyond the obligation of treaties;" and the Commons thanked her for all that had been done, and declared that they would support her in all her alliances. The queen's speech was essentially warlike, and parliament warmly responded to its tone. The Commons resolved that the army should be raised to fifty-eight thousand men, and the navy to forty thousand sailors and marines; and supplies were granted for the support of these armaments, as well as liberal subsidies to her majesty's allies.

In her speech Anne expressed a hope that all would be harmony during this session; that all heats and divisions that might give encouragement to the enemies of church and state would be avoided; but parliament had scarcely met, when her government renewed the work of the previous session with redoubled fury, by the introduction of a new bill against "Occasional Conformity." The bill was more moderate than that which had been previously rejected, but its penalties were still severe enough to arouse a storm of human passion. It passed the Commons by a large majority, but it encountered a sterner opposition in the House of Lords than before. The creation of the four new Tory peers, for the purpose of carrying the measure, proved nugatory. After a stormy debate it was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of twelve. During its progress in the two Houses there was great excitement out of doors. The whole country was like "a house divided against itself." That great humourist, Swift, writes to a friend on the subject thus:—"I wish you had been here for ten days, during the highest and warmest reign of party and faction that I ever knew or read of, upon the bill against Occasional Conformity, which, two days ago, was upon the first reading rejected by the Lords. It was so universal, that I observed the dogs in the streets much more contumelious and quarrelsome than usual; and the very night before the bill went up, a committee of Whig and Tory cats had a very warm and loud debate upon the roof of our house. But why should we wonder at that, when the very ladies are split asunder into high church and low, and, out of zeal for religion, have hardly time to say their prayers?" Prince George of Denmark was absent at the division in the Lords, but Marlborough and Godolphin voted in its favour, so that they were still numbered in the ranks of the Tories.

The Bill against Occasional Conformity was not the only topic on which the Whigs and Tories and the Lords and Commons came into collision. On the 17th of December the queen in person informed both Houses that she had received information of ill practices and designs carrying on by emissaries of France in Scotland. Proofs, she said, would be laid before them as soon as they could be made public without prejudice. This was an opportunity for the Whig Lords to rouse the jealousy of the nation against the Tories, too good to be lost. The Lords resolved that the inquiry should be made in their own House, and having appointed a committee for that purpose, they took some persons, said to be implicated in this Scottish plot, from the queen's messengers, and committed them to the custody of the Black Rod. This was denounced by the Commons as a violation of the royal prerogative, and an address was presented to the queen, in which she was earnestly entreated not to suffer any diminution of that prerogative, which they, her faithful Commons, were well assured would during her reign be always exerted for the good of her people. Anne thanked them for their concern and assurances; but dearly as she prized her prerogative, not wishing to encourage a collision between the two Houses, she told them that the matter which gave rise to their address was at an end.

The affair which gave rise to this quarrel between the two Houses was of a frivolous character, and would not have commanded the attention of the public but for the animosities existing between the rival factions. The principal actor in it was Simon Fraser of Lovat, whence it is commonly called "Fraser's plot." He was that Fraser who in the previous reign had led his family clan to join the banner of Dundee. At this time Fraser undertook to excite an insurrection in the Highlands. If the court of France, he said, would contribute but a few regular troops, some officers, ammunition, and money, then he would assemble twelve thousand Highlanders to fight for the prince of Wales. The French king was not disinclined to enter into the project, but as former schemes of a similar character had failed, and as he had no great confidence in Fraser's success, he required him, before he gave him aid, to return to Scotland, with two others whom he, the king, would appoint, to test the temper of the Highlanders towards the young prince. The trio accordingly passed over to Scotland, but no sooner had Fraser arrived, than he revealed the plot to the duke of Queensberry, promising him on certain conditions to make him acquainted with all the correspondence between the Scottish Jacobites and the courts of St. Germains and Versailles. A bargain was soon struck between the duke and the cunning intriguer; and with a pass to secure him from arrest or molestation, Fraser went to the Highlands. He was to report to the duke of Queensberry who were willing to engage in an insurrection and who were not. On his return from the Highlands he made allegations, but he did not furnish the proofs. To obtain these he proposed to return to France, where he said he could learn all the schemes and plots concocting at the court of St. Germains, and circumvent them by leading the plotters into their own net. Accordingly, at the instance of Queensberry, money and a passport were obtained from the earl of Nottingham, and Fraser went back to France by way of Holland. On his arrival at Paris he presented a memorial to the exiled queen, setting forth his zeal for the cause of her son, and giving a flaming account of what he had done in Scotland to promote his pretensions. But the double-dealer forgot that he had those about him as he roamed through the Highlands who noted all his movements and watched his every word. Murray's account of Fraser's operation and the state of the country were so distinctly opposite to those presented in the memorial to the exiled queen, that no doubts remained of his treachery. In the end, indeed, notwithstanding his boasted loyalty to the excluded family, the French king, who had all along suspected him, provided a lodging for Fraser in the Bastile. Meanwhile some arrests of suspected persons had been made by her majesty's government. Those arrested were Sir John Maclean; Keith, the nephew of one of the two who had accompanied Fraser into the Highlands; David Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to King James and the prince of Wales; and one James Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to the duke of Berwick. These arrests were made on their landing in different parts from the French coast, which, as they were all Jacobites, was, it must be confessed, a circumstance which justified their apprehension. All of them, however, asserted that they were returning home to live peaceably under the happy government of Queen Anne. Thence a party contest, that had more of party feeling than principle or patriotism, was carried on between the Whigs and Tories, which ended, like all idle discussions, in smoke.

During this session the queen revived the order of the Thistle in Scotland. The green ribbon was conferred on his grace the duke of Argyll on the 4th of February. Three days after Anne announced by Secretary Hedges that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy, and that she would grant the whole of her revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrance, in augmentation of their maintenance. These tenths and first-fruits then amounted to about 16,000*l.* only, but it has since greatly increased. In reality, they had never been paid into the treasury, but had been given by her predecessors to their favourites. Burnet says, that in the time of King Charles they were chiefly bestowed on his paramours and children. That they might for all coming time flow into their proper channel, the Commons brought in a bill enabling the queen to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter for its proper distribution. The statute of mortmain was, also, so far repealed as to allow bequests, or grants by deed, toward the augmentation of benefices. As was natural, addresses of thanks and acknowledgments from all the clergy of England were presented to the queen for her liberality. Anne was called the "Nursing Mother of the Church," of which title she was as proud as of that of "queen of England." But Anne's tender care was not of an all-embracing character. It was limited to the Church of England: other sects of the Protestant communion, firm supporters of her throne as they were, had no share in "Queen Anne's bounty." On the contrary, Anne allowed the Irish parliament to stop the paltry sum of 1200*l.* per annum, which had been paid to the poor Presbyterian preachers of Ulster in the reign of King William, as a token of his gratitude to Walker, one of their order, to whom was chiefly owing the heroic defence of Londonderry.

The bill for legalising "Queen Anne's bounty" was one of the very few subjects on which the Lords and the Commons during this session were agreed. Another collision between the two Houses arose out of an inquiry into the condition and management of the navy; and there was a very warm quarrel over a bill which finally passed, empowering justices of the peace to impress idle persons, having no callings or visible means of subsistence, for soldiers and marines. From the inveterate animosities between the Whigs and Tories, there seemed to be no hope of harmony between them, and to put an end to their disputes, the queen closed the session on the 3rd of April, with a gentle rebuke. She lamented that her desires of seeing the two Houses act in concert had not been realised.

The prorogation of parliament was accompanied by some changes in the ministry. Nottingham having in vain pressed the queen to dismiss the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. Defoe says of him that, "pushing at such hot measures, like an axe struck upon a hard stone, the blow rebounded, and the weapon flew out of the hand of the unskilful workman." Nottingham was succeeded by Harley as secretary of state, under the favour of Godolphin and Marlborough. At the same time, Henry St. John became secretary of war; and soon after the earl of Jersey, and Sir Edward Seymour, the lord-keeper, were dismissed. Others of the high Tory party were left out of the council and removed from office, thus paving the way for a complete change of government. Swayed by the influence of her favourite, the duchess of Marlborough, Anne was beginning to look cold upon the Tories and to take the Whigs into her favour.

Immediately after parliament rose Lindsay was brought to trial for treason. It was taken for granted that he was guilty, as he had returned from France without pass or license, and he was condemned to death. He was told that there was no hope of mercy for him unless he revealed the full particulars of "Fraser's plot." Lindsay had declared before the Lords that he knew nothing of a conspiracy, and he still adhered to that declaration. In order to frighten him into a confession he was drawn to Tyburn, but he scorned to save his life upon the terms proposed. It was a mean trick to extort some sort of confession, true or false, for ministers never intended he should be executed. He was shown the fatal tree, then taken back to Newgate, and finally banished the country.

Early in this year Marlborough had visited Holland, to concert operations with the States-General, after which he returned to England. But Marlborough did not more than half reveal to the States how he purposed carrying on the campaign. He had a lively recollection of the impediments that had been thrown in his way in the campaign of 1703, and he did not mean to be again trammelled by divided councils and jealous interference. What he now proposed to the States was, that he should open the war on the Moselle with his English troops and a portion of the foreign auxiliaries; while General Auverquerque, with his Dutch troops and the rest of the foreign auxiliaries, acted on the defensive in the Netherlands. This proposition was not at all in accordance with the views of the States-General. It was considered as too hazardous, and as likely to leave Holland too much exposed to the enemy. Seconded, however, by the Pensionary Heinsius, King William's old and trusted friend, the States finally concurred in this plan. But Marlborough secretly contemplated a plan of a still more hazardous nature; a plan which had he divulged to the States would no doubt have met with their most strenuous opposition. In his own mind he resolved to carry the war into the very heart of Germany, to protect the emperor, whose capital was threatened by the combined force of the French and Bavarians. But while he was revolving in the secret recesses of his own mind his daring plan, he must have sometimes doubted whether the means at his command would ensure its success. At that period there was a difficulty of obtaining recruits for the army. A bill had been brought into parliament during the recent session for a forced levy from each parish, but it was rejected as unconstitutional. It was when that bill was refused that the Act passed empowering the justices to impress idle persons for soldiers and marines. The parish constables were to have ten shillings per head for every one they could bring before their worships; and their worships were to present them to the queen's officer, who was to reward them with twenty shillings, and then send them to drill for the wars, "to fill a pit as well as better." But these "idle and dissolute persons" who were thus kidnapped for the wars do not appear to have been a very numerous class of Queen Anne's subjects. According to Marlborough's own showing, in a letter which he addressed to the Dutch minister, M. Hop, announcing that transports would speedily arrive in the Meuse with recruits for the infantry of the English army, their total number did not amount to a thousand, which was by no means sufficient to supply the waste of two campaigns. In the same letter Marlborough stated that the public funds were not sufficient to carry on the war with vigour; but he added, "The queen has provided additional means out of the privy purse." Out of that purse, indeed, Anne sent a hundred thousand crowns to the circle of Suabia, and a subsidy to the margrave of Baden, to ensure their allegiance to the cause of the Grand Alliance.

Marlborough returned to the Hague in April. He was accompanied by his brother, General Churchill, Lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction. The States-General had not yet consented to that part of his plan which he had proposed in his winter visit to Holland. The states of Zealand and Friesland were especially adverse to the movement of any troops to such a distance from Holland. The ruling motive of these States was self-preservation; but Marlborough's ambition was to make himself famous by some great victory over the enemy. Besides, it was Germany, and not Holland, which was now chiefly threatened. The French had taken some strong forts on the Upper Rhine and the Moselle, and the Bavarians and the French had defeated the imperial troops and were masters of Augsburg and Passau. The road to Vienna was open, and the forces of the enemy were assembling in various quarters to march upon the imperial city. They were to be collected on the Danube; Villeroy was to lead one army from Flanders; Tallart was to advance from the Rhine into Suabia through the Black Forest; and the army of Italy was to march through the Tyrol into Austria. The French king was resolved to crush the House of Austria, that the throne of Spain and the Indies might be preserved to the House of Bourbon. There were no means which he could devise neglected that he might carry out his views. He had bitterly complained of the aid afforded by England to his Protestant subjects in the Cévennes when they were stirred up to rebel against him by the sword of persecution; and yet now the Hungarians, who were in a state of insurrection, were to be assisted by French troops to emancipate themselves from the rule of Austria. It was to save the House of Austria that Marlborough conceived the plan of his wonderful campaign. Nor would he be diverted from its execution. Finding that the States were still reluctant to consent even to that portion of it which he had revealed, he at last informed them that he resolved upon going to the Moselle, "as it would most conduce to the public service." Marlborough was strengthened in his resolve by the English government. His instructions were to take any measures he should deem proper to relieve the emperor and reduce the elector of Bavaria. Finding that it was useless to oppose his movement, the States at length consented. On the 5th of May, therefore, the troops began to march out of their garrisons. The grand march for the Moselle commenced. But that was not to be the limit of their operations. Marlborough designed to lead them "a great deal higher into Germany." Burnet says that "under the blind of carrying the war to the Moselle, everything was prepared that was necessary for executing the true design." There were only two in Marlborough's secret—the Pensionary Heinsius, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who commanded the emperor's army on the Danube. Leaving Auverquerque with his Dutch troops and auxiliaries to guard the frontiers, Marlborough proceeded to Utrecht, and from thence to Ruremond, Maestricht, and Bedburg, in the duchy of Juliers. It was here that his forces were to concentrate from different quarters. At Bedburg he found his brother, General Churchill, with fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons of horse. It was with these troops he began his celebrated expedition. Others, consisting of Prussians, Hessians, Luneburgers, and Dutch, were to join Marlborough on his line of march. On he passed to Kerpen, which he reached on the 20th of May. At Kerpen he received a pressing message from the States to halt. Villeroy, with his detachments of the French army of Flanders, had crossed the Meuse, and was threatening to invest Huy. The States were in great alarm at his movement. At the same time the margrave of Baden implored Marlborough to come to his aid on the lines of Stolhoffen, as he was threatened by Tallart, who was advancing from the Rhine. Assuring the States and the margrave that there was no danger, Marlborough went rapidly on his march. On he went to Kalsecken, from whence he wrote to the States, disclosing more of his plan, and even asking for further reinforcements. While his sudden operations, he said, engaged the attention of the French, there was no danger to be apprehended on the side of the Netherlands. And Marlborough was right, for the French were bewildered by his movements. Villeroy had been ordered to observe them, but they were so mysterious that the French marshal suddenly lost sight of Marlborough, nor did he discover where he was till he received the news of his first victory over the Bavarians. While Marlborough was pushing on to the Danube, Villeroy, having turned his back upon the Netherlands, marched and countermarched in the neighbourhood of the Moselle in search of him, till his troops were weary. Marlborough had marched to Linzig, as though he intended to make the banks of the Moselle the scene of his campaign; but from thence he turned aside upon Coblentz, where his army crossed the Rhine. He advanced along the bank of that river to Broubach. His march was rapid, but not fatiguing to his troops. They moved along the banks of the Rhine in the grey dawn and the soft twilight, resting under the shadow of slopes covered with budding vines in the noontide heat. At Cassel, near Mayence, the army halted for a whole day. Here Marlborough's troops were reviewed by the elector, and they were so fresh, and in such excellent order, that the elector exclaimed, as he gazed on them, "These gentlemen seem to be all dressed for the ball." While at Coblentz Marlborough had urgently called upon the States-General for reinforcements, and he now received advices that they would send after him twenty squadrons and eight battalions of Dutch auxiliaries. The States were relieved from their fears, and were beginning to see that Marlborough was a consummate general, on whom they could place full reliance. It has been well observed, indeed, that the address, the prudence, and military genius of the duke of Marlborough united the allies, and gave energy both to their councils and arms. Marlborough moved towards the Neckar, which he passed by a bridge of boats at Ladenburg on the 3rd of June. He halted at Ladenburg for two days, and then proceeded to Ersingen, his force daily increasing by small bodies of Dutch, Luxemburg, and Danish allies. His next halt was at Mondelsheim, where for the first time he met Prince Eugene of Savoy. In three days they were joined at Hippach by the margrave of Baden. By his movements Marlborough had saved the emperor from all fears of the elector of Bavaria and his French allies, and the margrave hailed him as the "deliverer of the empire." But while he thus saluted him he wished to pluck the laurels from his brow. Between Marlborough and the Prince Eugene there was perfect harmony. It was their desire to act in concert on the Danube, and that the margrave should remain on the Rhine. But that did not suit the German prince. Being older in rank than Eugene, he insisted on the right of choice whether he should act on the Danube or the Rhine. Nay, for a time he insisted on the right of supreme command over Marlborough's army. His jealousy seemed likely to derange the whole plan, but at length he consented to share the command of the army on the Danube with Marlborough on alternate days. Much against his will, the duke left Prince Eugene on the Rhine, while he marched forward with the margrave to the Danube. Marlborough had at this time to endure other mortifications. News arrived that the Dutch General Auverquerque had been unsuccessful in an attempt upon the French lines in Flanders, and had missed an opportunity upon the Meuse. But what mortified him more was that some Prussian and Suabian corps which were to have joined him had mistaken their instructions, and would not reach him for ten days. Time being of importance, however, he prosecuted his march to Ebersbach, and from thence through the narrow and dangerous pass of Gieslingen, in the mountains which separated him from the valley of the Danube. In that valley he was joined by the imperial army under the margrave of Baden, and their combined forces marched to Elchingen, close to the Danube, and to Langenau, where Marlborough fixed his head-quarters.

On his approach to Elchingen the elector of Bavaria withdrew from his post at Ulm, and retired along the bank of the Danube to an entrenched camp between Lawingen and Dillingen. Broad morasses were in his front, while the waves of the Danube rolled in his rear. His entrenched camp was an eminence about two English miles in circumference at the base, having a gradual ascent and a large flat at the top, where the enemy was encamped in several lines. Thirteen thousand French and Bavarians were posted in that formidable entrenchment. Marlborough, who had expected that the elector would have retreated beyond the Danube, saw clearly that by the occupation of the Schellenberg he hoped to keep the allies in check till he should receive reinforcements which he was then expecting from France. Delay was dangerous, and Marlborough resolved to attack the entrenchment on the Schellenberg before the elector received the expected reinforcements. The margrave of Baden at first opposed this movement, but on Marlborough's representing, that if time was lost the enemy might escape, or form an entrenched camp on the Danube still more formidable than the one they occupied among the morasses, he consented to advance. It was on the 1st of July that the allied forces marched to the foot of the Schellenberg. On that night they rested on a plain, a few miles from the foot of the mountain, but at early dawn Marlborough marched out of his camp with a detachment of six thousand foot, thirty squadrons of horse, and three regiments of imperial grenadiers. The main body of the army followed in the rear. As he advanced, Marlborough found that his task was more formidable than he had contemplated. The roads were difficult, and the movement of his troops was slow. Undaunted by the difficulties, however, he pressed forward. It was noon before he could reach the Wernitz, a deep and rapid stream flowing into the Danube. Bridges had been prepared to throw across that river, over which the allies passed in safety. They had then marched twelve miles, and there were yet three miles of difficult ground to pass over before the attack could be made. The troops were fatigued, but Marlborough resolved to storm the Schellenberg before the night closed. Meanwhile the French and Bavarians were keenly watching his progress from the summit of the mountain, every now and then saluting him with a heavy cannonade. They were well prepared to receive the assault, and when at length, about six o'clock, it commenced, they fought with the greatest bravery. As infantry and horse advanced up the hill, the cannon from the entrenchments, and from the works of the neighbouring town of Donauworth, made fearful slaughter among both officers and men. For a moment there was a pause; but again the troops moved resolutely forward, until they came to a ravine. The van were provided with fascines, to enable them to pass the ditch of the entrenchment, and mistaking the ravine for the ditch, they halted on its brink to throw down their fascines. While thus employed the cannon of the enemy again threw them into confusion, in the midst of which some French and Bavarian battalions rushed from their trenches and charged them with the bayonet. But this charge was gallantly repulsed, chiefly by the English guards, and the enemy retired with ranks fearfully thinned. Again the attacking column advanced toward the works, but again they were thrown into confusion by the storm of grape-shot which fell among them, and by repeated attacks of strong sallying parties from the trenches. All seemed lost, when a body of horse under General Lumley appeared to their rescue. The enemy was driven back, and with ranks reformed the English and Dutch once more moved forward; and this time they were successful. In order to repel their attack, General d'Arco, who commanded in the Schellenberg, had withdrawn most of his troops from the works on his right, nearest to Donauworth, and led by the margrave of Baden, the Imperialists advanced to the feebly-defended entrenchments, and throwing their fascines into the ditch, passed over with but little loss. The contest on the left was still raging, and the entrenchments were obstinately disputed, but before night closed the lines were forced. The allies were in full possession of the camp. The French and Bavarians, abandoning their works, fled in disorder down the hill side towards the bridge over the Danube, hotly pursued by the allied cavalry, who cut them down in heaps. The carnage was dreadful, and the loss of the enemy was rendered still greater by the breaking down of the bridge by the weight of the fugitives, hundreds of whom were drowned in the Danube. Out of the thirteen thousand French and Bavarians in the entrenched camp of the Schellenberg, not more than three thousand joined the elector of Bavaria. About eight thousand perished on that fatal evening, and of those who escaped many came in as deserters to the allies. But the allies had no great cause for rejoicing, for although shouts of triumph rent the air, they were mingled with the groans of more than four thousand wounded, while nearly two thousand slept the sleep of death on the hill side and the summit of the Schellenberg. The loss in officers was very severe, eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains having fallen in the battle. It was a daring adventure of Marlborough to storm such a position, but being successful, it added greatly to his military reputation. In his despatch to Harley, Marlborough attributed the victory to the "particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of her majesty's troops." No mention was made in the despatch of the margrave of Baden; an omission which was repaid by his partisans, who ascribed the victory to the imperial general. There can, however, be no doubt that the plan was Marlborough's, and that but for his determined will there would have been neither battle nor victory.

It was expected by Marlborough that the elector would have defended Donauworth, but instead of this he withdrew his troops from thence and retreated towards Augsburg. By this movement the elector's territories were left open to the invasion of a victorious enemy. It would have been for the honour and humanity of Marlborough if the scenes which followed had not been enacted. There had been some negotiations between the emperor and the elector concerning an alliance between him and the allies; but when the elector found that Tallart was marching to his aid with thirty thousand men, he refused to quit the French interest. On discovering this, Marlborough formed a plan to compel him to listen to terms. But that plan brings no honour to his memory. It was to burn and destroy the elector's country; to lay waste fruitful fields, and to level towns and villages with the ground. But if Marlborough thought that such deeds as these would bring the elector to terms, he was strangely mistaken. They had the contrary effect. Shocked at them, the elector entreated Marlborough by letter to countermand acts of violence so opposite to true glory; and on receiving an intimation that he, the elector, could put an end to them by joining the Grand Alliance, he indignantly replied, that since he had been compelled to draw the sword he would throw away the scabbard.

At that time the elector lay strongly encamped at Augsburg, awaiting Tallart and the French reinforcements. The French marshal having penetrated through the Black Forest, forded the Danube at Moskirk, and marching rapidly to the north-west, soon came into communication with the Bavarian camp. About the same time that Tallart effected his junction with the Bavarians, Prince Eugene, who had been unable to prevent his movements, by a parallel march from the Rhine reached the plains of Hochstadt. Eugene had only eighteen thousand men under his command, and he was still far distant from Marlborough and the rest of the allies. By a concentrated attack the Gallo-Bavarian army might have crushed his little army, and then flushed with success with their superior force, have secured a victory over the forces of Marlborough. But Tallart had not the military genius of those famous French marshals, Condé and Turenne, and his opportunity was lost. By their superior abilities Marlborough and Eugene were enabled to join their separated armies, and thus secure a victory.

It would be uninteresting to detail the varied movements of the opposing armies. On the 10th of August Tallart and the elector passed the Danube and encamped at Dillingen. Prince Eugene was then encamped at Donauworth, and Marlborough at Schonefeldt. These two commanders had persuaded the margrave of Baden to undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, a fortress which had never been captured; and having thus rid themselves of the councils of that general, they resolved to give immediate battle to the enemy. With that design, Marlborough recrossed the Danube at Donauworth on the 11th of August, and formed a junction with Prince Eugene. Their combined forces encamped that night with the Danube on the left and the river Kessel in their front. It was their intention to advance and encamp at Hochstadt, but on the morning of the 12th, it was found that it was already in the enemy's possession. As Marlborough and Eugene watched them from the steeple of the church at Dapfheim, they saw a camp being marked out upon a hill where the enemy's cavalry were stationed, and the infantry in full march towards it. That hill was an advantageous post near Hochstadt, and when the camp was formed, the right of the enemy was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, and their left by the village of Lutzengen; while in their front lay a rivulet, the banks of which were steep and the bottom marshy. It was a formidable position, but on that night Marlborough and Eugene concerted arrangements for a general battle on the morrow.

That morrow, the memorable 13th of August, was the Sabbath day: a day on which, though sacred to devotion and rest, many bloody battles recorded in the page of history have been fought. As early as two o'clock on that sacred morning, Marlborough and Eugene broke up their camp and crossed the Kessel. Their combined forces consisted of about fifty-four thousand men—English, Dutch, Hanoverians, Danes, Prussians, and Austrians; while the Gallo-Bavarian army numbered about sixty thousand. Tallart, it is said, watched their movement with joy—confident of victory. But the disposition of the Gallo-Bavarian forces was ill-calculated to justify his confidence. There was a fatal error in the formation of their line; for instead of contesting the passage over the broad morass in front, which in itself was difficult to pass over, it was formed at a considerable distance behind, thus leaving the passage free. Then again, Tallart and the elector committed a great error in forming two separate bodies at a distance from each other, having only a small body of infantry between them as a guard. Tallart himself commanded on the right, by Blenheim, while the elector and General Marsin commanded on the left, at Lutzengen. The space occupied by their lines was about four miles in length, upon rising ground commanding the whole plain, to the Nebel in front. It was against Blenheim that Marlborough led his division of the allied forces; while Eugene moved with the troops under his command against the elector and Marsin. Their advance was over difficult ground, intersected with rivulets and ditches, beyond which was the river Nebel. As they advanced, Tallart called in the foragers and set fire to the villages on that side of the Nebel to which the allies were advancing. About eight o'clock the French began to cannonade, to which the batteries of Marlborough and Eugene replied; but it was noon before any operations of importance commenced. Having to march upon the edge of wooded hills, and to cross rivulets running through swampy ground, the progress of Eugene was but slow; and it had been agreed between him and Marlborough that the battle should not commence till both were ready. Both commanders having at length placed their troops in position, Marlborough mounted his horse, and the allies moved forward to cross the Nebel. The gallant Lord Cutts, ever foremost in the fight, was directed to commence the attack upon Blenheim. Tallart had converted that village into a strong post. Under an impression that the Nebel was impassable in the centre of the plain, it was at Blenheim that he had concentrated his chief strength. Twenty-six battalions of infantry, six regiments of dragoons, and a brigade of cavalry, were posted there for its defence and the support of his right, which would have been better supported by the Danube. It was, however, a formidable position to attack, and Tallart might well suppose it was unassailable. Strong barricades were formed between the village and the Danube; and the church and all the houses and gardens were turned into fortresses. And so far as regarded the attack upon the village of Blenheim, the means of defence did prove successful. Cutts having received the word of command, descended to the Nebel, and his troops throwing fascines into the bed of the river, under a heavy fire of grape-shot crossed the stream, and moved towards the village. General Rowe, at the head of an English brigade and a body of Hessians, led the attack. When within thirty paces of the palisades which surrounded the village, the French poured such a volley of grape-shot from behind them that their ranks were greatly thinned. Nothing daunted, however, Rowe kept steadily on, and stuck his sword into the palisades before he gave the word to fire. He resolved to enter sword in hand, but the palisades were strong, and in the attempt he fell mortally wounded. The leading brigade was compelled to retreat before the fire of the enemy. Other squadrons renewed the attack with the same result. Three times Cutts pushed forward his troops, and three times they were repulsed with great loss. Meanwhile the main body of Marlborough's army was crossing the Nebel. It was a difficult and dangerous operation. In one part the stream had two branches, and there was a soft and marshy ground between each branch. In their passage both horse and foot were enfiladed by artillery planted at various points in and about Blenheim, under the command of the French General Clerambault. Both infantry and cavalry, however, passed over the Nebel by degrees, and kept their ground. It was in vain that the French and Bavarian cavalry charged them as they reached the opposite bank of the river: they were thrown back in wild disorder. But as yet the allies had no artillery across the stream. It was the want of that arm which baffled all the attempts of the brave Cutts to force his way into the village of Blenheim. While waiting for artillery, the charges of the cavalry of the enemy were incessant, the conflict gradually extending from the left to the centre, as the allies came into position. At length the prince of Holstein Beck, who had the command of the artillery, led eleven battalions from the heights on the opposite side of the Nebel, and began to cross the stream. But scarcely had he got half his column across when he was charged by the Irish brigade in the French service, and his foremost battalions were cut to pieces. The prince himself fell mortally wounded, and was taken prisoner. It was a critical moment, but Marlborough in person came to the rescue. At the head of a body of infantry and cavalry he compelled the enemy to retire. While the left wing of the allies was thus passing the Nebel and taking up its position, the right, under Prince Eugene, had been contending with the Gallo-Bavarian forces under the elector and Marsin. Its success had, however, been more than doubtful. Thrice had he attacked the enemy with fury, but thrice had he been repulsed and compelled to retire to the wood to reform his broken ranks. As the sun was declining to the west, the combatants on the right stood facing each other, exhausted and irresolute. Blenheim, too, on the extreme left of the allies, was securely held by the French. The issue of the battle seemed doubtful. But by this time Marlborough had the victory in his hands, and had only to lead his troops onward to secure it. All along he had seen Tallart's error in forming his army into two separate bodies at a distance from each other, without any considerable force between them. There were some cavalry and flying artillery placed in the gap, which it was thought would be sufficient to prevent any advance in that direction. It was a fatal error, of which Marlborough was not slow in taking the advantage. Having by one or two simple movements established a connection with the troops under Eugene, more to mask his own intentions than to afford him aid, he formed his cavalry in two lines in the centre of the plain, and posted his infantry in the rear towards the left. It was then five o'clock, and on a sudden the trumpets sounded a charge, and away went his cavalry across the plain, sweeping all before them. It was to the acclivity on which Tallart and the main body of his army were posted that both horse and foot directed their course. On they went, amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, and both horse and foot gained the summit of the hill. Their charge was impetuous, but steadily received by the French. The allies, indeed, were compelled to fall back some paces, although they still kept the brow of the hill. Having brought up his cannon, Marlborough repeated his attack. The fire of the artillery and musketry on both sides was for a time incessant and terrific. Gradually, however, the fire of the enemy was overpowered by that of the allies. The French line was too weak to stand against the storm of ball and shot which poured among them. As the French fire slackened, another charge of the allies scattered the French horse, and nine battalions of French infantry were cut to pieces or made prisoners. Tallart now saw that he was in danger. Abandoned by his cavalry, he sent orders to the troops shut up in Blenheim to come to his aid, but it was too late; and he implored the elector to send him reinforcements, but the Prince Eugene had renewed the battle against him, had driven his troops beyond Lutzengen, and had so turned his flank that he was rendered powerless to do further harm to the allies. Moreover, the allies now occupied the gap between Blenheim and Lutzengen, which the French cavalry had held before. The victory was soon won. A third charge of the allied cavalry was overwhelming. The centre of the French line was utterly broken. Tallart's cavalry attempted to rally behind the tents of their camp, but to no purpose. There was no more fighting: the rest was unresisted slaughter. The rout became general. Some fled towards Hochstadt, in the rear; and the rest, among whom was Tallart himself, to Sonderheim, upon the banks of the Danube. Those who fled towards Hochstadt were pursued by General Hompesch at the head of his dragoons, and getting entangled in a morass, were nearly all killed, made prisoners, or drowned in the Danube, one brigade alone with some gendarmes escaping with their lives. Those who fled to Sonderheim were followed by Marlborough, who drove them down the hill near Blenheim. Many attempted to cross the Danube and were drowned; but many more were made prisoners. Tallart reached Sonderheim with many officers of distinction; where, being surrounded on all sides by the victors, they surrendered. Perceiving the rout of Tallart, the elector and Marsin set fire to their positions at Oberglaugh and Lutzengen, and commenced a hasty retreat; which Eugene, having but two squadrons of horse with him, could not effectually intercept. They retired under cover of the night to Ulm, with every mark of defeat, and from thence, directing their route through the Black Forest, joined Villeroy on the Rhine. Tallart had sent orders to the troops who defended Blenheim to evacuate that place; but it was too late. Surrounded by the allies, after some resistance behind their barricades, twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons surrendered as prisoners of war. The victory was complete. But it was not purchased without great loss on the side of the allies. Their loss is computed at eleven thousand killed and wounded, the greater part being on the side of Eugene; and that of Tallart and the elector, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at forty thousand. Voltaire says, that of sixty thousand French and Bavarians, not more than twenty thousand effectives reassembled. Among the prisoners were twelve hundred officers of mark. The spoils were immense. All the cannon, and the tents and equipages, with a prodigious number of colours and standards, fell into the hands of the conqueror. It was a blow that humbled the power of France to the dust. It put a stop to the long career of victories in which the French had so much exulted. On receiving the news the court of Versailles was seized with astonishment and consternation. The news of the disaster was received in the midst of rejoicings for the birth of a grandson of Louis XIV., and no one then dared tell him the bitter truth. But it could not long be concealed; and when Madame de Maintenon was obliged to tell him that he was no longer invincible, and the extent of his disgrace and loss became known, his grief can be better imagined than described. At the moment when he was indulging in the pleasing thought that the fate of Europe was in his hands; when he was counting with moral certainty upon striking a blow which should lay it beneath his foot, he saw himself reduced to act simply upon the defensive. Could anything be more humiliating to his vaunting ambition?

The victory of Blenheim re-established the imperial throne. No modern victory was ever more complete, and none could have been more sudden or produced more important results. The whole of Bavaria fell under the yoke of the emperor. More than a hundred leagues of territory were lost in less than a month, the inhabitants of which were doomed to feel all the miseries and ravages attending upon conquest. Voltaire says that the Bavarians experienced all the rigour of the irritated Austrian government, and all the rapacity and barbarity of a victorious soldiery. The emperor, indeed, does appear to have revenged himself severely upon the elector's subjects for the excesses which had been committed by the French and Bavarian soldiery on his own. But with that revenge Marlborough had nothing to do. After his victory he had no dread of renewed contest. Those who had escaped the slaughter—French and Bavarians—were marching in hot haste through the Black Forest, nor did they consider themselves safe until they had crossed the Rhine at Strasburg. But Marlborough had for some days to contend with an enemy more terrible than armed men—famine. Previous to the battle of Blenheim he had found it difficult to find bread for his army, and as he had now not only to feed his own camp, but his numerous prisoners, his difficulty became still greater. One hundred slaughtered oxen were found in the French camp, but "what were they among so many?" There were also found in the French tents herbs and vegetables, but when the oxen were devoured, the English soldiers could not subsist upon such unsubstantial diet. However, the difficulty appears soon to have been surmounted, for on the 20th of August, the allied army was before Ulm. The margrave of Baden had then joined Marlborough, for it was deemed prudent to join all their forces and drive the French out of Germany rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt. The siege of Ulm was conducted by General Thungen, to whom the French garrison on the 12th of September surrendered. Meanwhile the allies advanced to the siege of Landau, which the margrave was to conduct, while Marlborough watched the French Marshal Villeroy, who was hovering around. But Villeroy would not venture a battle, and as the siege of Landau was tedious, Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negotiated for a reinforcement, to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Having concluded a treaty with his Prussian majesty, he went to Hanover. Wherever he went, Marlborough was received with marks of distinction, but in no court more so than that of Hanover. The "Protestant succession," the family which on the death of Queen Anne would rule over the destinies of England, gave him a cordial reception. While at Hanover Marlborough received the news of the capitulation of Landau, about which time also Trierbach, another strong place, fell into the hands of the allies. From Hanover he went to the Hague, and on the 22nd of December he embarked at Rotterdam, with Marshal Tallart and other distinguished prisoners, for England.

Marlborough was welcomed in England as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation. Complimentary addresses were voted him both by Lords and Commons. That of the Lords made no mention of his troops. The victories of Schellenberg and Blenheim were ascribed to him alone. But Marlborough very wisely and modestly refused to take all the honour to himself. In his reply to their lordships' address he remarked : "I must beg on this occasion to do right to all the officers and soldiers I had the honour of having under my command. Next to the blessing of God, the good success of this campaign is owing to their courage. It will be a great satisfaction, as well as an encouragement to the whole army, to find their services so favourably accepted." Before Marlborough returned home the emperor of Austria had conferred upon him by letter the proud title of "The Most Illustrious Prince of Us and the Holy Roman Empire." Marlborough, however, did not value this title. He wanted the lands from which he was to take it, and as these were not forthcoming, he declined the empty honour. At home he was more nobly rewarded. The noble estate of Woodstock, on which the Plantagenets had held their court, and where Queen Elizabeth had found a peaceful retreat in her time of fear and sorrow, was bestowed upon him, and on it was erected at the nation's expense the splendid "palace of Blenheim."

The war of 1704 was not confined to the banks of the Danube and Germany. The campaign in Flanders was merely defensive on both sides. In Portugal the French somewhat redeemed their lost laurels. It has been seen that the Archduke Charles of Austria, or, as he was now called, King Charles of Spain, had been conveyed to Portugal by an English fleet, with some English and Dutch troops to aid him in wresting the throne of Spain from Philip, the grandson of the French King Louis. Large promises of support in this enterprise had been made by the king of Portugal, but he was not prepared to perform them. The English and Dutch auxiliaries were commanded by the duke of Schomberg, who found himself compelled to distribute them among the garrisons on the frontiers of Portugal, which were threatened by the duke of Berwick. Early in the spring, indeed, the Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V., carried the war into Portugal. Several places fell into his hands, the most noted being Portalgre, the garrison of which, including an English regiment of foot, surrendered. No great battle was fought in Portugal, for the allies had no power to withstand the progress of the enemy. On the other hand, the Marquis das Minas, at the head of fifteen thousand men, in order to make a diversion, entered Castile, where he captured Fenente, Grimaldo, and Mansiento, and defeated a body of French and Spanish troops. There was no decisive victory either in Spain or Portugal. As a rule, the cold blasts of winter returns the sword to its scabbard, but the heat of the summer sun compelled Philip to send his troops into quarters, and the allies followed his example. Among the allied commanders there had been great disunion. Schomberg, indeed, was so disgusted with his compatriots, that he desired leave to resign, and about the middle of July he was succeeded by the earl of Galway. Galway had with him a reinforcement of Dutch and English troops, but there were no further military operations during this campaign. Towards the autumn "King Charles" and the king of Portugal resolved to invade Castile, but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the duke of Berwick, that they forewent their intention and put their troops into quarters for the winter.

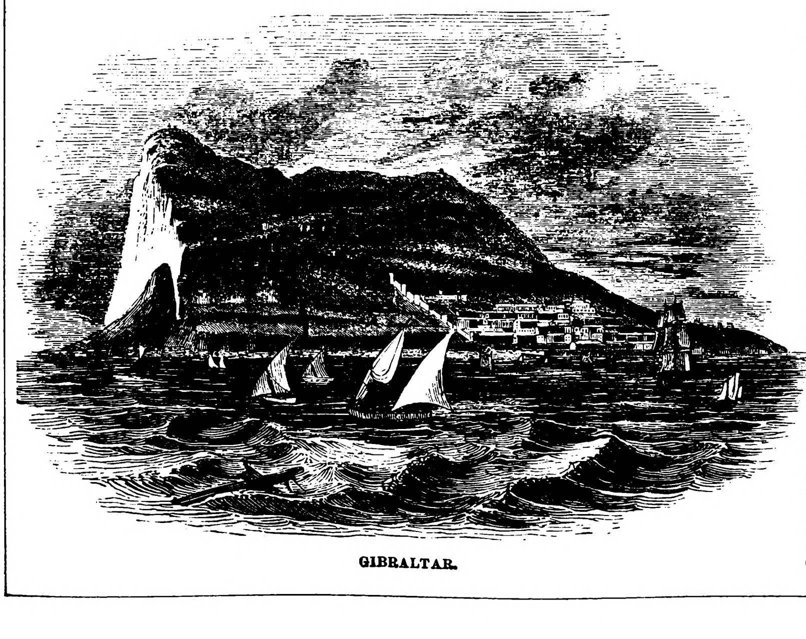
In Italy this year the French were everywhere victorious. The emperor having employed his chief force in the defence of his hereditary dominions in Germany, left Italy almost to its fate. The French, under the command of Vendôme, wrested the whole of his dominions from the duke of Modena, who had joined the cause of the emperor, and overran the duchy of Mantua. Unable to face the enemy in the field, the duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. Although abandoned by the allies, he said he would never abandon himself.

Meanwhile the arms of England had been victorious by sea. After landing King Charles at Lisbon, Sir George Rooke sent a squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Dilkes to cruise off Cape Spartel. In March Dilkes captured three Spanish men-of-war bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. Rooke himself had orders from the English government to sail to Nice and Villafranca, which were supposed to be in danger from the French. At the same time Rooke was pressed by King Charles to engage in an expedition against Barcelona. Charles had been led to believe that the people of that city and all the Catalonians were ready to declare in his favour. It was by the account of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who had been governor of Catalonia, that he was impressed with that belief. But it proved illusory. Rooke, accompanied by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, sailed for Barcelona, and having in vain summoned the governor to surrender, landed some marines; but as there were no signs of rising, and the place was well fortified, the marines were re-embarked. Rooke now sailed up the Mediterranean to Nice. Finding there was no danger to that place, and being joined by a squadron under Sir Cloudesley

Shovel, Rooke, hearing that the Count de Toulouse was coming into the Mediterranean with the Brest fleet, in order to join the fleet of Toulon, sailed in search of it. The French fleet, however, was not sighted, and as the sailors were impatient to do something before they returned to port, in a council of war it was resolved to attack Gibraltar. That famous rock, which had been a stronghold of the Saracens from the eighth to the fifteenth century, was now held by the Spaniards. It was strongly fortified, but ill defended, as its importance as the key of the Mediterranean was not yet rightly estimated. Considering the strength of its fortifications, however, it is clear that the Spaniards valued it; and if they had expected an attack upon it, no doubt the garrison would have been greatly strengthened. It was on the 21st of July that the fleet came to anchor in Gibraltar Bay. The marines were landed, under the command of the prince of Darmstadt, on the isthmus which connects the all but isolated rock with the mainland, which is now known as the neutral ground. On being summoned to surrender, the governor answered the summons with disdain. Weak as his garrison was, he declared that he would defend the fortress to the last extremity. Thus defied, on the 22nd of August Rooke commenced a bombardment from his ships. As the wind blew hard all that day but little progress was made, but next day the ships were enabled to lay with their broadsides to the works, and after a cannonade of six hours, during which time fifteen thousand shots were discharged, the south molehead was demolished. Perceiving that the Spaniards were beaten from their guns, Rooke gave orders that the boats should be manned and the south molehead stormed. The first assailants met a terrible fate. A mine was sprung, which caused great destruction among them, but the ramparts were gained by those who escaped, and resistance was soon at an end. The Spanish governor capitulated, and the gates which led to the isthmus were thrown open for the prince of Hesse and marines to enter the town. The prince would have hoisted the Spanish flag and proclaimed King Charles, but Rooke took possession of it in the name of Queen Anne, and from that time the famous old rock has belonged to the crown of England. At first the conquest was slightly valued, but it was soon discovered that it was one of the highest importance as the key of the Mediterranean. That Spain valued it is evident, for before the autumn the marquis of Villadaria was despatched from Portugal, where he had been fighting, to recapture it. The prince of Darmstadt, however, who was left at Gibraltar with two thousand men for its defence, defied all his efforts, and the Spaniard soon found that the fortress which they had neglected properly to defend was rendered impregnable.

Leaving the prince of Hesse Darmstadt at Gibraltar, Sir George Rooke again sailed in quest of the French fleet under the high-admiral of France, the count of Toulouse. At that time Rooke had been joined by some Dutch vessels, and the high-admiral by a Spanish squadron. The two armaments met at Malaga, and there was a fierce engagement which lasted all day. Its results were of a singular character. Unlike more modern naval engagements, not a ship of the numerous vessels engaged was either taken, sunk, or burned. But there was a great loss of life, the French suffering most. The loss of the English and Dutch in killed and wounded was computed at nearly three thousand, and the French four thousand, among whom were two hundred officers. It was a drawn battle. Towards night the high-admiral sailed away to Toulon, and Rooke to his important conquest of Gibraltar. Both sides claimed the victory, and had success depended on valour, both deserved it. There was a Te Deum sung in Paris for a great victory, and at St. Paul's thanksgivings were offered for the blessing upon her majesty's arms. It would seem that the French fleet was the most disabled, for while the count of Toulouse was not able to put to sea again this summer, towards the end of August, Rooke, leaving a squadron under Sir John Leake on the coast of Spain, sailed with the rest of his fleet to England.

Parliament assembled on the 29th of October. The victories by land and sea formed a prominent topic in the royal speech. By improving the advantages gained, the queen remarked, she would be enabled to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She expressed a hope that her parliament would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; that there would be no contentions, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. But perfect unanimity between the two Houses, and the factions in each House, was out of the question. Both Lords and Commons voted and presented congratulatory addresses on the triumph of her majesty's arms,



GIBRALTAR.

in which they also expressed the most loyal attachment to her person; but at the same time they were so phrased as to exhibit in the most unmistakable manner the state of party feeling. Notwithstanding their Tory prejudices, however, the Commons did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. The withholding or curtailing of them would have rendered that House unpopular with the nation, for the joy of the people over the victories of Marlborough was unbounded. The supplies therefore were granted in the most liberal spirit without hesitation. They were so ample, that the queen, in thanking the Commons for their liberality, interpreted it as a sure pledge of their affection. In providing the ways and means there was not perfect harmony. Every opportunity was embraced by the Tory House of Commons to embarrass the ministry and assail the Whigs. Godolphin had, by the favour he had shown the Whigs in placing some of the more moderate among them in offices of trust, given the Tories offence as deep as Marlborough had by his triumph over the army of France. In her speech Anne had declared her intention of being kind and indulgent to all her subjects. This no doubt was the language of Godolphin, who now stood in the breach between the high church party and the dissenters. By his influence chiefly the court no longer espoused the "Occasional Conformity Bill," as heretofore. Despite this change in the sentiments of the court, however, the Tories again brought forward that bill. Bromley, who asserted that the Church was as much in danger from the dissenters as it was from the papists when the Test Act was enacted, moved that it might be tacked to the Land Tax Bill. As the Lords had no power to alter a money bill, if this motion had succeeded, they must either have passed or rejected it in its entirety; and if the latter, there must have been an end to the war, the support of which depended upon the supplies. But this scheme was defeated in the Commons, and the "tackers," as the Tories were on this occasion called, made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the nation. The Occasional Conformity Bill, however, passed the Commons in a separate enactment, and was again sent up to the Lords, by whom it was once more rejected by a considerable majority. By this time both Marlborough and Godolphin had completely broken with the Tory party. The Whigs were gradually called into the public service, Queen Anne no longer objecting to their admission into the councils of the nation.

During this session recent transactions of the Scottish parliament engaged the attention and excited the passions of the two Houses of the English parliament. Commissioners had been appointed by both legislatures in 1702 to negotiate for a union. It was a "consummation devoutly to be wished" for the welfare of both nations. But the difficulties of accomplishing this measure were great. William, speaking of that union, said, "It may be done, but not yet;" and the time was "not yet" come. The negotiations proved fruitless. Very naturally the Scottish commissioners demanded a perfect equality in trade and commerce, both foreign and domestic, and this being refused, a six months' debate proved labour in vain. It had the effect, indeed, of rendering a union very unpopular in Scotland, and of reviving those watchwords of strife—Glencoe and Darien. In the midst of this a new parliament or Convention of Estates assembled in May, 1703, at Edinburgh. On that occasion all the old feudal usages were observed, which at this time had a peculiar significance: the regalia of Scotland being borne in the procession, amidst a cluster of heralds, and pursuivants, and trumpeters, guarding the crown, the sceptre, and the sword. The Acts of that new parliament of Scotland savoured of defiance to the British rule and crown. Thus, while Marlborough was battling with the armies of France, a decided inclination to the interests of that country was exhibited in the removal of restrictions on the importation of French wines. But the defiant spirit of the Scottish parliament was more clearly manifested by the passing of an "Act for the Security of the Kingdom." That Act not only made an open declaration of the independence of Scotland, but indicated a firm resolve to abrogate on the first opportunity the union of the two crowns. It enacted that on the demise of Queen Anne the estates of Scotland were not to accept the Electress Sophia and her descendants as their future sovereigns; but were to name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the House of Stuart, which successor was to be under conditions to secure "the religious freedom and trade of the nation from English or any foreign influence." The lord high commissioner—Queensberry—refused his assent to this Act of Security, which arrayed all Scotland against him. The part he subsequently took in the matter of Fraser's plot added to his unpopularity. It was clear to the English government that while the duke was lord high commissioner there would be no hope of bringing about a union of the two kingdoms; and to soften the popular party he was dismissed, his successor being the marquis of Tweeddale, a man of more honesty than abilities. It was under Tweeddale's presidency that the Scottish Estates met at Edinburgh in 1704. No change had taken place in their sentiments towards England when they reassembled. In her letter the queen recommended unanimity of councils, and the settlement of the succession in the Protestant line of the House of Hanover; and her Scottish ministers—the lord high commissioner, the chancellor, and the earl of Cromarty, now sole secretary of state—exerted all their influence and eloquence to induce the House to obey the dictates of the royal letter, but in vain. The dismissal of Queensberry and the appointment of Tweeddale had no effect in softening the feelings of that assembly. They had been chafed anew. The interference of the English House of Lords in the matter of the Scottish plot had excited the utmost indignation in Scotland. It was not to be endured that another nation should interfere with the affairs of Scotland. The proceedings of the House of Lords were therefore loudly denounced by the Scottish parliament. It was an unjustifiable interference with the prerogative of the queen of Scotland. Anne was the acknowledged queen of Scotland, and there was no disposition in the Estates to rob her of her crown. She was of the House of Stuart, and therefore their legitimate sovereign. But there was still no disposition to accept the coming rule of the House of Hanover. The Act of Security was again passed, and whether from fear or from policy on the part of the English government, no historic pen can clearly define, this time it received the royal assent.

It was this matter that engaged the attention and excited the passions of the English Houses of parliament in the present session. It was by the advice of her ministers that Anne had assented to the Act of Security, and the Tories loudly condemned this concession to the Scots. As though the Scots really contemplated the invasion of England, an address was presented to the queen, requesting her to put Carlisle, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Hull in a state of defence; to call out the militia of the four northern counties; and to send a body of regular forces to the border. The queen was also requested to put the laws in execution against papists, a request which was aimed at the Jacobites in the northern counties, who were held to be in league with the malcontents in Scotland. And these requests to the queen were coupled with legislative enactments peculiarly offensive to the high-souled Scots. As though menace was not sufficient to stir them up to rebellion, both Lords and Commons proceeded to actual measures of oppression. It was enacted that until the Scottish parliament should settle the succession to the Crown in the same line as that of the English Act of Settlement, no native of Scotland, not residing in England or Ireland, or being in the army or navy, should enjoy the privileges of a natural-born Englishman. It was further enacted that all importations of coals, cattle, sheep, or linen from Scotland should cease, and that her majesty's ships should be empowered to seize all the ships of Scotland they could intercept trading with France. This was aiming a deadly blow at the commerce of Scotland, which was now so highly prized as the sure means of raising that nation to greatness. And yet while the English parliament was thus exasperating the Scots by menace and positive oppression, an Act was passed which provided for a treaty of union! There was more likely to be war than union.

On the subject of the Scottish Act of Security there was apparent unanimity between the two Houses. The Commons, indeed, rejected the resolutions sent down to them by the Lords, but they formed others which so exactly resembled them, that the Lords did not hesitate to adopt them. It was while this subject was under consideration that Marlborough returned home from his memorable campaign to receive the thanks of parliament and his noble reward for his services as related in a previous page. There was every appearance of unanimity between the two Houses in their acknowledgment of his services. But before the close of the session their old strife was renewed. Their true element was discord, not harmony. On the 14th of March, 1705, the queen prorogued parliament. In her speech, Anne adverted to the "unreasonable humour and animosity" which had been displayed between the two Houses, and exhorted to prudence and moderation. It is evident, however, that "prudence and moderation" were not expected from this high Tory House of Commons, for on the 5th of April it was dissolved by proclamation.

The Whig bishop Burnet says: "When this session and parliament came to an end, it was no small blessing to the queen and the nation that they got well out of such hands. They had discovered, on many occasions, and very manifestly, what lay at bottom with most of them; but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages and to make use of their numbers. The constant successes with which God had blessed the queen's reign, put it out of their power to compass that at which they aimed—the forcing of peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to France."

The great victory obtained by the allies at Blenheim produced no permanent results. The French king, though disheartened by the discomfiture of his troops, was not yet inclined to treat for peace. He still hoped to retrieve his fortunes in the field. Great preparations were made in France for the campaign of 1705. As the success of an army mainly depends on the commander, Villeroy, who had been tried and found wanting in abilities to cope with Marlborough, was displaced, and Villars, a dashing and resolute soldier, was raised to the chief command of the French forces. It was against Villars, therefore, that Marlborough this year took the field. It was in April that the victor of Blenheim again went to the wars. He went, says Burnet, "full of hopes." But his hopes were not in this campaign realized. His great object was to follow up the victories of the preceding year, by carrying the war by the Moselle into the heart of France. At the head of his troops he marched through the country of Limbourg towards Treves. At Treves he was joined by the prince of Hesse, and on the 3rd of June he crossed the Moselle and the Saar. At that time the French armies under Villars and Marsin had united. In force they were far superior to Marlborough, but they retreated before him. Marlborough advanced to Elft, where he encamped and awaited reinforcements. But he waited in vain. The German princes utterly failed in their engagements. For want of the troops under the margrave of Baden and the Prussians, he was obliged to remain idle in his camp at Elft. Although it was the month of June, the weather was bitterly cold. In a letter to the States-General he informed them that the season was so inclement that all the grass and oats had been destroyed. In the same letter he wrote that he had no horses or carriages for the artillery, and that the severity of the weather had caused many desertions. For a whole month Marlborough remained inactive in his camp, in daily hopes of reinforcements that never arrived. In May, the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded in the empire by his son Joseph, who had a few years before been created king of the Romans. The young emperor is represented by some writers as a man of daring and energy, but, if so, he failed to infuse his spirit into the sluggish Germanic body, already languishing for repose. He could not even, either from want of resources, or lack of martial spirit, animate his hereditary troops into action, or furnish his contingent against the common enemy. Thus deserted by his allies, Marlborough was compelled to abandon his design of carrying the war into France. But his campaign did not end ingloriously. While Marlborough was compelled to remain inactive at Elft the elector of Bavaria and Villeroy were rapidly advancing upon Holland. Huy was captured, and Liege invested. Alarmed for their safety, the States requested Marlborough to quit the Moselle and hasten back to their aid on the side of Flanders. When their messenger arrived the duke was in a state of despondency. According to his despatches he was weary of his life, but the message of the States revived his military ardour. Fearing that the Dutch would, in their alarm, be induced to treat for peace, on the 17th of June he suddenly broke up his camp at Elft, and directed his march towards Liege. By a series of rapid movements he united his army with the Dutch under Auverquerque, and Holland was saved. At his approach the elector and Villeroy retreated within their formidable lines, which extended from the Meuse near Namur to the Scheldt at Antwerp. Those lines had been three years in construction, and they formed a strong barrier between Dutch Brabant and the Austrian Netherlands. Having recaptured Huy, Marlborough resolved to force these lines. This was, indeed, his one great operation of this year's campaign. It was an operation replete with danger, for along the lines at various intervals there were fortified posts of considerable strength, while behind them there were distributed at convenient distances seventy thousand men for their defence. In part of their extent the lines followed the course of the river Gheet and the river Demer. Marlborough resolved to attack them by passing the river Gheet near Leuwe: a part where the most formidable obstacles presented themselves. It was here that the main strength of the enemy lay; but Marlborough devised a plan to weaken them before he made the attack. In order to divide them, Auverquerque was directed to march to the south of the Mehaigne, where the lines were weakest, as though the attack was to be delivered in that direction. The feint succeeded. The Dutch general crossed the Mehaigne, and Villeroy hastened with the main body of his forces to oppose him. But there was no conflict on that part of the lines. Towards nightfall Auverquerque recrossed the Mehaigne, and reunited his troops to the rear of the army of Marlborough. At that time a detachment of Marlborough's army had approached the river Gheet, and were preparing for action. Under cover of the night, also, the main body of his army, with the Dutch, approached the French works. A thick fog, on the morning of the 18th of July, favoured their movements. Having carried the castle of Wange, the troops dashed into the little river Gheet, and climbing its slippery banks, rushed into the enemy's lines. They were already formed when the cavalry and infantry of the elector of Bavaria hastened to drive them back. They were encountered by twenty battalions of infantry and fifty squadrons of horse, but to no purpose. There was a fierce conflict, but it was soon over. Marlborough remained master of the lines, and the French and Bavarians retreated beyond the Dyle. Marlborough wanted to force the passage of the Dyle, but was prevented by the interference of the Dutch field deputies, who refused to let their troops co-operate. The far-famed site of Waterloo appears to have been chosen by him as his battle ground. In a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, dated the 27th of August, he writes:—"I had at the camp at Meldert with great difficulty brought together a provision of about ten days' bread; and having marched four days together through several defiles and part of the Bois des Soignes, the army came on the 18th instant into a spacious plain, with only the Yssche between us and the enemy. About noon we were formed in order of battle, and having visited the posts with M. D'Auverquerque, we had resolved upon making the attack, thinking there was no more to do but to order the troops to advance, when the deputies of the States, having consulted the other generals, would not give their consent." It was reserved for a future age to witness the shock of battle on the plains of Waterloo.

When Marlborough retired from the Moselle towards Flanders, Marshal Villars, no longer compelled to act on the defensive, commenced operations on the Upper Rhine. Homburg was besieged and captured by him, and on the 6th of August he crossed the Rhine at Strasburg. At this point, however, he was checked by the margrave of Baden, who now placed himself at the head of the imperialists, and not only compelled him to retire, but having passed the river forced the French lines at Hagenau. The margrave reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau; but although his army was superior to that of Villars he attempted no further enterprise. Had he united his forces to those of Marlborough at the opening of this campaign, it is probable that the French king would have been compelled to sue for peace. As it was, at the close of the campaign his armies still kept the field. No great victory was obtained by his generals, although in Italy the French arms were in general attended with success. A battle was fought at Cassano, on the Adda, between the allies under Prince Eugene and the French under the duke of Vendome, in which both parties claimed the victory; but the French were enabled to threaten Turin, and to capture Chivas and Nice. The conquest of Nice was important, as it cut off from the duke of Savoy, who was shut up in Turin, every prospect of relief by sea. In Portugal the campaign opened favourably for the allies. The French and Spaniards having concentrated a large portion of their forces on the side of Gibraltar, the allies entered Spain, and for some time were victorious. The towns of Valencia, Alvuquerque, and Alcantara, were captured, and Badajoz was invested. At Badajoz, however, a stern resistance was encountered. Lord Galway's hand was carried off by a shot, and the French, under General Tessè, appearing in full force, the allies abandoned the enterprise and returned to Portugal. The French, under Tessè, had been employed in a renewed attempt to retake the important fortress of Gibraltar, which had signally failed. He had the mortification of witnessing the destruction of the remaining naval power of France in the Bay of Gibraltar by the English squadron left by Rooke under Sir John Leake, and the siege of the wonderful rock was raised.

The most marked exploit of this summer was the reduction of Barcelona. This was performed by the witty and eccentric Charles Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough. What Peterborough did in Spain may be considered one of the marvels of history. From his antecedents and his versatile character, few of his contemporaries expected that he would be handed down to posterity in the historic page as a hero. Pope said of him that he had too much wit and courage to make a good general, and Swift, that he was—

> "Ne'er to be matched in modern reading
> But by his namesake, Charles of Sweden."

Unlike Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, he was polite, learned, and fond of the ladies; but like him, also, he was brave. His name has appeared in previous pages, not always to his honour; but with all the stains that rested upon his character he appears to have been a general favourite. Swift said that he "loved the hang-dog dearly," and Johnson, that he was a favourite of his, "and not enough known." Such was the man who was this year chosen to undertake an enterprise which Rooke failed to accomplish. Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth in June, with five thousand men under his command. His directions were of a general character: he was to make "a vigorous push in Spain." On arriving at Lisbon he was provided with two regiments of dragoons, for whom, however, he had personally to provide horses. At Lisbon he took on board Charles, the Austrian claimant for the throne of Spain. With Charles he sailed to Gibraltar, where he exchanged two battalions of recruits for as many veterans, who under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt had so bravely defended it against the combined power of France and Spain. The prince of Darmstadt had induced Rooke to undertake the siege of Barcelona. That was his "one dominant idea," and he had no difficulty in inducing Peterborough to undertake that enterprise. It exactly suited his bold spirit. With "his majesty of Spain and the Indies," and the prince of Darmstadt, therefore, Peterborough, with the squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from Gibraltar for the coast of Valencia. A landing was effected at Altea Bay, and the small castle of Denia was captured. Upon the surrender of that castle proclamations were issued in the name of Charles III., and the people were found to be so favourable to his cause that Peterborough proposed to make a forced march to Madrid, and set him on the throne of Spain. And in this enterprise he would probably have succeeded, for Madrid, where King Philip sat enthroned, was but fifty leagues distant, and feebly defended, the main body of the Spanish troops being dispersed on the frontiers of Portugal and in Catalonia. The earl himself expressed his confidence that he could capture Madrid by a *coup de main*, but his project was overruled by Charles and the prince of Darmstadt, and leaving the Valencians to shout "Viva Carlos" or not, as they pleased, he made for Barcelona. The siege of Barcelona was a most formidable undertaking. Its fortifications had recently undergone complete repair, and behind its walls there were five thousand brave men well skilled in the art of defence. The troops were landed on the 27th of August; and for three weeks there was nothing but dissensions between the leaders of the expedition. The English and Dutch generals were unanimous in the opinion that to attempt to take Barcelona would be an act of madness. The manner in which Peterborough proposed to proceed in the siege confirmed them in that opinion. Contrary to all the routine modes of warfare, he resolved to attack the castle before taking the town. The castle, or citadel of Montjouich, which commanded the town, was built on the summit of a ridge of hills skirting the sea. All the old generals conceived that Peterborough was mad to attempt its capture before they had taken possession of the town. It was impossible, they said, that such a plan could succeed. Still Peterborough persisted in carrying out his design. His idea was, that if he could take the citadel the town would quickly surrender. And that he could take it he was convinced, as from a personal view of the castle he had discovered that its garrison was neither numerous, nor, from its supposed impregnability, very vigilant. The prince of Hesse Darmstadt had quarrelled with Peterborough on what was considered his mad design. The eccentric hero had, also, received fresh instructions from the English government to respect the opinions of the princes and the veterans under his command. Still he persisted in carrying out his romantic enterprise. Giving out that he intended to raise the siege, he sent his heavy artillery on board the ships, and made every preparation for embarking the troops; but on the evening of the 3rd of September, with twelve hundred foot soldiers and two hundred cavalry, he marched out of his camp for the enterprise. As he was passing by the quarters of the prince of Darmstadt, he apprised him of his intention. If he chose to follow him, he said, he might see what troops could do that had been subject to his reproaches: if not he might remain in camp. Thus challenged, the prince, who was as brave as any commander in the expedition, forgot his quarrels and shared in the danger. Before daybreak the troops were under the hill of Moutjouich, and close to the outer works. It was thought by Peterborough's officers that he would make the attack under cover of the night, but, contrary to their expectations, he waited for daylight. When the enemy saw them, he said, they would descend into the outer ditch to repel them, and then was the time to receive their fire, leap in upon them, and driving them into the outer works follow close upon their heels, and gain the fortress. The plan succeeded. With no artillery except a few small field-pieces and mortars, the English were soon masters of the bastions. In the attack, the prince of Darmstadt fell mortally wounded. But the castle was not yet won. The Spanish governor having obtained some reinforcements from Barcelona, made a fierce sally from the body of the castle upon the assailants. For a brief period the issue was doubtful. There was a panic among the English. With Lord Charlemont at their head the men fled from their posts, but Peterborough quickly rallied them, and the Spaniards wheeled round and returned to the castle. Having thus gained the outworks, Peterborough had his cannon brought up from his ships, and in a few days the citadel was captured. One of the bombs having blown up the powder magazine, and caused the death of the governor and some of the bravest officers, the rest surrendered. The reduction of the citadel was followed by the surrender of Barcelona. The capture of the town, indeed, was easily accomplished. It was bombarded by the cannon from the hills, and a breach was soon effected. The besiegers were preparing to storm, when the governor, Velasco, beat a parley and agreed to surrender. Velasco had no alternative. He was in greater danger from those within the walls of the town than from the enemy without. His soldiers had mutinied, and his life was threatened. Velasco even entreated Peterborough to enter Barcelona and save him and the respectable inhabitants from the infuriated soldiery, and the rabble who sided with them. The Miquelets—armed peasants of the province—were especially dangerous. Bands of them roamed about the town threatening to subject it to fire, sword, and plunder. With the same bold daring he had shown in the assault of the citadel, Peterborough entered the town with only a few attendants. As he entered he saw a lady flying from the fury of the Miquelets, and like a knight of old he flew to her rescue. It was the duchess of Popoli, the wife of a grandee of Spain. Taking the fair lady by the hand, he conveyed her outside the town to a place of safety. Having performed this act of gallantry, Peterborough returned to the town and rescued the governor and his officers from the mad fury of the rabble rout. Wherever he appeared, says Carleton, who was an eye-witness of his exploits, the popular fury was allayed. He was aided, according to Burnet, by Stanhope and other officers, who rode about the streets to stop the fury of the Miquelets, and who in doing so ran a greater hazard from the firing of guns and pistols than they had done during the whole siege. After this achievement King Charles III. was proclaimed with great solemnity; and the whole of Catalonia and every fortified place in it—Rosas excepted—submitted to him. "Viva Carlos!" was shouted from one end of Catalonia to the other. Peterborough proposed other daring operations, but all his projects were opposed by the German ministers and the Dutch generals. His romantic episode in this war, however, was not yet played out. Hearing that St. Matteo, which had declared for Charles, was invested by an army serving King Philip under the command of the count of Les Torres, he marched to its relief. St. Matteo was thirty miles distant from Barcelona, and the roads were rugged, but he was there in a week, and by a series of daring efforts raised the siege and entered the town in triumph. Nor did his triumphs end here. Having relieved St. Matteo, he followed the retreating army of Les Torres with only two hundred cavalry, every town in his route opening their gates to him without a blow. In his pursuit of the Spaniards he received an express from the magistrates of Valencia, which city had declared for King Charles, imploring his aid against a body of ten thousand men, by whom the city was threatened. Accordingly, having been rejoined by his infantry and obtained other reinforcements, he marched to Valencia. In his route there was a wide plain on which the duke of Arcos, the Spanish general, was encamped, and between him and the plain was a formidable pass under the walls of Murviedro, built under the hill upon which stood the ruins of the ancient Saguntum. With about three thousand men only Peterborough marched boldly forward to Murviedro. The commander of that place, Mahoni, was of Irish extraction, and not altogether unknown to Peterborough. As unscrupulous as ever, Peterborough resolved to turn his knowledge of Mahoni to a good account. Having in vain endeavoured to corrupt his fidelity, he excited jealousies between him and the duke of Arcos, by which the way to Valencia was opened to him without drawing the sword. By his emissaries he caused Mahoni to be suspected of treachery and put under arrest. Mahoni had frankly told Peterborough that he meant to advise the duke to remain in the plain, and through two of his men, who pretended to be deserters, he informed the duke that Mahoni had undertaken to betray his trust, and that his advice was given that he, the duke, might be sacrificed. Alarmed at this intelligence, Arcos broke up his camp on the plain and retreated, and Peterborough pursued his march to Valencia unmolested. While at Valencia he sallied out to attack a body of four thousand horse, and coming suddenly upon their encampment with a force of about one thousand only, routed them and returned in triumph with six hundred prisoners. In a brief period the whole of that province, except the sea-port of Alicant, which held out for King Philip, was reduced to obedience or confirmed in its submission to Charles. But the crown of Spain was not yet plucked from the brow of King Philip.

While Peterborough was carrying on his romantic campaign there was an unromantic war of parties at home: a war distinguished only by cunning and animosity. The elections of 1705 were marked by a bitterness of party feeling rarely equalled in the early annals of our national history. The queen having displayed an inclination to transfer her favour to the Whigs, the high Tories made a kind of death struggle to regain their declining power. Their rallying cry was, "The Church is in danger;" a cry that was heard from Berwick to the Land's End. It was sounded from the pulpits as well as the hustings; and high Tory pamphleteers spread the alarm abroad by means of the press. The nation was told, "that the Church was to be given up; that the bishops were betraying it; and that the court would sell it to the dissenters." So inflamed were men's minds by these means that the elections were distinguished by riot and confusion. Mobs drawn in battle array fought in the streets; and votes were taken without any examination of the qualification of the voters. As was natural, the dissenters, who had been formerly much divided, now united in the interests of the Whigs and the government. The result of the elections was in favour of the Whigs. The Tories lost the battle of the hustings; and Anne discovering this, now withdrew from them the light of her countenance altogether. As a proof of this change in her sentiments, Sir Nathan Wright was deprived of the great seal, which was given to William Cowper, a Whig in all essentials, with the title of lord-keeper; while the privy seal was taken from the duke of Buckingham, and bestowed upon the Whig duke of Newcastle.

The new parliament met on the 25th of October. At its meeting the battle was renewed between the

Whigs and the Tories on the choice of a speaker. The Tories supported Mr. Bromley, and the Whigs Mr. John Smith. The Whig nominee was elected by a considerable majority.

The queen's opening speech was full of Whig feeling. There was to be war to the knife with France; and a useless contest followed, about the succession of the Austrian prince to the throne of Spain, which only can be looked on at this distance of time as senatorial folly. The Tories made a species of death struggle for the ascendency, but Anne deprived them of the light of her countenance.

The war cry of the "Church in danger" roused feelings of the deepest animosity between the contending parties, which had more of party spirit than honest principle.

The Protestant succession next engaged the attention of both Lords and Commons; which had a special reference to the Electress Sophia of Hanover. The result of the stormy debate was, the passing of a bill of naturalization of all the descendants of Princess Sophia, whenever and wheresoever born.

During these contests, both Houses seem to have forgotten the immediate welfare of the country. To draw wisdom from history we ought not to look too much to facts, but rather to the conduct of those in whose hands are the destinies of a country.

Ludicrous as such debates must appear to modern readers, they formed the distinguishing feature of this session. It was essentially a war session between the Whigs and the Tories, regardless of the welfare of the nation. Some slight progress, however, was made towards a union with Scotland. Barriers were removed by a repeal of the Acts which declared the Scots aliens, and which laid a ban on the manufacture and trade of Scotland. The repeal of the Act declaring the Scots to be aliens arose from the antagonism of the two great parties in parliament. That Act had been the emanation of the Whig mind, and the Tories, imagining that they would still adhere to their conception, proposed its immediate repeal; to which, contrary to their expectations, the Whigs consented. On the subject of the war there was considerable and intentional unanimity between the two great parties in the state. It was to be prosecuted with vigour, and ample supplies were provided for its prosecution. The successes of the earl of Peterborough in Spain had made the war popular with the people, and their representatives in parliament responded to their feelings. Towards the close of the session the animosities of the two parties were renewed by the libels and pamphlets which poured daily from the press on both sides; but a record of these animosities is unworthy of a page in history. Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of March, 1706.

During this session Marlborough does not appear to have taken any open share in its proceedings. He was nevertheless charged with being the leader in the battle against the Tories. He was denounced as a deserter to the Whigs and dissenters, and every opportunity was embraced to attack him in both Houses. Thus in one debate the member for Hereford, Mr. Cæsar, remarked that there was a noble lord, who in the late reign was known to keep a constant correspondence with the court of St. Germains, whose advice now guided all the queen's actions. This was no doubt the truth, but the truth is not always to be spoken with impunity. The Whigs voted that his words were dishonourable to her majesty's person and government, and that Mr. Cæsar should be committed to the Tower. That Marlborough had deserted his party and become a decided Whig in principle and action there can be no question. Lord Cowper records in his diary that he and Marlborough, Godolphin, Halifax, and Sunderland, met at Harley's to dinner, and that Harley drank "to love and friendship, and everlasting union," with his guests. But while Marlborough mingled in the political fray he was not unmindful of his duties as a general. Much of his time was spent in making preparations for the coming campaign, especially in choosing proper officers for his army. He left England for the wars in April. On the 27th of that month he was at the Hague, and on the 20th of May he joined the united armies of England and the States in Flanders. It was in Flanders that the incompetent Villeroy, who was at the head of eighty thousand men, resolved to risk a battle. Burning to wipe out the disgrace France had sustained at Blenheim, he issued from his strong positions behind the Dyle, crossed that river, and advanced to the banks of the Mehaigne. He encamped on those banks on the morning of the 23rd of May, which was Whitsunday. Marlborough was then advancing in his front. Perceiving the allies in full march, Villeroy formed his army in order of battle. And he so formed it as in his own mind to be assured of victory. His officers, however, were not of the same opinion. He was told plainly by them that he was lost if he did not change his order of battle. But Villeroy was as presumptuous as he was incompetent, and he turned a deaf ear to the warning. His left wing was so posted that it could neither attack nor be charged by the enemy, for it was covered by the Gheet and an impassable morass which ran along its banks. His centre, consisting entirely of infantry, was drawn out in the open plain behind the village of Ramilies. Between Ramilies and the marshes of the Mehaigne, nearly the whole of the French cavalry, forming the right wing, were posted, being covered by the village of Tavieres and that river. It was in this narrow aperture that the battle of Ramilies was fought, and won by Marlborough. Like Villeroy, he had an assured confidence of victory. He never doubted that if he could only meet the French in an open field he could beat them. On the 20th of May he set his troops in motion. Great was the joy, therefore, of Marlborough when he found the French drawn out in order of battle. If Villeroy had listened to his generals he would not have had much time for changing his position. Marlborough hastily formed his right on a rising ground along the swampy side of the Gheet, opposite the left of the enemy; and his line extended through the plain to the left, which was covered by the river Mehaigne. The attack was commenced by a heavy fire of artillery, during the discharge of which the Dutch cavalry, under Auverquerque, moved gradually upon the right of the enemy. Marlborough attacked the centre in person with his English infantry. Everywhere the French made a gallant resistance. The Dutch infantry in an attack on Tavieres were successful, but their success was counterpoised by the French cavalry driving that of the Dutch back in wild disorder. The French and Bavarian horse, indeed, by their success, had the chance of taking the allied infantry, who were fighting against Ramilies, in the rear. It was a critical moment, but Marlborough was equal to the emergency. Putting himself at the head of seventeen squadrons, he charged the French cavalry and kept them at bay. There was a fierce conflict: in the midst of it Marlborough was surrounded and nearly made prisoner, but he cut his way through with heroic courage. He had scarcely escaped the danger when his charger fell, and as he was mounting another horse, his equerry, Colonel Binfield, who was holding the stirrup for him, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball. The fight still raged, but Marlborough, calling up a reserve of cavalry, an irresistible charge put the French and Bavarian horse to flight. It was in vain that repeated efforts were made to bring them back to the charge. They were fairly beaten: the battle on the left was determined. Meanwhile the allied infantry had been sustaining a severe conflict in and around the village of Ramilies. But the issue now was not long doubtful. The allied horse having mounted the heights above Ramilies, a shout rent the air, which announced that a position had been gained which insured the victory. Marlborough saw his advantage. Ordering up a reserve of infantry, the allied horse descended from the heights, and their united force completed the triumph. All the troops posted in Ramilies were either slain or captured. With those who had escaped the slaughter Villeroy attempted to form a new line, but he was impeded by his own baggage, and before he could get his battalions formed, Marlborough ordered a general advance, and Villeroy, beaten at all points, commenced a retreat. At first his troops retreated with some order, but being pursued by the English cavalry, all order soon disappeared. Whole regiments surrendered, and nearly all the cannon and baggage, with eighty standards of the enemy fell into the hands of the victors. The victory was complete. Villeroy did not consider himself safe till he reached Brussels. In the battle of Ramilies the French and Bavarians lost thirteen thousand men in killed and wounded, and the allies between three and four thousand. The immediate consequence of the victory was the total conquest of Brabant and almost all Spanish Flanders. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Ghent, and Oudenarde offered no resistance to the allies; and although Dendermond, Ostend, Atle, and Menin, held out, before the close of the campaign they were all captured. To Marlborough it appeared astonishing that the enemy should give up a whole country with so many strong places without a stern resistance; and in his exultation over his victory he asserted that now was the time "to reduce France to reason." Grateful for his achievement, the emperor and King Charles offered him the government of the country he had won, which Marlborough at first accepted, subject to the approbation of Queen Anne, but he soon found that the post, though lucrative and honourable, would have been one of danger from rival interests, and he finally declined it. Having, therefore, put his army into winter quarters, and concerted operations at the Hague for the next year's campaign, he returned to England.

St. Simon says, that although the French king affected to submit to the reverses of his arms in a tranquil spirit, he felt them to the quick. The aged monarch began to think that fortune had forsaken him in his old age, and that he was not the invincible monarch he once believed he was. In the hope of retrieving his fortune in the field he recalled the duke de Vendôme from Italy to take the command which had been entrusted to the incompetent and presumptuous Villeroy. But it is said that misfortunes seldom come alone, and there are certainly many examples in the history of nations, as of individuals, in which this saying is exemplified. And so it was with the French at this period. The French monarch, Louis XIV., hoped that his misfortunes in Flanders might in some degree be compensated by the capture of Turin, the capital of the duke of Savoy. But that hope was in vain. The duke de Vendôme was succeeded in the supreme command in Italy by the duke of Orleans. The commencement of the campaign in Italy had been favourable to France and Spain. The duke of Berwick had captured Nice, and Vendôme had defeated the Germans at Calcinato. Turin was invested, and the fate of the war seemed to depend on its capture. The duke of Savoy had retired with a few troops to the valley of Lucerne among his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois, leaving the defence of his capital to a garrison. And bravely did that garrison hold out against the enemy. The siege was protracted from June to September, when it was relieved by an event, as unlooked for as it was welcome. Prince Eugene, who commanded the German army, was beyond the Adige, and to all appearance unable to afford the garrison, who were hard pressed, any relief; the besiegers being protected by formidable entrenchments, which extended all the way between the Doria and Stura, at the junction of which Turin is situated. It seemed certain that the city must fall. The ammunition of the garrison was beginning to fail, while the besiegers were well provided with all the munitions of war. But Prince Eugene, like Marlborough, was no common commander. Before he left Italy the duke de Vendôme had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, thereby hoping to hinder the imperial general from arriving in time to save the city. But the prince surmounted all opposition. In the first week of September he reached the neighbourhood of Turin, and being joined by the duke of Savoy, on a sudden he attacked the French entrenchments, and after an obstinate conflict for two hours entered their camp and drove them from the field. The victory was as signal as that of Ramilies. About nine thousand of the French were either slain or taken prisoners, and all their war material, together with their tents and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. Among the slain was the brave General Marsin, and the duke of Orleans was himself wounded. The duke retreated into Dauphiné. By this victory

Piedmont, the Milanese, the state of Modena, of Mantua, and the kingdom of Naples, were lost to the House of Bourbon. The war had beggared her resources, and as a temporary remedy paper money was now first issued. It would appear that Louis made overtures for peace, but they were unheeded: the allies hoped further to reduce his power.

In Spain, however, the French had some gleams of success; though they were mingled with disasters. In the spring of this year Peterborough and Galway proposed marching upon Madrid: the one marching from the shores of the Mediterranean, and the other from the frontiers of Portugal. They were yet meditating this enterprise when King Philip, at the head of a French and Spanish army, left the capital, and marched to Barcelona in the hope of recovering it. Philip invested that city by land, while the count de Toulouse bombarded it by sea. Philip's hated rival Charles was in the town, and Peterborough flew to its relief. His force, however, was so insignificant that he could not have hoped to raise the siege. But the siege was raised notwithstanding. Philip had taken the castle, when on the appearance of an English fleet, under Vice-admiral Leak, that of the French under the count de Toulouse sailed away without firing a shot, and then Philip retreated. Meanwhile Galway was moving from the Portuguese frontier on Madrid. On his arrival there Philip had returned to the capital, and the duke of Berwick was there also to aid in its defence; but no defence was made. Dispirited and discomfited, Philip left his capital, and Galway entered it without striking a blow. But it was scarcely lost when it was again won. Having received reinforcements from France, Philip and Berwick returned, and Galway marched out at their approach towards Aragon. His object was to form a junction there with Peterborough and King Charles, and then to return to Madrid and place Charles on the throne. But that object was defeated by the caution or cowardice, or both combined, of the Austrian prince himself. Charles hesitated to venture so far into the interior of Spain. He did not join Galway before August, and then it was at Guadalaxara. And even then, with their combined forces, Charles was fearful of marching upon Madrid. It was in vain that Peterborough urged him to march forward and place the crown of Spain on his brow: he would not move, so he left him and returned to the coast of Spain, where he assisted in the siege of Alicant, which was taken by the allies; after which he sailed to Genoa to borrow money from that republic for the confederacy. The campaign in Spain ended ingloriously. After Peterborough's departure there was nothing but quarrelling among the leaders of the allied forces; and as Berwick was marching against them with a superior force, they retreated to Valencia. Before the end of the campaign the duke of Berwick retook Carthagena; but that loss was perhaps balanced by the reduction of Majorca and Ivica, which Vice-admiral Leak subjected to the dominion of the Archduke Charles. The chief blame of the failure of the operations in Spain was attributed by Galway and the other generals to Charles himself, but there were evidently faults on both sides. Nor were they alone to blame. The whole management of the campaign was miserable in the extreme. There was an English fleet in the Mediterranean with about eight thousand well-disciplined troops on board, half of whom perished from disease while they were sailing to and fro, doing nothing but threatening to make a descent on the coasts of France.

During this year an event took place which must be ever memorable in the annals of our national history. That event was the union of England with Scotland. Looking at the geographical position of the two nations, divided only by an ideal line, and reflecting upon the fact that they had been partially united ever since the accession of James I. of Scotland to the English throne, each successive sovereign from that period wearing the crown of both kingdom, such an event appears only natural. On the other hand, as Burton observes, "If those continental nations which had been for centuries accustomed to see annexations, partitions, and the enlargement of empires by marriage and succession, had been told how many different parties and interests it was necessary to bring to one set of conclusions, before the desired end could be accomplished, they would have deemed the project utterly insane; as, indeed, it would have been, if laid before nations less endowed with practical sense and business habits."

It was when the aversion between the two kingdoms seemed at its greatest height, that negotiations for a union were seriously entered into. In the spring of this year thirty-one commissioners were appointed on each side to settle the terms. They met on the 16th of April in the Cockpit at Whitehall, and continued their sittings till the 22nd of July, when the articles of the union were finally agreed upon. It was a task of some difficulty; some of the Scottish commissioners, although appointed by the queen, being violent opposers of the union. The very first article proposed by the English commissioners was a stumbling-block to those of Scotland. That article was an entire union of the two kingdoms. There was to be one kingdom, one crown, and one parliament. At this the Scottish commissioners demurred. They would agree to no such proposition. They proposed that the crown of Scotland should descend according to the Act of Settlement; that there should be mutual free trade, and mutual rights—a federal union. But the English commissioners declined to proceed with the negotiations on such terms. Nothing, they said, but an entire union of the two kingdoms would secure a perfect and lasting friendship. There was a warm debate, but the English commissioners having conceded the demand made by those of Scotland that there should be reciprocity of citizenship, and privileges of trade, it was at length agreed that there should be "an entire and incorporating union, by which the two nations should be formed into one government, be under one sovereign head, in one represented body, standing upon one foundation, enjoying equal privileges, and in common bearing one general proportion of burdens, the same in end and mean, having but one common interest, one name, and being for ever hereafter but one people." The fundamental principle of the union being thus settled, the commissioners proceeded to discuss the question of the "proportion of burdens." It was a delicate matter, as it involved many particular interests, supposed or real, but by mutual compromise it was satisfactorily adjusted. There was to be a system of equal duties upon imports and exports, thus establishing a freedom of trade and commerce; and if any disadvantages arose to Scotland from being subjected to a joint principle of finance, a money payment was insured by the English commissioners as an equivalent. Much discussion arose concerning duties of excise; but these, as well as the land tax, were settled in a manner favourable to Scotland. Then came the question of the representation of Scotland in parliament: forty-five members were to have seats in the House of Commons, and sixteen peers were to be elected out of the hundred and forty-four peers of Scotland, to represent the kingdom in the House of Lords. Henceforth parliament was to be called the parliament of Great Britain. All the laws of Scotland were to remain in force, except those relating to trade, customs, and excise, subject, nevertheless, to alterations by the united legislature. All laws relating to public policy were to be alterable at the discretion of parliament, but laws relating to private rights were not to be altered except for the evident utility of the people of Scotland. As regards the Scottish Church, the commissioners wisely forbore to interfere with its constitution and rights as by law established. Finally, the standards of coin, weights, and measures, were to be the same in both countries; and to renounce national distinctions, the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be united in flags, banners, standards, and ensigns. Such were the leading features of the articles of this ever-memorable union. Sir Walter Scott accuses the Scottish commissioners of having "sold their own honour and that of Scotland" for gold; they having, he avers, been given to understand that a considerable sum out of the equivalent money would be secured for their especial service. This is more than doubtful; but if they were venal, the final settlement of the union did not rest with them, as the articles they had agreed upon had yet to be sanctioned by the Scottish parliament before the union was consummated.

It was on the 3rd of October that the duke of Queensberry, as lord commissioner for Queen Anne, opened that parliament, the last that ever sat in Edinburgh. He produced and read the queen's letter, which informed the Estates of Scotland that the articles of the treaty of union had been agreed upon, and expressed a hope that they would be immediately adopted. The royal letter, which was no doubt indited by Chancellor Somers, eloquently dilated on the advantages which would accrue to both nations, and especially to Scotland, by an entire and perfect union between the two kingdoms. It would prove to be a solid foundation for a lasting peace; would secure their religion, liberty, and property; would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; and would remove the animosities that subsisted among themselves, and the jealousies that had so long existed between the two nations. Hitherto the articles of the union had been a state secret; but after reading the queen's letter the duke of Queensberry informed the Estates that the treaty was ready to be laid before them. It was recited in parliament, and after a short debate was ordered to be printed, and copies to be delivered to all the members of parliament. Hitherto everything had gone on smoothly. The queen's letter, and the glowing advocacy of the measure by Queensberry and the earl of Seafield, chancellor of Scotland, silenced the voice of opposition in parliament. The people too had been soothed by favourable reports of the articles of the treaty, so that it was hoped that it would be adopted with unanimity. But underneath this seeming calm there was a hidden storm which, when the terms of the treaty became known, broke forth with the utmost fury. The House had adjourned for seven days, and during that adjournment great pains were taken to rouse the people to a tumultuous opposition. All classes arrayed themselves against the treaty. But the popular arguments against the union had reference to nationality. It was urged that the treaty was dishonourable, as it surrendered the separate sovereignty and constitution of Scotland and laid her at the mercy of an ancient and implacable enemy. Scotland would become by the union a satrapy to England. The dignity of a kingdom which had defended her liberty against England for ages would be destroyed, and her brave sons would be made slaves. True, she would be represented at Westminster, but her members would have no potent voice in that assembly. Being so few in number they would only sit there for form's sake, and to be laughed at by the English majority. But one of the most popular arguments against the union concerned the Kirk of Scotland. That, it was urged, would become subject to the episcopal hierarchy of England, who would never rest satisfied till they had once more set up bishops and those other priests of Baal that had in former times caused so much misery and bloodshed in the kingdom. From many causes there arose a loud cry among the people of, "No union." It was in the midst of this cry—raised alike by Jacobites and Presbyterians, by Non-jurors and Cameronians, by Papists and reformed Protestants—that the Scottish parliament reassembled to consider the articles of the union. During their deliberations the ferment daily increased. The whole kingdom seemed bent upon risking a war rather than submit to the proposed union of the two kingdoms. Addresses were sent up from the burghs and counties, some courteous in their language and others menacing, but all denouncing the incorporating principles of the union. In Edinburgh the people were exceedingly riotous. They even resorted to intimidation. While those nobles who opposed the union, as the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Lords Annandale and Belhaven, whenever they appeared in public were cheered and blessed; those who advocated it, as Queensberry, Stair, Argyll, and Seafield, were hooted and cursed. Defoe, who was engaged in a semi-official capacity in Edinburgh, asserts that if the articles of the treaty had been published before the commissioners returned home, and the feuds had been the same against them as they were afterwards, they would not have dared to return without a guard to protect them. Their lives were in danger. Thus on the 23rd of October, the populace attacked the residence of Sir Patrick Johnstone, one of the commissioners of the treaty; and though no man was more popular " over the whole city " before he sat on that commission, if the guards had not appeared to his rescue, he would have been torn to pieces without mercy. Six of the ringleaders were arrested, but the mob when driven from his house proceeded to acts of wanton mischief, and it was midnight before they were wholly dispersed. The duke of Queensberry wisely abstained from any severities upon the rioters; but from that night the foot guards and two other regiments of infantry did constant duty in the city. The employment of troops in the city was warmly protested against by the lords in parliament, and out of doors a loud cry was raised that the privileges of the old town were invaded; that traitors were cramming the union down their throats with swords and bayonets, and that ministers, because they had a majority in the House, and soldiers to back them without, were forcing an odious incorporation of Scotland with England.

Ministers had a majority, but the union was sternly opposed by the minority. There was an interval in the proceedings of the Scottish parliament when each party was gathering strength for the political conflict. The whole month of October was spent in reading and debating, article by article, the treaty of union. It was seen by those preliminary debates that the whole would be approved by parliament, and hence the tumultuous proceedings in Edinburgh. The opposition in parliament was led by the four noblemen, who were blessed and cheered by the people of Edinburgh whene'er they took " their walks abroad." That of the duke of Hamilton was comparatively mild. Although the mob followed him with the cry of " God bless your grace for standing up against the union, and for your country," he does not appear to have been the warmest of patriots. Smollett says that it was difficult to ascertain his real political principles, and asserts that, though he was generally supposed to favour the cause of the Pretender, he was fearful of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussions of the treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament and forfeit his English estates. But this appears to be mere supposition. Hamilton warmly protested against the primary article, as well as the vote that sufficient security was given to the Kirk, and the determination to push forward the treaty with all possible expedition, which is a proof that he had no fear of any such consequences as stated by Smollett from his opposition. It would rather appear that the heat of his opposition having gone thus far, was cooled down from a communication received from the court of St. Germains, with which he was carrying on a correspondence, to the effect that the Pretender desired to give his sister a proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; "not doubting he would one day have it in his power to restore to Scotland its ancient weight and independence." It may be, also, that if the commissioners, as is related, received the sum of twenty thousand pounds from England to help forward the treaty, he may have been one of those who participated in its distribution. Few patriots are proof against the touch of gold. Other means seem to have been employed equally potent as gold to gain over the patriots, and hush the voice of opposition; such as liberal promises of places, honours, and court distinctions, and remuneration to those who had suffered most in the Darien expedition. Whatever may have been the causes, it is certain that, notwithstanding the opposition in the Scottish parliament, and the threatening attitude of the Scottish people, not only in Edinburgh, but in Glasgow, Perth, Hamilton, Dumfries, and other places, who saw in the union " death to their liberty, to their religion, and to their country," from the commencement of the battle the Scottish ministers and commissioners were sanguine of victory. When the vote was taken upon the first article of the treaty of union, namely, " That the two kingdoms shall upon the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain," this article was carried by a majority in each estate; that is, of peers, of barons, or representatives of counties, and of representatives of towns. " It was passed," says Defoe, " after infinite struggles, clamours, railings, and tumult of a party, who, however they endeavoured to engage the honest, scrupulous part of the people with them, yet gave this evident discovery of their own actings, in that there was an entire conjunction of the Jacobite, the prelatic, and the popish interest; and the very discovery of this opened the eyes of a great many people, who in the simplicity of their hearts had joined in the general opposition to the union; but when they saw the tendency of things and whither it all led; when they saw the society they were going to embark with; when they saw the enemies of the Protestant settlement all engaged, and those very people who had filled the land with the groans of oppression and the cries of blood coming to join hands with them against a union with England, then the best, the most thinking, and most judicious of the people began first to stop and consider, and afterwards wholly to withdraw from the party; and the clamour of the people, as if come to a crisis, began not to be so universal but to abate; and the more it did so, the more the secret party, who lay at the bottom of all the rest, began to appear and distinguish themselves." Defoe manifestly writes with a strong political bias. The "secret party" who distinguished themselves, after the fundamental proposition of the treaty was affirmed, were not all the factious opponents he would insinuate. A stern love of national liberty characterizes most of the outpourings of the Scottish orators against the treaty. There were some who believed—honestly believed—that the Scottish commissioners had betrayed their country, and could it be expected that such men could keep silence? Fletcher of Saltoun boldly charged them with this crime, and when called upon for an explanation, he asserted that he could find no other term to express his ideas of their conduct, and courted a vote of censure upon himself if the House thought him guilty, which was never proposed. Every article of the treaty was hotly disputed, but none more so than that which stipulated that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament. This was "the keenest cut of all" to the opponents of the union. The glories of the past rose in vision before them, and they saw nothing but humiliation for the ancient kingdom of Scotland in the future. The most admired display of oratory against the union was made by the youthful nobleman, Lord Belhaven. Burton says it "was circulated in all known shapes among the people, passed through unnumbered editions, and was so plentifully dispersed that a book collector seldom buys a volume of Scottish political pamphlets of the early part of the eighteenth century which does not contain 'The speech of the Lord Belhaven on the Subject-matter of a Union between the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England.'" It was a speech of noble eloquence; mingled, however, with much that savours of pedantry. His rhetoric was superior to his logic. Smollett says his speech drew tears from the audience, and that in his time it was looked upon as a prophecy by a great part of the Scottish nation. It is difficult to discover in what portion of it there is any claim to the merit of a prediction. It savours more of the character of a pathetic lamentation for glories passed away. His oration commences thus :—"When I consider the affair of an union, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation, I find my mind crowded with a variety of melancholy thoughts, and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them by laying them before, and exposing them to, the serious consideration of this honourable House. I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of Nimrod; yea, that for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were, to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other. I think I see a national church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and most pointed legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries. I think I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies, upon their own proper charges and expenses, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon an equal foot with their vassals; and I think I see a petty English exciseman receive more homage and respect than what was formerly paid to their quondam Macallamores. I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the Court of Requests, like so many English attorneys, laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder." In his vision Belhaven fancied he saw many other things which never came to pass. As a climax to his vision the orator exclaimed that, "above all," he thought he saw Caledonia, "like Cæsar sitting in the midst of the senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garments, awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an *et tu quoque mi fili.*" All this was very pathetic. It was an appeal to the national feelings of the orator's audience well calculated at such a time to elicit their sympathy and their tears. But it was wholly visionary. It was pathos without reason. But the most singular and illogical part of Belhaven's speech is that in which he contrasts England and Scotland. "We are the successors of those who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and who during the space of two thousand years have handed them down to us with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealously plead for those rights which our renowned progenitors so dearly purchased? Shall we hold our peace when our country is in danger? God forbid! England is a great and glorious nation. Her armies are numerous, powerful, and victorious; her trophies splendid and memorable; she disposes of the fate of kingdoms; her navy is the terror of Europe; her trade and commerce encircle the globe; and her capital is the emporium of the universe. But we are a poor and obscure people, in a remote corner of the world, without name and without alliances: our posts are mean and precarious. What hinders us then to lay aside our divisions to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty, which is alone our boast, when our all, our very existence as a nation, is at stake? Hannibal is at our gates. He is within our gates; he is come within the length of this table; he is at the foot of this throne. If we take not notice he will seize upon these regalia: he will take them as our *spolia opima*, and whip us out of this house never to return again." Of such incongruous material was this most admired oration uttered in the Scottish parliament against the union. When Belhaven ceased his celebrated oration the earl of Marchmont sarcastically remarked that he had heard a long and terrible speech, to which he would only give this short answer: "Behold I dreamed, but lo! when I awoke, I found it was a dream." Mr. Seton of Pitmeddin, one of the Scottish commissioners, spoke more to the purpose. His strong common sense of the measure contrasts strangely with the rhetorical visions of Belhaven. He contended that a federal instead of an incorporating union, which had many advocates, was a delusion. "This nation," he said, "is behind all other nations of Europe, for many years, with respect to the effect of an extended trade. This nation being poor, and without force to protect its commerce, cannot reap great advantages by it, till it partake of the trade and protection of some powerful neighbouring nation that can communicate both these." Seton held that if Scotland desired to extend her commerce it was necessary that she should form an alliance with some neighbour nation. Such an alliance, he said, could only be sought with Holland, England, or France; other countries being so remote and poor that their friendships would be of little service to them. He then went on to show which of the three nations, as allies, would be the best for Scotland. And an alliance with Holland, he contended, if it could be brought about—which was doubtful—would bring no advantages; and with France, but few, unless the old offensive and defensive league between that country and Scotland was renewed, and then there would be war with England. And supposing

England to be conquered by the united arms of France and Scotland, Seton demonstrated that Scotland could not hope to better its present state by that conquest, as the conqueror "would make her residence in England, as formerly the northern people used to do in their southern expeditions." "From all these considerations," he continued, "I can see that this nation, by an entire separation from England, cannot extend its trade, so as to raise its power in proportion to other trafficking nations in Europe; but that hereby we may be in danger of returning to that Gothic constitution of government wherein our forefathers were, which was frequently attended with feuds, murders, depredations and rebellions." On the other hand, Seton asserted that by an incorporating union the people of Scotland would have access to all the advantages in commerce which the English enjoyed; that they would be capable by a good government to improve their natural products for the benefit of the whole island; and that their liberty, property, and religion would be secured under the protection of one sovereign, and one parliament of Great Britain. The resentment of the Scottish clergy was disarmed by a separate Act providing for the security of the church: which Act was to be repeated as a part of any Act of the Scottish or English parliament adopting the union. By that statute every sovereign ascending the throne of Great Britain is bound to take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of the church of Scotland. This concession to the general feelings of the nation removed one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to the consummation of the union, for the clergy of Scotland was a powerful body, able to sway the popular will in politics as well as in matters of religion. It is said, also, that emissaries were employed to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and break up their alliance with the Cavaliers. It is certain that the Cameronians and Jacobites united in their hostility to the union, but it is equally certain that their rage against it—after some rude displays of physical force at Glasgow, "in which no blood was shed," and at Dumfries, where they burned the articles at the market cross, and published a declaration that all who supported the union were enemies and traitors to their country—was soon mollified. Despite all opposition, therefore, from within and without the doors of the Scottish parliament, the treaty of union, on the 16th of January, 1707, was passed by a hundred and ten votes against sixty-nine. Before the estates separated they regulated the election of the representative peers, and the proportion of county and borough members of the Commons, and on the 26th of March the last of the parliaments of Scotland rose never to meet again.

Henceforth England and Scotland became one kingdom, under one sovereign head. And history attests that the union has answered in the end all the noble purposes for which it was intended. Old animosities have been exchanged for a generous rivalry in all that is truly noble and honourable. In the world of commerce; in every field of enterprise; in the camp and in the senate the Scot and the Englishman equally distinguish themselves by their industry, their skill, their valour, and their wisdom. There is a generous partnership between them. Time has shown that Belhaven was an enthusiastic visionary. Their trade and commerce, of which the English were once so jealous of their possessing, is co-extensive with their own. It extends throughout the wide, wide world. They are joint possessors of the greatest offices and distinctions in the British commonwealth. And in the battles of Great Britain, who have more distinguished themselves than the brave sons of Scotland? They have fought their way to honours and distinctions with a valorous chivalry unsurpassed. "Hence," as Smollett remarks, "we may learn that many schemes, which in theory are deemed impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment." It is indisputable that the theory of an union of Scotland with England—if it was a theory—has succeeded to a marvel; and that it has proved a blessing to both nations.

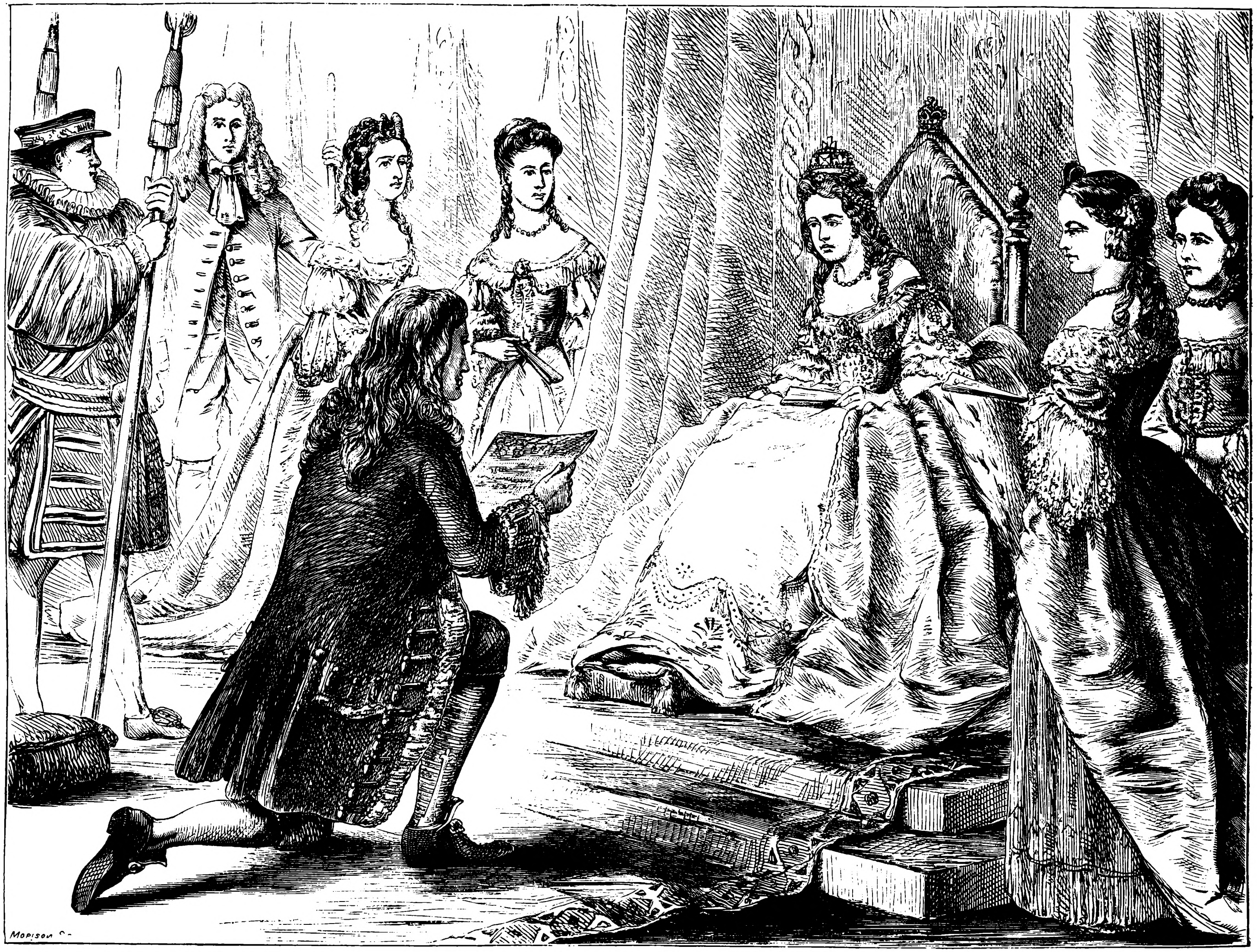
SECTION IV.

The English parliament met on the 3rd of December. In her speech the queen congratulated the two Houses on the successes of her arms, especially at Ramilies. That victory was dwelt upon with much glorification. Hopes were augured from it that the power of France would soon be so broken that it would no longer disturb the repose and endanger the liberties of Europe. There was no thought of peace. The French monarch's proposal of peace, and the great sacrifices he offered to make to obtain it, were not even mentioned. The war was to be carried on with greater vigour than ever. To that end the queen desired the Commons to grant such supplies as would enable her to improve the advantages gained by her arms. Both Houses voted most loyal addresses. The Lords expressed their high satisfaction at the declaration made by her majesty's ministers to her allies that no negotiations for peace should be entered upon but in conjunction with all the members of the grand alliance. The French monarch had offered for himself and his grandson to transfer part of the Spanish dominions to the Austrian prince; but their lordships urged that the whole Spanish monarchy should be secured to him as the only condition of peace with France. The Commons were equally warlike in their sentiments as the Peers. Both Houses fancied that France herself might be conquered, and there were many who even thought that the country might be divided among the allies. The supplies granted by the Commons were on the most liberal scale; nearly six millions being voted for the ensuing year. In congratulating the queen on the successes of the war, honourable mention was made of its hero, Marlborough, who had a few weeks before returned from the Continent. And this was only a prelude to a more substantial mode of acknowledgment for his services. When the Speaker presented the money bills, he told the queen that as the glorious victory of Ramilies was obtained before it was supposed the armies were in the field, so the Commons had granted supplies to her majesty before her enemies could know parliament was sitting. Marlborough was again honoured by the thanks of both Houses, and a bill passed both Houses by which his titles were perpetuated to his posterity. The pension, also, which Anne had granted him—namely, 5000*l.* a year—out of the revenues of the post-office, was by an Act of Parliament settled on his family for ever.

In her opening speech the queen informed the two Houses that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners, was then under the anxious consideration of the Scottish parliament. On the 28th of January she went to the House of Peers and announced that the treaty of union, with some alterations and additions, had been ratified by that assembly. In her speech she said, that it having been agreed by the treaty that Scotland was to have an equivalent for what she was compelled to contribute towards paying the debts of England, she recommended, that if they agreed to the treaty, care should be taken for the due payment of the stipulated equivalent. The mention of money to be paid back to Scotland was by no means an agreeable announcement to many of the members of parliament. Some objections were raised to the union on that point, when the treaty came under discussion. In both Houses, also, other objections were raised against the union. Religious intolerance and insane jealousies combined to defeat the measure, but happily in vain. Meanwhile a bill was brought into the House of Lords for the security of the Church of England, as a fundamental and essential part of the treaty. That bill passed the Lords with unanimity, but the Commons struck out some of its clauses, and made amendments which completely altered its character. There it was simply resolved that the Church of England should be maintained "for ever" in its doctrine and government within the kingdoms of England and Ireland; and that the Act and the articles for establishing Presbytery in Scotland should be ratified and confirmed. By inserting the articles in the preamble of the bill, with the two Acts for the security of the Churches of each country, all debate on the separate clauses of the treaty was prevented. The measure was to be accepted or rejected as a whole, and it was accepted by both Houses in all its integrity. On the 6th of March the queen gave the royal assent to this great political measure of the age in these words:—"My lords and gentlemen, it is with the greatest satisfaction that I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom. I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and, at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all sensible of the good effects of this union. And I cannot but look upon it as a peculiar happiness that, in my reign, so full provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain."

This session is chiefly remarkable for its warlike measures, and its ratification of the treaty of union. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of April. The Whig ministry had proved itself to be all powerful. Before the session commenced, and during its sitting, the cabinet had been greatly strengthened from the ranks of the Whigs. There was in truth but one Tory suffered to retain office; namely, the intriguing and skilful Mr. Secretary Harley. Among the changes was that of the earl of Sunderland, the husband of Lady Churchill, who became one of the secretaries of state, in lieu of Sir Charles Hedges. The three Tory commissioners of the board of trade, among whom was the poet Prior, were removed to make room for Whigs; and Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax, was made solicitor-general. There was not even a Tory allowed to sit in the privy council, for the few who still held seats had their names erased. Whiggism was in the ascendant!

The popularity of the Whigs was chiefly owing to the success of their hero Marlborough. Great expectations were entertained of his next campaign in Flanders. But those expectations were not realized. He was more engaged in 1707 as a diplomatist than a general. Assured of the support of the Whig cabinet, Marlborough left England early in the spring. Having looked to his army in Flanders, he hastened to pay his respects to the "Protestant succession" in Hanover. That was a visit of policy, for by the union the succession of the House of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain was more than ever secured, and by paying court to it Marlborough had his future interests in view. He did not, however, long remain at Hanover. He had an important mission to fulfil. At that time Charles XII. of Sweden was encamped at Alt Ranstadt, in Saxony, only a few marches from the court of Hanover. This young king of Sweden was one of the most extraordinary heroes of the age. In the year 1700 he had, with a small army, defeated the Czar Peter; and later he had first conquered and then deposed Augustus, king of Poland; setting up Stanislaus, a man of noble family, in his place. Augustus was also elector of Saxony; and Charles leading his army thither laid his hereditary dominion under contribution. He had his own ends in view, but what those ends were was a mystery. It was to penetrate into his real intention that Marlborough went on his mission to his camp at Alt Ranstadt. And no better choice could have been made of an ambassador to King Charles. It is related that he was an admirer of the hero of Blenheim and Ramilies; that he loved to hear the recital of those famous battles; and that he had a strong desire to see the renowned English general. It is said, also, that he refused to treat with any other personage. It was on the 28th of April that Marlborough was introduced to Charles XII. He found him to be, as had been



DUKE OF QUEENSFERRY PRESENTING ACT OF UNION TO QUEEN ANNE.

represented, a kind of half barbarian: "ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved." But Charles was not proof against flattery, an art in which Marlborough was an adept. Ignorant of each other's language, their conversation was carried on by means of interpreters. The courtly management of the duke at this audience has been thus described by his biographer Lediard:—"He presented to his Swedish majesty a letter from the queen of Great Britain, and on delivering it made him the following compliment: Sir, I present to your majesty a letter not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen, my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea, to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I am in this particular more happy than the queen; and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war." It has been well observed that the heart has no avenue so open as that of flattery. The Swedish monarch was gratified by this over-strained compliment. He replied that the queen's letter was very acceptable to him; and that he had a great regard for her majesty, and for the interest of the Grand Alliance. He added that he would do nothing to prejudice the common cause or the Protestant religion, of which he should always glory to be a zealous protector. He had just cause for marching into Saxony, but when he had obtained the satisfaction he had demanded, but not before, he would depart from Germany. To secure an influence among the Swedish courtiers who followed Charles—Count Piper Hermelion, and Ciedherholm—Marlborough promised them pensions, paying one year in advance, and then he returned through Hanover to the Hague. The States-General congratulated him on the success of his diplomacy; but it is doubtful if the demands which Charles had made with great insolence on the emperor had not been fully satisfied whether he would have been entitled to that congratulation. Having no further cause to quarrel with the court of Vienna, the Swedish hero marched for Poland, which he found overrun by his rival, the Czar Peter.

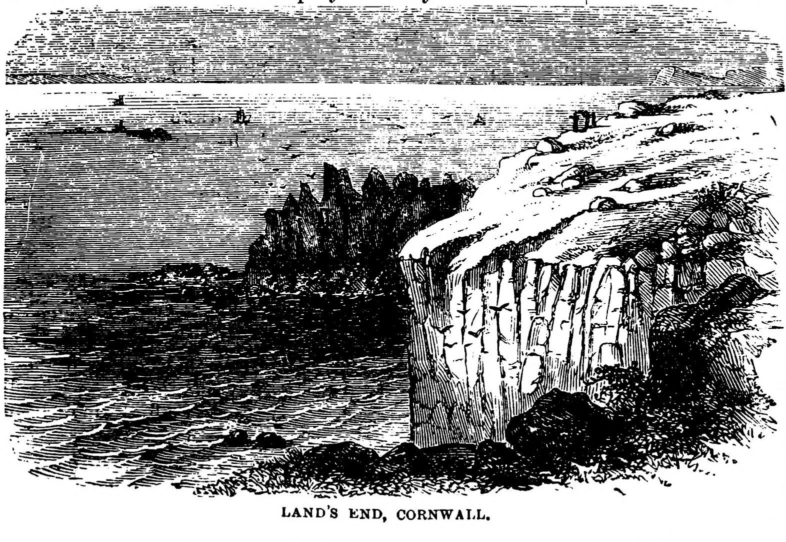
Marlborough now commenced his campaign. But this year no fresh laurels were added to the brow of the conqueror of Blenheim and Ramilies. There was no battle fought in the Netherlands. Vendome, who commanded the French army, stood on the defensive, and it was in vain that Marlborough sought an opportunity of attacking him. It was simply a campaign of strategy, in which neither general could take an advantage. In Spain the allies suffered a signal reverse. Although parliament had magnanimously resolved that King Charles should be put into possession of the whole monarchy of Spain, yet very little was done to strengthen his cause. On the other hand, the French king, having recalled his troops from Italy, after their defeat at Turin, augmented the force requisite for the defence of his grandson Philip. There were still great dissensions in the camp of the allies in Spain. Charles and his Austrian generals continued to quarrel with the English commanders, and the English to quarrel with the Portuguese; and Lord Peterborough had returned to Spain to mingle in the wordy strife. Having no command in the army, he contented himself with serving as a volunteer; but at the same time he took a pleasure in thwarting the designs of the allied commanders. It had been resolved in the winter that the allies should unite their forces and march to Madrid by the way of Aragon; and although Peterborough had in the previous campaign urged Charles to march to the capital, he now opposed it. In the spring the French threatened Catalonia, which still adhered to the cause of King Charles, and he marched with some detachments to Barcelona to defend that province. At the same time Lord Galway and Das Minas took the field with about seventeen thousand men, and laid siege to Villena, in Valencia. They had scarcely commenced the siege, however, when intelligence arrived that the duke of Berwick was approaching by forced marches to encounter them. Raising the siege, they boldly marched to meet him. They met on the 24th of April, which was Easter Monday, on the plain of Almanza. A fierce and bloody battle was fought on that plain. The French and Spanish forces were superior to the allies, especially in cavalry; but for six long hours the English and Dutch infantry withstood the furious and repeated charges of the enemy. But in the end the allies were completely routed. Berwick gained a complete victory. Both Galway and Das Minas were wounded, and about five thousand English, Dutch, and Portuguese were slain. All their artillery, with about one hundred and twenty standards and colours, were taken; and nearly all the rest of the allied army surrendered. The infantry was wholly taken or destroyed; but of the cavalry, about three thousand five hundred, chiefly Portuguese, escaped by an ignominious flight. The victory of Almanza was followed by the recovery of all Spain except Catalonia, in which province the war continued, with the assistance of the English, for three years longer. But the cause of King Charles was, from that fatal Easter Monday, lost. The national feeling in Spain pronounced for King Philip: for the House of Bourbon against the House of Austria.

Meanwhile France itself had been threatened by the allies. While Marlborough was watching and pursuing Vendome in the Netherlands he had concerted a plan with Prince Eugene for the capture of Toulon. It was to be attacked by sea and land. Accordingly Eugene, with the duke of Savoy and thirty thousand men, crossed the Alps by the pass of Col di Tende into the French territories. They made the passage of the Var on the 11th of July, and having dislodged the French from their entrenchments on the right bank of that river, towards the end of the month they encamped near Toulon. A combined fleet of English and Dutch under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel stood off the coast of Provence to co-operate. But they were too late. Warned of the danger, the French court recalled some detachments from the army of the Rhine, and the fortifications of both town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put into a good posture of defence. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation when they found that the enemy had crossed the Alps, and every exertion was made to defeat his purpose. It is said that the nobles of the adjacent provinces pawned their plate and their jewels to pay the workmen employed in repairing the fortifications, and that they armed their servants and tenants and marched at their head into the city to defend it. It was a danger to be avoided. Had the allies succeeded, they would not only have severed Provence from France, but other provinces, as well as destroyed her maritime power in that quarter, and her means of transporting troops and stores to Italy. But the allies had not a sufficient force for such an enterprise. Their numbers were insufficient to invest the place, or prevent the communication between the garrison and the army, which was under the command of Marshal Tessé. Perceiving the formidable position of the French, who were entrenched on the heights, which bristled with guns, surrounding Toulon, Prince Eugene proposed an instant retreat; but overruled by the duke of Savoy, an attack was made upon an outwork on the hill of St. Catherine, and upon two small forts near the harbour. That attack was successful, but at a great cost of life; and the French having, on the 15th of August, recovered the position of St. Catherine, the expedition was abandoned. But before the allies retired, the duke of Savoy, in revenge for the ruin of his capital, Turin, resolved to bombard Toulon. In this act of destruction the fleet was the chief agent. The bombardment from the sea was terrible. A great part of the city was destroyed, and eight ships of the line lying in the harbour and two batteries were destroyed. While the cannon were still roaring and the fires were blazing, the allies, under cover of the night of the 25th of August, made a precipitate retreat, and as there was no pursuit, got safe across the Alps back into Italy. On his return, the duke of Savoy captured Susa, an ancient town at the foot of the Alps, one of the best defences of Turin on the side of France.

The fate of Sir Cloudesley Shovel was very melancholy. He was one of the best naval commanders of the age. Born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk, he had raised himself to the chief command at sea by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity. At the time when James II. employed every art to seduce the commanders of the English fleets he proved himself to be faithful and incorruptible. That he was tempted to betray his trust is clear, for a Jacobite emissary paid this high tribute to his character: "He was not a man to be spoken to." In the siege of Toulon he had accomplished all that naval daring could effect. That was his last exploit. Leaving Sir Thomas Dilke with a portion of his fleet in the Mediterranean, with fifteen ships of the line he returned homewards. But he never reached home alive. On the night of the 22nd of October his flagship, the Associate, together with the Eagle and the Romney, were wrecked on the rocks of Scilly, and he and all their crews perished. Burnet has thus recorded this catastrophe:—"When Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sailing home with the great ships, by an unaccountable carelessness and security he and two other capital ships ran foul upon those rocks beyond the Land's End known by the name of the Bishop and his Clerks, and they were in a minute broken to pieces, so that not a man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no wind, otherwise the whole fleet had perished with them: all the rest tacked in time, and so they were saved. Thus one of the greatest seamen of the age was lost by an error in his own profession, and a great mis-reckoning." The admiral's body was cast ashore by the waves, and when discovered it was conveyed to London, and buried with all honour in that illustrious house of the dead—Westminster Abbey.

The loss of these three ships of the line was not the only disaster encountered at sea. As a convoy of five ships of the line were guarding a fleet of merchantmen to Lisbon with stores and horses for the king of Portugal, they were attacked off the Lizard by a squadron of French ships from Brest and Dunkirk, and one was blown up and three captured. Most of the merchantmen, notwithstanding, reached their destination.

In every quarter during this year there was disaster and disappointment. As in Spain and the Netherlands, so on the Rhine, the arms of the allies were unprosperous. At the commencement of the campaign the French still held possession of Strasburg, and old Marshal Villars crossing the river at that city, drove the imperialists before him and captured Radstadt. He even penetrated to the Danube, and threatened to overrun Bavaria. Had he not been checked in his career, in all probability he would have recovered Bavaria for the elector. At this time the prince of Baden was dead, and the command of the imperialists was assumed by the elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England. The elector was a brave soldier, but it may be questioned if he would have proved a match for the dashing and daring Villars. However, his skill as a general was not put to the test during this campaign. A detachment from the army of the Rhine being recalled for the defence of



LAND'S END, CORNWALL.

Toulon, Villars was compelled to retrace his steps from the Danube and repass the Rhine at Strasburg.

The union was not yet productive of peace and goodwill in Scotland. The measure was far from receiving the general sanction of its people. The surrender of their nationality deeply wounded their feelings. They held that their legislative existence had been shamefully bartered away for English gold, and that everything dear to them as a nation was cast under the feet of the English people. The Scots had been accustomed to farm their duties upon a system of composition for the taxpayers, and they had no notion of submitting to the accurate measurement of taxable articles by the exciseman. The new customs imposed upon them, also, were obnoxious, and they soon sought to evade them by a contraband trade. For a time the whole commerce of Scotland was at a stand-still, thereby greatly increasing the universal discontent. Then, again, the equivalent money was long in arriving from England. War had greatly drained the English exchequer. It was finally sent partly in specie, and partly in bills; but when it arrived it was either applied for corrupt purposes, or divided with the most glaring partiality. Everything was wrong, and nothing right. The union seemed to have made matters between the two nations worse than ever. There was no hearty reciprocity in the new relationship of the two kingdoms. There were heart-burnings on both sides of the Tweed, fatal to the peace and goodwill which the more eminent statesmen of both kingdoms hoped and expected would be the fruits of their great work. As a body the Scots were still anti-unionists: as a people the English stood aloof from the Scots.

Such was the temper of the Scottish nation, that they wanted nothing but leaders to appeal from their parliament to the decision of the sword. It is on record that the populace were so eager to take up arms that the nobility and chiefs were compelled to avoid mingling with their vassals for fear of being insulted for not leading them into the field of battle. As might have been expected, the court of St. Germains were not unconcerned at this state of affairs in Scotland. There was great loyalty displayed in that kingdom towards the Chevalier St. George—the Pretender—by all classes of the community, Jacobites, Presbyterians, Covenanters, and Cameronians. The hopes of the court of St. Germains, which had long lain dormant, revived. Of himself the Chevalier St. George could do nothing. Like his father, he was entirely dependent on the bounty and favour of the old king of France. And Louis was inclined to aid in the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the throne of Scotland, if he could see his way clearly, especially as a civil war in Great Britain would favour his cause on the Continent. Having this end in view, Louis and his financial and war minister, Chamillart, sent over Colonel Hooke to Scotland to learn the situation, number, and ability of the friends of the Chevalier St. George in that country. In truth, Hooke was an emissary of the courts of Versailles and St. Germains, to stir up the disaffected in Scotland to an insurrection. He was to assure the Scots that France was ready to aid them in an invasion of England, if they were willing in sufficient numbers to engage in the enterprise. Hooke's report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation was so favourable that Louis resolved to equip an armament to conduct the Pretender to Scotland. Hooke reported that the greatest part of Scotland was well-affected towards the rightful king, and that all the nation were exceedingly exasperated against the English. Even the Presbyterians, he said, the ancient enemies of the House of Stuart, looked upon the Chevalier St. George as their only resource. They had offered to arm thirteen thousand men, and to begin the war on receiving the order from the French king: all they wanted was a shipload of gunpowder, and a promise that the Chevalier St. George would put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland. Hooke also represented that the principal lords of Scotland were of the same opinion as the Presbyterians. They had bound themselves to march into England at the head of thirty thousand men, and all they wanted were arms and an assurance of the probability of the success of their enterprise. Except the duke of Hamilton, and a lord who was a friend of his, all were unanimous. Hooke was even persuaded that the nobility of Scotland would prove themselves to be in a condition to do more than they had promised. He wrote thus at the very outset of his mission, and throughout his correspondence with the courts of Versailles and St. Germains his reports were of a similar character.

Meanwhile the French monarch had been making preparations at Dunkirk for the expedition. A squadron was assembled there, and a body of land forces embarked on board. The Chevalier St. George was there. He was to lead them, with the forces of his ancient realm, to victory. They were to win for him the two crowns which had been worn by his royal ancestor, James VI. The French king, as he had said to the adventurer's father on parting, so he said with pointed significance to him: "He hoped he should never see him again." It is said that the pope bore a part of the expenses of the expedition, and supplied him with religious inscriptions which were wrought upon his banners and standards. Time was when the sanction of the pontiffs of Rome to a warlike enterprise would have led the warrior on to death or victory. But faith in their influence was a thing of the past. Something more was wanting to induce the expedition to set sail from Dunkirk. It became doubtful whether, notwithstanding the general exasperation in Scotland, the nobility would join heartily in the cause of the Pretender. Hooke returned to France with a memorial to Louis XIV., signed by certain Scottish nobles, promising to join the Pretender on his arrival, but not a name among them was of any note except that of Errol. It is true that Hooke represented Errol had signed for others as great and noble as himself—such as the earls of Caithness, Eglintoun, Aberdeen, Buchan, and others, but this was not very satisfactory. The French court had directed him to get all the principal men of the country to sign the document. And those lords and lairds who did sign it still insisted upon having a sufficient body of troops to aid them in their enterprise before they committed themselves, and all that was dear to them, to the hazard of a battle. Moreover they wanted something with which the French monarch could not supply them—money. If Hooke had been plentifully supplied with cash, it is probable that the returning loyalty of the Scots for the House of Stuart would have been greatly quickened. But this was not the only obstacle to the carrying out of the enterprise. Secretly as Hooke had carried on his negotiations, the design of the courts of Versailles and St. Germains became known to the English government. The duke of Queensberry had a most useful spy in his service, in the person of John Ker of Kersland. Ker mingled in all the movements of the discontented Scots, wormed out their secrets, and forthwith unfolded them to the duke. He appears to have had great influence with them, and especially with the Cameronians. According to his own account, he could not only excite them to insurrection and then, betray them, but could and did persuade them not to rise. It was Ker that informed Queensberry that there was a project to bring in the Pretender. It seems certain, indeed, that this "worthy patriot" did good service to the government by his warnings. The duke repaired to London; and in January, 1708, the British government was carefully observing the preparations for an armament at Dunkirk. Ker's tale had been confirmed by information received from Holland and the Netherlands; and a large fleet was hastily equipped to watch the movements of the invaders. That fleet was under the command of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley. When it appeared off Mardyke the French were amazed and confounded. They had imagined that the English fleet had sailed to Lisbon, and that the British coasts were undefended. Admiral Fourbin, who commanded the French fleet, saw his danger. He represented to the French king that danger, but he finally received positive orders to embark, and set sail with the first favourable wind. Accordingly, early in March fifteen battalions and three hundred volunteers were embarked, and a fleet of twenty-eight vessels, with the Pretender on board, came out of Dunkirk. At that time the British fleet had been forced from their station by severe weather. With a fair breeze the invaders steered their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng was at Ostend when he heard that the French had set sail. They had eight hours' start of him, but he gave chase to them. He sailed directly to the Frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy. There was no attempt at landing. When the English squadron appeared, Fourbin, taking advantage of a land breeze, sailed in hot haste into the North Sea. Admiral Byng gave chase, and one of the French ships, the Salisbury, was boarded and captured. The rest, under cover of the night, altered their course, and on the next day were out of the reach of the English squadron. It was with reluctance that the Chevalier St. George turned his back upon Scotland. It was his desire that the expedition should proceed northward, and land at Inverness. He was resolved, he said, to remain in Scotland, should none follow him but his own domestics. But Admiral Fourbin did not indulge him in his quixotic resolution. The wind happening to blow in his teeth, Fourbin represented that there was danger in prosecuting the voyage, and the Chevalier St. George and his French warriors returned to Dunkirk. It seems clear, indeed, that had it not been for the activity of Sir George Byng, the French would have made a descent; and had they done so government would have been most seriously embarrassed. If, in truth, the Pretender had landed, with the forces at his command, he would have been more likely to have succeeded in his enterprise than in the rebellion of 1715, in which, it will be seen, he figured so ingloriously. That the authorities of Edinburgh felt there was danger is clear, for Sir George Byng received the freedom of that city in a golden box, in token of gratitude for his having effected their deliverance.

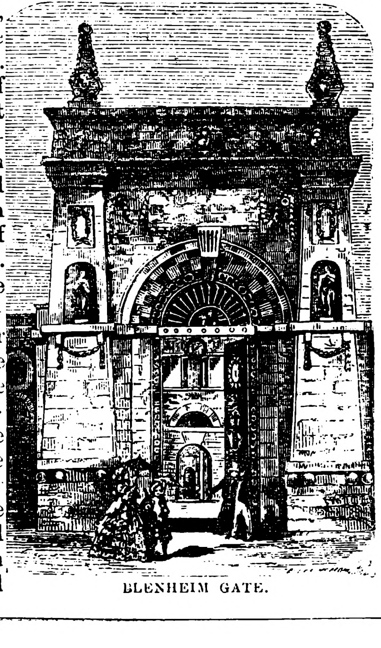
The first parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October, 1707. It was in no very placable temper. A formidable opposition had recently been concocted against the measures of Marlborough and Godolphin. So long as the people were amused with splendid victories there were no complaints about the burdens of the war, but the recent reverses at Almanza and Toulon gave rise to a general desire for peace. Marlborough and Godolphin were highly averse to pacific measures. On his return to England Marlborough strongly opposed the current of opinion which had set in among both Whigs and Tories for peace. The lord treasurer and the general had much difficulty in keeping the war spirit alive in the nation. And if they had opposition from without, they had mortal enemies within the circle of Queen Anne's court. Dark intrigues were being carried on there to uproot their influence and power. Some years before the duchess of Marlborough had introduced Abigail Hill, a poor cousin, within the precincts of the court. Abigail Hill had now become Mrs. Masham, and Mrs. Masham was rapidly supplanting the duchess in the queen's favour. And, what was more daring and ungrateful of this "poor cousin" of the duchess, it was discovered that Mr. Secretary Harley was strengthening his interest at court by her means, in order to secure the downfall of her husband and the lord treasurer Godolphin. It was during these intrigues that parliament assembled. There was a difference of opinion as to whether it should be considered an old or a new parliament. On this point the duke of Marlborough and Harley were at issue. But Marlborough prevailed. It was held to be a new parliament, because it had been revived by a proclamation, and all the usual forms in the first beginning of a new parliament were accordingly observed. Mr. Smith was again chosen Speaker by the Commons. The queen met her parliament on the 6th of November. Her speech was not desponding, but it was by no means so confident as that of the previous year. The miscarriages in Provence and Spain were greatly palliated in the words that fell from the royal lips. The failure of the attempt upon Toulon was represented as being attended with signal advantages to the common cause of the allies; and though the French had gained ground in Spain, they had been driven out of Italy, by which it would be more easy for all the allies to join their assistance in the next campaign for enabling King Charles to recover his affairs in that kingdom and reduce the whole Spanish monarchy to his obedience. On the Rhine it was frankly admitted that the posture of affairs was gloomy, but now that the elector of Hanover had assumed the command in that quarter it was hinted that in the next campaign they would become brighter. There was an assured hope for the future; but, added the queen, "it will be necessary to augment the supplies." The address of the Commons was all that the queen could wish: it expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her majesty's power and government. The queen, in referring to the union in her speech, expressed a hope that the designs of those who had made use of it to foment disturbances had been defeated. The Commons, in reply, gratefully acknowledged the Divine goodness in making her majesty the glorious instrument of uniting the two kingdoms, and assured her that they would embrace every opportunity of improving the union, so as to make the island of Great Britain a terror to all her enemies. As regards the ill-success of her majesty's army in the last campaign, the Commons asserted that they should not discourage them from making their utmost efforts to recover the whole Spanish monarchy. The Lords, however, were not so complaisant as the Commons. When an address to the throne was moved, a vote for a previous inquiry into the state of the nation was carried. In the course of the debate the failures at sea, and the mismanagement of the admiralty, at the head of which was Prince George of Denmark, were severely commented upon. Happy with his 50,000*l.* a year and his bottle, Prince George took very little interest either in politics or naval affairs. The former he was content to leave with his queen and her ministers, and the latter to his council. It was against him, or rather his council, that the complaints uttered in the House of Lords were directed. And those complaints were only the reiteration of the murmurs of the people. The merchants of London especially complained of their losses at sea, and the ruin of their foreign trade for want of cruisers and proper convoys. Lord Haversham embodied the murmurs of the people in his denunciations. His lordship appears to have been honest in his denunciations. It was from no factious motive that he denounced the mismanagement of the admiralty. Some noble lords, it is said, supported the motion in order to remove Prince George from the admiralty and to drive Harley and St. John from office; and others, to ruin Marlborough and Godolphin with their Whig allies in the cabinet. But after all the inquiry was to little purpose. The committee drew up a report, which was sent to Prince George, and an answer was returned in his name which attempted to justify the several charges it contained. On receiving this answer the Tories, fearful of giving offence to the queen by displacing her husband, and of losing the services of Harley and St. John, who were intriguing in their favour, moved for an address in which all the blame of the miscarriages was attributed to the ministry and cabinet council, but the motion was overruled. The queen was simply presented with a naked relation of the facts, and in reply she promised to protect the trade of her subjects for the future. Having thus settled this grave matter, the Lords, on the 19th of December, presented their address of thanks, in which, like the Commons, they promised to support the war, and expressed their zeal for the preservation of the union. But their lordships had not recovered their good-humour. On the very same day they commenced a warm debate on the affairs of Spain. In all ages the English have ever been impatient of misfortune and of non-success in war, and after the brilliant achievements of Peterborough in Spain, the reverses of the recent campaign were held to be disgraceful. That eccentric, but daring and successful warrior had been recalled to England, and was then in the House. Many of the Tories held that he was a greater general than Marlborough, and a motion of thanks was made for his services. But such a tribute to his merits did not suit the Whigs; and it was negatived. The earl, however, zealously advocated the continuance of the war in Spain. He was ready, he said, to return to that country, and even to serve under the earl of Galway; and rather than the cause of Charles should be lost they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound! It was maintained by the Tory lords that Spain was abandoned to the enemy. Rochester argued that attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns, and that it would be better simply to stand on the defensive there, and to detach from thence fifteen or twenty thousand troops into Catalonia. Flanders was Marlborough's chosen battle-ground, and he therefore warmly opposed its desertion. Spain, he contended, could be won without withdrawing any troops from the Netherlands. Measures, he said, had been already concerted with the emperor for forming an army of forty thousand men in Spain, under the command of the duke of Savoy. This was a quietus to all further opposition. The Lords joined the Commons in an address, in which it was stated that the reduction of the Spanish monarchy was the only ground of a solid peace; and that so long as any part of it remained under the power of the House of Bourbon no peace would either be safe or honourable. The address urged upon her majesty to press the emperor to send the stipulated succours into Spain with all possible expedition, and to strengthen the army on the Rhine, now happily placed under the command of that "wise and valiant prince, the elector of Hanover."

In the meantime the Commons had voted liberal supplies. They had also turned their attention to matters of far greater importance than factious inquiries into mismanagements and failures: inquiries which were scarce intended, even by those who promoted them, to procure redress. In the hope of removing jealousies, religious and political, between the two kingdoms, and to make the union more complete, they adopted various resolutions. Thus they voted that there should be but one privy council in Great Britain; that the militia should be on the same footing in both countries; that the powers of justices of the peace should be the same throughout the United Kingdom; that the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice a year; and that the writs for electing members for Scotland should be returned in the same manner as in England. An Act founded on these resolutions was passed; and a bill was also introduced for repealing the Scottish Act of Security, which had so much inflamed the Scots, and excited such jealousy in the English nation. That resolution, which declared that there should be but one privy council in the United Kingdom, gave great umbrage to the people of Scotland. Although the privy council in that country had been notoriously a species of Star Chamber, as it was an ancient institution and a part of their separate political status, it was not pleasing to have it swept away by the British parliament. The court party in the House of Lords warmly opposed the bill on account of that resolution, but after a telling speech from Somers, by whom it was framed, the clause was adopted, and that ancient tyranny, the Scottish privy council, was abolished.

These were the chief measures of the first British parliament before the Christmas recess. This session, indeed, was not marked by any further legislation: except that in March, 1708, when the nation was alarmed at the threat of invasion, a bill was passed for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, empowering her majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of conspiring against her person or government. During that season of danger both Whigs and Tories rallied round the throne. The two Houses voted most loyal addresses, desiring that her majesty would take care of her royal person, and promising to support her with their lives and fortunes. Parliament was prorogued on the 1st of April, and it was afterwards dissolved by proclamation.

Meanwhile Harley and Mrs. Masham continued their intrigues at court, to the great discomfort of Marlborough and Godolphin. Their councils in the cabinet were disturbed by these intrigues. As for the duchess of Marlborough, her chagrin at being supplanted by her "poor cousin" begot the utmost contempt for her royal mistress. It was, perhaps, her own fault that she had lost the favour of her majesty. Having gained the ascendant over the queen, she had become petulant and insolent. It was well known to her that the queen, although she had endured the Whigs, was still in heart favourable to the Tories, and yet she took no pains to dissemble her dissent from her royal mistress's prepossessions and prejudices. On the contrary, Mrs. Masham cherished Anne's partialities for the Tories. This was the grand secret of her influence over her majesty. Acting under Mr. Secretary Harley, she took every opportunity of exalting the Tories at the expense of the Whigs. It was Harley's aim, in which he was aided by Anne's new favourite, to unite the Tory interest, under his auspices, and to expel the Whigs from both court and government. But for the present he was thwarted in his design. While parliament was sitting he was on the very verge of ruin. An accident furnished his enemies with an opportunity of revenge. One of his clerks, named Gregg, was detected in a traitorous correspondence with Chamillart, the French secretary of state. Gregg was tried and convicted of treason on his own confession. The Whigs held that Harley was as guilty as his clerk; and though Gregg persisted to the end in asserting that his master was wholly ignorant of his treachery, his reputation was damaged with the nation. Harley, however, still retained his influence with the queen. It was in vain that Marlborough and Godolphin complained to the queen of his intrigues, and hinted that it was impossible to serve her while Harley had her confidence. Anne assured them that he had no influence over her; but he still continued to sit at the council table. At length matters were brought to a crisis. Being summoned to a cabinet council, Marlborough and Godolphin waited on the queen, and declared that if Harley were not dismissed they would not take their places in the council. Anne still continuing obstinate, that threat was carried into execution. The council met, and Anne was there, but the lord-general and the lord-treasurer were absent. Mr. Secretary Harley proposed proceeding to business, but the duke of Somerset remarked that he could not see how they could enter into any deliberation in the absence of the general and the treasurer. Other members sat silent, and the council broke up. Finding herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers, Anne at last yielded. Harley was dismissed, and was succeeded in office by Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, whose post was filled up by Mr. Smith, the Speaker. Mr. St. John, secretary at war, and Sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general, both allies of Harley, followed his fortunes, and retired from office. But, although Harley was dismissed from office, he was still high in favour with the queen. From this time, however, the nation became more completely divided into the two factions, and a struggle commenced for political ascendency, as remarkable as any unfolded in the pages of history, whether ancient or modern.

Having thus for the present defeated the intrigues of Harley, the duke of Marlborough again repaired to the Hague. He was met there by Prince Eugene, the grand pensionary, and the deputies of the States-General, with whom he concerted the operations of the campaign. With Eugene he took the field in Flanders. The French had already commenced offensive operations. Extraordinary exertions had been made by the French king to improve the advantages his arms had obtained in the last campaign on the Continent. He had assembled a hundred thousand men in Flanders, who were under the united command of the dukes of Burgundy, Vendome, and Berwick, and Marshal Boufflers. Against this force Marlborough and Eugene took into the field a force of about eighty thousand men. The French were then flushed with renewed successes. They had captured Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and were investing Oudenarde. The surrender of Ghent is attributed by Marlborough to the harsh conduct of the Dutch to the people of the Netherlands, and from the same cause he expressed a fear to Godolphin that all the towns would play the same trick if they had it in their power. But he put it out of their power. On his approach, the French raised the siege of Oudenarde, and retired across the Scheldt. But retreat was impossible. Marlborough and Eugene followed them with such rapidity that they were compelled to halt and hazard a battle. Their forces were drawn up in order of battle between the Lys and the Scheldt, opposite Oudenarde. It was one of the most fatal to France which had been fought in this war of succession. Marlborough's march had been so rapid that the French were confounded at his sudden appearance in their rear. Vendome, when told that the army of the allies had crossed the Scheldt and was in sight, was at first incredulous. The report was so astounding to him that he did not believe it till it was confirmed by a second and a third messenger. The battle of Oudenarde was fought on the 11th of July. Marlborough records it in his narrative with Spartan-like brevity. He says that bridges had been constructed over the Scheldt by an advanced detachment, which were reached by the main body of the army at noon. "The enemy then moved forward and took their ground, which obliged our detachment, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, to attack their advance, which was executed with success. A brigade having defeated and killed, or taken, seven battalions, had thus given time to a part of our army to join them, while the enemy formed in lines. Although many of our troops were not yet come up, between five and six o'clock the battle commenced, principally between the infantry, and it lasted till night; when the enemy retreated towards Ghent, in great confusion." If darkness had not interposed its shield to the vanquished it seems certain that the whole army would have been ruined. As it was the French sustained a more terrible defeat than in either of the famous battles of Blenheim or Ramilies. About fifteen thousand men were lost: seven thousand of whom, including a great number of officers, were prisoners. Above one hundred colours and standards, with four thousand horses, and ten pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the allies. Very little use had been made of artillery in this battle, for Marlborough, in his haste to overtake the enemy, could only bring a few cannon into the field, and the French do not appear to have been better provided with that great arm of war. It was chiefly a battle fought with cold steel. The electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., greatly distinguished himself in the conflict. At the head of the German horse he charged the French guard with such impetuosity that they were utterly routed. On the contrary, the Pretender, who was there, appears to have acted like a coward. It is related that he, and the duke of Burgundy, witnessed the battle from the church steeple of a neighbouring village, and that they were among the first to take to flight. The dukes of Vendome and Berwick did all they could to retrieve the disaster, but in vain: broken and dismayed, the French troops fled by different routes in utter confusion. In writing to Godolphin, the great general expressed a hope that he had struck such a blow that the enemy would not be able to fight any more during that year. And his hope was realized so far as any great battle was concerned. Instead of attempting to retrieve the honour they had lost, the French plunged themselves deeper in disgrace and misfortune. After having recovered several fortresses, the allies laid siege to Lille, which was considered as the key to Paris, and one half of France. It was fortified by the great engineer Vauban, and defended by a numerous and brave garrison, under the celebrated Marshal Boufflers. Such an enterprise, in the opinion of the French generals, savoured of rashness and self-sufficiency. The difficulties, indeed, did appear insurmountable. The city was not only strongly fortified, and gallantly defended, but the communication between the allies and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent were cut off by the enemy. They were compelled to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army much more numerous than their own. It was predicted by the Tories, who looked upon Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde with a jaundiced eye, that the attempt on Lille would prove a signal failure, and cover him with disgrace. And so it might if the French commanders had not been afraid again to face him and Prince Eugene. It is true that Vendome and Berwick twice attempted to attack them before Lille, but after a fruitless cannonade they twice retired without disturbing the operations of the siege. In their attempts, also, to cut off their convoys from beyond the Scheldt and from Ostend they signally failed; on one occasion a detachment sent for that purpose losing all their cannon and implements of war. Marshal Boufflers held out bravely. The trenches were opened on the 22nd of August, and for nearly four months the town was obstinately defended. Never was a fortified place attacked with greater vigour, or more gallantly defended than Lille. No part of the works were carried without a fierce struggle, in which hundreds of lives were lost. The besiegers were scarce masters of one place when they were driven from another with fearful slaughter. But at length the allies triumphed. Boufflers had done all he could to save the city, but on the 10th of December he capitulated: the marshal and his brave garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. The allies made themselves masters of Lille, but it was at a great cost of life; from twelve to fifteen thousand men perished before its walls. But even at this price, from the panic which the loss of Lille caused in France, it was held to be cheaply purchased. The difficulties of the allies did not end with the capture of Lille. With ranks thus thinned they were still in the presence of a superior enemy. They had to choose between two alternatives; either to recross the Scheldt, whose banks were occupied by the enemy, or to take up their winter quarters in the circumscribed country between Lille, Menin, and



BLENHEIM GATE.

Courtray. By remaining in winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Lille, the rest of Flanders, with a province of Brabant, Guelderland, and a part of the territories of the States, would have been abandoned to the mercy of the French, and Marlborough resolved to face the enemy and recross the Scheldt. There was no opposition. The French suffered him to pass without drawing a sword. Before the allies crossed the river the elector of Bavaria had laid siege to Brussels, but on their approach he decamped in hot haste, leaving behind him all his cannon and ammunition. As it was now midwinter the French imagined that the campaign was over, and went into winter quarters. But they were mistaken. The passage of the Scheldt was not only followed by the relief of Brussels, but by the recapture of Bruges, Plassendal, and Ghent. The ill-success of the campaign, as regards the French, fell heavily upon the duke of Vendome. On his return to France he was coldly received at the court of Versailles, and he retired to one of his estates divested of command: the fifth marshal of France whom the duke of Marlborough had by his generalship—skill in the art of war, combined with rapidity of action—driven from the service of the Grand Monarque.

The French king was dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands. He had, however, some consolation in the success of his arms in Spain. Notwithstanding the magnanimous resolves of the Lords and Commons in the British parliament in favour of King Charles, the Bourbon sovereign, Philip, still ruled supreme in the Escurial. The cause of the allies languished in that country. They were, indeed, hard pressed by the duke of Orleans in Catalonia, when on the 11th of July he captured Tortosa. During the campaign Denia and Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia, also fell into the hands of the French. On the side of Portugal the summer passed away in a state of absolute inactivity. Matthew Prior, whose pen was employed to depreciate the operations of Marlborough and the allies, whether successful or otherwise, says that the affairs of Spain and Portugal were neglected to humour the duke and Prince Eugene in their enterprise in the Netherlands. He even charges the Whig government with breaking the treaty with Portugal, by sending eight thousand men, under the command of Major-general Earl, raised and embarked for the service of that country, to protect the supplies of ammunition and provision which were being continually sent from Ostend to Lille during the siege of that important city. But it must be recollected that the emperor had stipulated to send a powerful force to Spain, and therefore reinforcements from England might well be supposed not to be required. Those English forces which remained in Catalonia were now commanded by General Stanhope, who had succeeded Lord Galway. Some imperial troops were conveyed from Italy to that province by Admiral Leake, but they arrived too late to relieve Tortosa. Notwithstanding, Count Staramberg, who commanded them in conjunction with General Stanhope, saved the remainder of Catalonia from the power of France. And before the campaign closed Stanhope did more than stand on the defensive. In the course of the summer Admiral Leake made the conquest of Sardinia. That was a bloodless victory. When the English fleet appeared the populace, influenced by the monks, who assured them that "God had made use of heretics to give them a better master," compelled the viceroy to submit to King Charles. The garrison of Cagliari enlisted in the service of the Austrian prince, and the deputies of the states agreed to furnish his army in Catalonia with thirty thousand sacks of corn. Having performed this achievement, Leake joined General Stanhope in the conquest of Minorca. That island was less in extent than Sardinia, but, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon, of far greater value to the British nation. St. Philip, the chief fortress at Port Mahon, was besieged. The garrison, consisting of about a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, made but a feeble resistance. In a few days a breach was made, and a redoubt carried by storm, and then the besieged capitulated. The island of Minorca fell into the hands of the English, who retained it for half a century. Leaving a good garrison in the island, Stanhope returned to Catalonia, while Leake sailed to the mouth of the Tiber. The admiral threatened to bombard the town and port of Civita Vecchia, in revenge for the countenance which the pope had recently afforded the Pretender. That blow, however, was averted by the mediation of Austrian diplomatists: the pontiff having recently consented to acknowledge the Austrian Prince Charles as king of Spain. Rome had been threatened by a German army, and his holiness, who had sided with France and set the emperor at defiance, was glad to acknowledge Charles as lawful king of Spain to prevent the "Eternal City" from being sacked, as it had been once before, by the imperialists.

During these transactions abroad a general tranquillity prevailed both in England and Scotland. In the summer there was a general election, and though some seats were warmly contested, it was not marked with any great rancour of political feeling. In their attention to the events of the war the nation seemed to forget their political animosities. The Tories, indeed, carped at Marlborough's victories, attributing them to his "good luck" rather than his military genius, but they were not heeded by the people at large. The victorious general was more popular with the nation than ever. Harley, however, still continued to cause him uneasiness by his intrigues, a report of which was duly supplied to him by his duchess. In the autumn these intrigues were for a brief season suspended by the death of Prince George of Denmark, the queen's husband. His incompetence for the post of the head of the British navy had become so manifest that before he died the Whigs had made up their minds to drive him from it. At his demise the earl of Pembroke became lord high admiral. Pembroke had been president of the council—in which he was succeeded by Lord Somers—and lord lieutenant of Ireland, to which government the earl of Wharton was promoted. The administration was, therefore, once more entirely Whig in its constitution. But the process of undermining it was still progressing. If Anne forbore to listen to the intrigues of Mrs. Masham and Harley on the death of her husband, she did not long turn a deaf ear to them. By "bed-chamber broils" and court intrigues the queen's aversion to the Whigs and favour to the Tories became daily more manifest. For Marlborough she was fast imbibing a mortal hatred. Time was when she loved to hear of the victories of her great general, but now they grated on her ears. She went to return thanks to Almighty God for the victory at Oudenarde, but she took occasion to insult the duchess in church, and was offended at the illumination and public rejoicing. The credit which Marlborough had with the queen was fading away; while Harley, who had no visible concern in the administration, was in private her chief adviser and confidant.

The great success of the campaign had, however, confirmed the influence which Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired in the cabinet. But there were signs of a coming change in the government notwithstanding. The new parliament met on the 16th of November. The session was opened by commission. The Whigs had carried most of the contested elections, so that they were still largely in the majority in the Commons. This was seen in the choice of a Speaker: Sir Richard Onslow, the nominee of the Whigs, being chosen without dissent. The Lord Chancellor Cowper was the mouth-piece of the sovereign. The speech was of a stereotype character: laudations for success in war, and demands for supplies to carry on the war with still greater vigour. It was represented that the queen did not think it possible the representatives of the British nation would think of losing the fruits of past endeavours, and the great advantages which had recently been gained, by submitting to an insecure and inglorious peace. France had not yet been sufficiently humbled. Her power was not yet broken; it was still dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The allies had made great advances towards entering into and invading France, but the French king was daily sending more troops to the side of Flanders for the defence of his country: an augmentation of our forces therefore would be required in that quarter to put an end to the contest which had so long been raging. Supplies were also demanded for carrying on some fortifications, which had been commenced in Scotland for extinguishing the hopes of the Pretender. In conclusion, the lord chancellor said that the queen desired they would prepare bills for confirming and improving the union. Both Houses unanimously voted addresses, which at the queen's request were sent up in a private manner. That of the Lords savoured of the grossest adulation. It condoled with her majesty upon the loss of her husband, whose eminent virtues had rendered his memory dear to the nation for ever; and it implored her to moderate her grief, and to take care of her health, upon which the hopes of her people and the safety of Europe so greatly depended. The Lords congratulated Anne on the success of her arms; but the Commons far outshone them in that matter. In applauding the recent campaign they asserted that it proved her great commander to be unconquerable, and that no force which the enemy could bring in the field could check her victories. The Commons were of the opinion of the rhymesters of the day, one of whom sang in triumph—

> "Whilst Anna's sword is lodged in Marlborough's hand,
> 'Tis victory to obey, and empire to command."

But Anne was now little pleased to hear the praises of her "great commander," and the very mention of his name in the address overshadowed her brow with gloom.

The transactions of this session were in a great measure unimportant. Supplies were granted with unwonted liberality. Seven millions were voted for the service of the campaign, and ten thousand men were added to the army. Compared with previous sessions there was but little party spirit displayed in either House.

The elections in Scotland formed the subject of a warm debate in both Houses. Two sons of peers having been returned to serve for two counties, a petition was presented to the Commons against their election. As it was proved that the eldest sons of the Scottish nobility had never been competent to sit in the Scottish parliament, the prayer of the petition was confirmed. New writs were issued for new members for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of the Lords Haddo and Johnston. A petition was presented in the House of Lords against an undue return of the representation of the Scottish peerage in the British parliament. After the union was accomplished, the duke of Queensberry had, for his services in that great measure, been created a peer of Great Britain. He was now duke of Queensberry and duke of Dover. In the election of Scottish peers, the double duke had assumed the right of giving double votes. This was deemed inconsistent with the privilege of peers, who are all deemed equals. Queensberry was supported by the whole weight of government, but after a warm debate it was resolved that a Scottish lord who had been created a peer of Great Britain could no longer vote in Scotland.

It had been particularly recommended by the Lord Chancellor Cowper in the opening speech, as a means of confirming and improving the union, that the criminal laws of England and Scotland should be assimilated. This recommendation had especial reference to the law of high treason. That existing in Scotland was mild compared with that existing in England, and it was thought that the same offence ought to be made in both countries liable to the same punishment. Accordingly, early in the year 1709 a bill was brought into the House of Lords for that purpose. The Scottish members warmly opposed this bill. They insisted that the integrity of their laws had been guaranteed by the treaty of union. The bill, however, passed into a law. But the law was not to be retrospective: past offences were not to be visited under its enactments. In order to sweeten the bitter cup, the queen consented to pardon all treasons committed for the past, except those committed on the high seas; an exception which was chiefly levelled at the head of the Pretender and his adherents, who had embarked with him at Dunkirk. But this act of grace was as convenient for the Earl Godolphin and Marlborough as it was for the Scottish Jacobites. Till that Act was passed both were in danger, as they were more than suspected of having carried on a treasonable correspondence with the court of St. Germains. Marlborough had returned to London in February, and despite his victories he had many enemies in parliament, who lost no opportunity of attacking his character and ruining his power. During the last campaign he had rendered himself vulnerable to their attacks. In the battle of Wynendale, wherein the French lost all their cannon and implements of war, the victory was achieved by General Webb, with a body of six thousand troops against twenty thousand Frenchmen. Webb brought the convoy which he so bravely protected safe to the camp before Lille. Marlborough had, from sheer party spirit, meanly attributed Webb's victory to General Cadogan, who had but a small share in the action. Incensed at the injustice, Webb threw up his commission, and returned to England, where he made the matter public in print. The matter was taken up by the Tories, and while Webb received the thanks of the Commons, severe and personal reflections were passed upon Marlborough. Even the Whig Speaker, Onslow, in conveying the thanks of the House to Webb, remarked : "We are all sensible how much the reducing of the fortress of Lille is owing to your courage and conduct." This was the "keenest cut of all" to Marlborough, for he was smitten in "the house of his friends."

During this session one public Act passed which is still in operation. The ambassador of the Czar Peter having been arrested for debt to a London tradesman, his Muscovite majesty warmly resented the offence against the privileges of the representatives of sovereignty. He demanded that the offending tradesman should be punished, but there was no law which could reach him. A statute, however, was passed by which all process against an ambassador, or any of his domestic servants, was rendered null and void; and this, together with a solemn excuse, made by the queen through her ambassador, and a promise that the Muscovite ambassador should be indemnified for all costs and damages, appeased the wrathful sovereign. The continuance of the war was now beginning to be very unpopular, and the burden fell heavily at this time upon the people. As we have seen, liberal supplies were granted by the Commons, but the funds upon which they could be charged could not easily be found. Before the session closed, indeed, it was found necessary to contract with the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000*l.*: the bank being compensated by the renewal of its charter for twenty-one years, and a permission to double its capital by subscription. Government agreed to pay six per cent. for the loan, and they were to circulate 2,400,000*l.* in exchequer bills; and although the people complained of poverty, and were loudly exclaiming against the ever-increasing national debt, when the books were opened for subscriptions the list was filled up in one morning. The money, however, was chiefly found by the rich citizens of London, and not by the great body of the people, whose complaints of poverty were by no means ill-founded. Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April.

If the people of England were suffering from the long continuance of the war, the sufferings of the people of France were still greater. The resources of France were exhausted, and credit was almost at an end. The public debt had increased to an unprecedented magnitude, and the annual expenditure was nearly double the amount of the receipts of the taxes. Chamillart, the finance and war minister of the French king, had resigned office in despair; and it was in vain that Desmarets, his successor, had recourse to mortgages, loans, tontines, and a tax of one tenth to relieve the public necessity. A body of merchants, also, brought thirty millions of livres, which they lent to the king at ten per cent. interest; but this was a trifle compared with the demands of the exchequer, and in the end it increased the burden. Other circumstances combined with the war to render France a scene of misery. The winter of 1709 had been the severest known in the memory of man. It had destroyed the plant of wheat, and even fruit-trees had perished from its extreme cold. Famine followed, and under its pressure insurrections broke out in many of the provinces. So bitterly was the famine felt, that many illustrious families lived on the coarsest bread. The price of corn rose to an enormous height; and it was further raised by the interference of government. It was bought up by royal commissioners, and then sold at a great advance. Saint Simon says, that the sums which this scheme produced were innumerable; and adds, that "innumerable were the people who died of the plague." To complete the havoc that the winter had caused, a sudden thaw gave rise to an inundation of the Loire. The famine was also accompanied by a pestilence. A great mortality occurred in Paris; the annual average number of deaths being nearly doubled. Under these accumulated woes Madame Maintenon wrote to Villars: "God has brought us to that lowest point of ruin from which, it may be hoped, he will retrieve us by a sudden turn;" a hope that was in part realized.

In this extremity the French monarch sent envoys to Holland to negotiate for peace. He had become convinced that peace was desirable at almost any price. It had been repeatedly declared by the allies, that no proposals of peace would be listened to except France resigned all pretensions to the crown of Spain. It was a hard necessity, but there seemed to be no alternative. In his advances for peace, the French king offered to abandon his grandson Philip; simply reserving for him the kingdom of Naples. Louis also offered to give up some towns in his possession to form a barrier in the Netherlands. But these concessions were not sufficient for the allies. Marlborough had repaired to the Hague to take part in the negotiations; and he appears to have been the chief obstacle to the conclusion of peace. His biographer says:—"Marlborough was apprehensive that the king of France was not yet sufficiently humbled to agree to the terms which the allies were entitled to demand; and consequently represented the expediency of such an augmentation of force as might enable him to dictate the conditions of peace." The terms which the allies thought it politic, on the advice of Marlborough, to demand, were most humiliating. It was required of him that Philip should give up Naples; that he should make restitution of the Upper and

Lower Alsace to the empire; that he should restore Strasburg in its present condition; that he should cede the town and castellary of Lille; and that he should demolish Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen. It was further demanded of the French monarch, that he should acknowledge the title of the queen of Great Britain, and the succession of her crown according to the Act of Settlement. Other demands were made of the monarch who had once given law to Europe, and whose armies had been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Louis was astounded at the hard proposals of the allies. By his envoys he sought their mitigation, but in vain. Convinced that Marlborough was the prime mover of these harsh demands, he sought to gain him over to his side. He attacked him in private, through his envoy, on his weakest side. Marlborough's greed for money was proverbial, and a large sum of money was offered him if he would obtain for his grandson Naples and Sicily, or Naples alone; or if he would preserve to him Dunkirk with its port and fortifications; or, if this was not possible, to enable him to keep Naples. Of all these advantages the French king gave Marlborough to understand he would prefer Naples, but if he could gain Sicily also he would greatly increase his gratification. It is stated that Harley had his spies upon the conduct of the duke, which may probably have prevented him from yielding to the temptation. The proposal was rejected. Marlborough refused to become a mediator for the French monarch. He even had the want of humanity to sanction the demand made by the allies, that if Louis gave up Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria, and Philip refused to leave the Escurial, in two months he should aid in dethroning him. Such a demand roused the pride of the French king. "If I am to continue war," he observed, "I would rather fight my enemies than my children." The demand was most unnatural. The French king well knew that his grandson was supported by the Spanish people, and he recoiled at the idea of taking up arms against him. Philip, indeed, had determined to lose his life rather than the crown of Spain. And the Cortes had in April acknowledged the prince of Asturias, his son, as heir-presumptive to Spain and the Indies, and had solemnly engaged to sacrifice their fortunes and lives in the defence of the king and the young prince, his successor. Louis now rejected the terms of the allies, and turned to his people. He felt that he had still subjects, reduced as they were, who had an interest in the national honour. A letter was addressed by him to all local authorities appealing to their patriotism, and that appeal was not made in vain. As an example he sent his own plate to the mint to be coined, and it was not lost upon the people. From every quarter voluntary contributions poured in for the support of the war, and recruits flocked to his armies. Louis was once more in a condition to brave his opponents. The harsh conduct of the allies had changed the character of the war in the estimation of the people of France. It was no longer a war for courtly interests and the lust of power, but a war for the national existence. The country was threatened with dismemberment, and the drooping courage of the king and his people revived. The national feeling was roused to indignation, and the armies of France marched to the battle-field with higher and nobler resolutions than when they marched to the conquest of Europe.

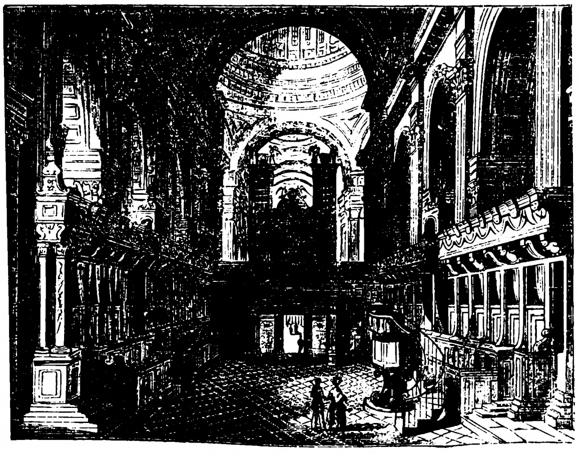
The French army was placed under the command of the brave Marshal Villars, who was indignant at the arrogance of the allies, and resolved to do all he could to take a bitter revenge. He entrenched himself between Douay and the Lys to prevent the allies from penetrating into France. If such was their design, it was not attempted. Marlborough and Eugene, with a hundred thousand men under their command, on the 21st of June were encamped in the plain before Lille. Not daring to attack Villars in his entrenchments or to march upon Paris, and leave him where he was, they commenced the siege of Tournay. That place was insufficiently garrisoned, but it was strong both by nature and art, and its governor, Lieutenant de Saville, was brave, skilful, and energetic. Contrary to the expectation of the allies, the siege was protracted. The city was taken in three weeks, but the citadel was not captured until the 3rd of September. During the siege the allies lost four thousand men in killed and wounded. Much of the slaughter took place under ground, for as the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently came into contact with the enemy, and fought with bayonet and pistol. In this siege, indeed, the system of mining and countermining was practised to an extent unknown before, and immense slaughter was occasioned thereby. After the fall of Tournay, Marlborough and Eugene marched into Hainault to lay siege to Mons. They were followed by Villars, who designed cutting off the van of the allies, which was commanded by the prince of Hesse, by throwing himself between Mons and the main body of the army. At this critical moment Villars was joined by Marshal Boufflers, who shared with him in the command. They took up a strong position at Malplaquet: their centre being placed on rising ground, with entrenchments thrown up in front of the camp, and their wings being protected by two woods. Having received advice that the French were marching to attack the prince of Hesse, Marlborough and Eugene hastened with the rear guard to his support. They encamped in the plain fronting the opening between the two woods of La Marte and Tanieres. There was a slight engagement between the outposts of the two armies on the 9th of September, but the French fell back, and employed themselves in strengthening their fortifications. They were so protected with lines, hedges, entrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they appeared to be inaccessible. The Dutch field-deputies represented that an attempt to force Villars and Boufflers in their camp would be hopeless. Marlborough and Eugene, however, had no alternative but either to risk a battle or to abandon the siege of Mons, and they resolved upon the former. It was on the morning of the 11th of September that the battle commenced. The attack was made on the whole line of the enemy simultaneously. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the

French. The left wing of the French was commanded by Villars, and the right by old Marshal Boufflers. The battle was one of the most desperate and bloody recorded in the annals of history. The allies were roused by their former victories, and the French fought with the courage of despair. The right wing of the French was covered by a morass, but this obstacle was rapidly overcome by the left wing of the British, under the command of the duke of Argyle, who drove the enemy from the wood into the plain behind. Meanwhile, the battle raged on the left wing of the French with the most desperate courage on both sides. There, victory was long doubtful, but at length, Villars being dangerously wounded, the French gave way. After fighting from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, they retreated under the conduct of Marshal Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. According to the French accounts, if Villars had not been wounded, they would not have retreated from their position. The battle of Malplaquet was won, but it was dearly purchased by the allies. Thirty thousand of their fellow-men—English, Dutch, and Germans—lay dead or wounded on the field of battle. The French did not lose half that number, and their retreat was so masterly that they were enabled to carry off most of their artillery and standards. Of all the battles Marlborough had fought, that of Malplaquet was the most sanguinary, and at the same time the most useless. While it cost the lives of thousands of gallant men—among whom was a vast number of officers—it was not attended with any signal advantage. The victory of Malplaquet was followed by the siege and capture of Mons, but that was not accomplished till the 23rd of October, when it was too late to undertake any other enterprise; and both armies went into winter quarters.

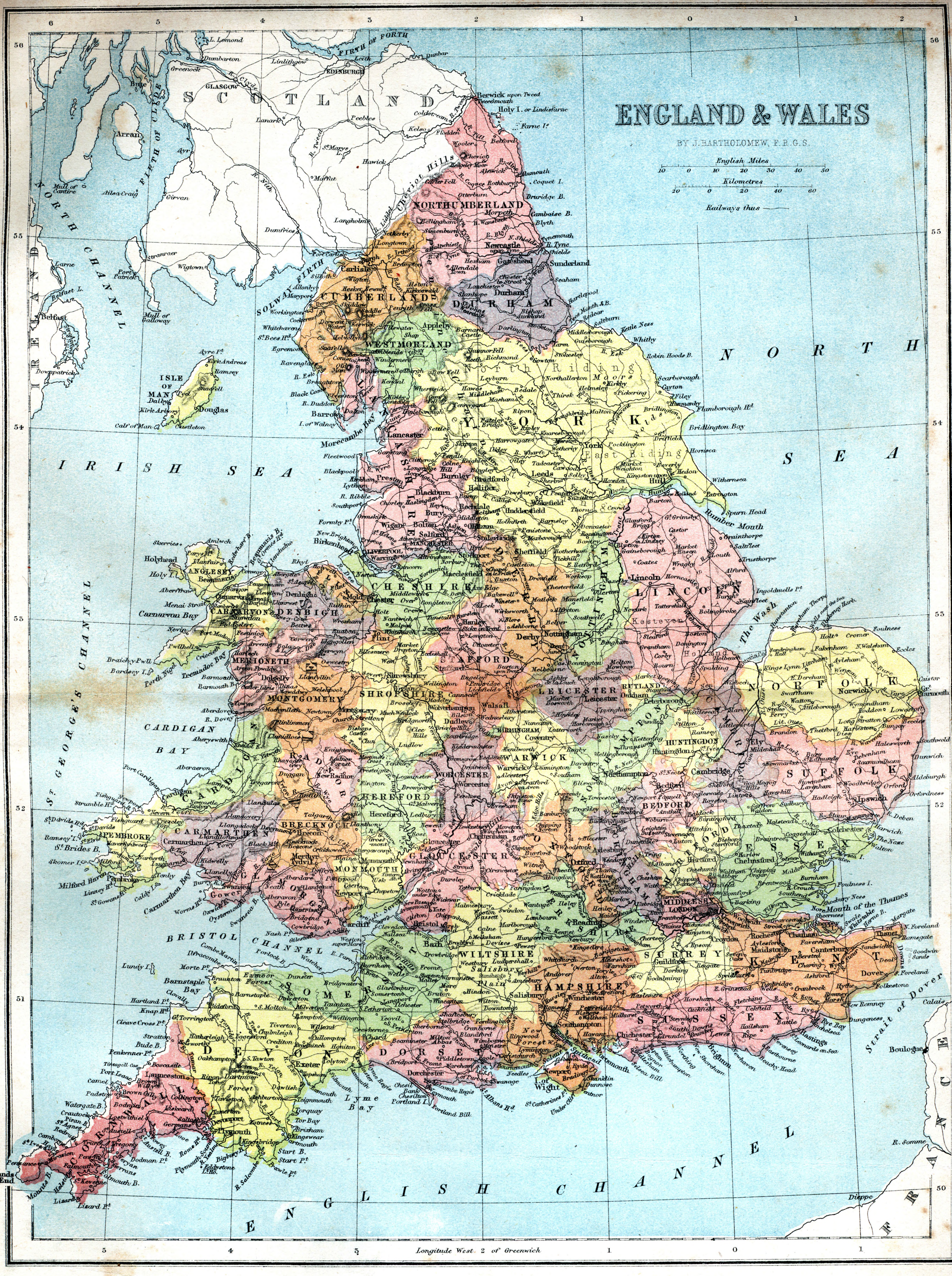
The campaign on the Rhine was favourable to the French. The imperialists, under the command of Count Merei, having crossed the Rhine into Upper Alsace, were totally defeated by the French under the Count de Bourg, and obliged to recross the river and retire to Fribourg. In the peninsula, also, the campaign was favourable to King Philip. The dons rallied round him with zeal and courage, and their success corresponded to their spirit. Lord Galway, with his British and Portuguese troops, were defeated on the frontier of Estremadura, and Alicant, after sustaining a long siege, was reduced by a French and Spanish force. The Portuguese general, Staremberg, captured the town of Ballaguen, on the frontiers of Catalonia; but beyond this, all that the allies had left them, as the fruits of their many campaigns, were Gironne, Gibraltar, and Barcelona.

The parliament of Great Britain assembled on the 15th of November. It was opened by Anne in person. Her speech represented that the French king had been endeavouring, by false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies. She was happy to state, however, that the war had not been delayed, and that God had been pleased to bless the arms of the allies with a most remarkable victory. That victory, and other successes, she said, had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and therefore rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the commencement of the campaign. Anne concluded by demanding liberal supplies to complete the great work of reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. There can be no doubt but the French king had been sincere in his desire for peace; but both Lords and Commons expressed their hearty approval of her majesty's rejection of his proposals, and her resentment of his artifice and insincerity. Both Houses encouraged the continuance of the war, and the Commons voted an increase of forces and 6,200,000*l.* for the services of the year. Although a great part of the nation reproached Marlborough for having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives for his own private interest and reputation, parliament exalted his services; and when he returned home he received their thanks. But a change was coming over his dream of glory!

There was a great political storm in the horizon. For some time past the High Church preachers—probably urged on by the Tory leaders—had been sounding the alarming note in their pulpits, that the Church was in danger. Among these preachers, none raised the cry louder than Dr. Henry Sacheverell. He was a divine who possessed but very little ability, but as regards voice he was a veritable Boanerges. In the summer of this year he had preached an assize sermon at Derby, in which he had loudly denounced the government. There was dangerous matter in that sermon, but no special notice was taken of it. On the 5th of November, however, he preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor and corporation of London in St. Paul's Cathedral, which soon set the whole nation in a ferment. His text was "Perils from false brethren:" a text well adapted for his peculiar illustrations. His "false brethren" were the Whigs: lay and prelatical. He reflected on the Lord Treasurer Godolphin under the name of Volpone, and he bitterly inveighed against the prelates, as false sons of the Church, because they favoured toleration and the non-persecution of the dissenters. He exalted the exploded



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.



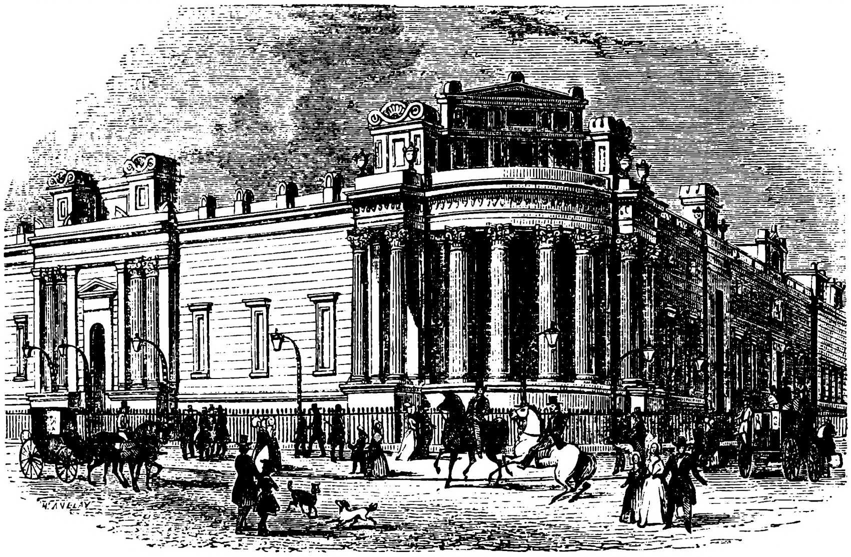
ENGLAND & WALES

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

English Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Kilometres
20 0 20 40 60
Railways thus
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH CHANNEL
IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
CARDIGAN BAY
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Strait of Dover
ISLE OF MAN
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORLAND
YORK
North Riding
East Riding
LANCASTER
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
ANGLESEY
CARNARVON
DENBIGH
FLINT
MERIONETH
MONTGOMERY
SHROPSHIRE
STAFFORD
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
HEREFORD
WORCESTER
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
CAMBRIDGE
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
BRECKNOCK
GLAMORGAN
MONMOUTH
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
BEDFORD
HERTFORD
ESSEX
MIDDLESEX
LONDON
BERKSHIRE
WILTSHIRE
SOMERSET
SURREY
KENT
HAMPSHIRE
SUSSEX
DORSET
DEVON
CORNWALL
I. of Wight
Longitude West 2 of Greenwich

doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and denounced the revolution as the fruits of ungodliness. The Church of England, which was the Church of Christ, he asserted was in danger; and he called upon all good Christians to put on the whole armour of God, and stand up in its defence. It was printed and circulated all over the nation. The Tories were in ecstasies with its subject-matter. The magic pipe blown by the doctor's lips set half the kingdom dancing to the tune of "The king shall have his own again." The matter was gall and wormwood to the ministers. It formed a subject for grave deliberation in the council. Opinions were divided as to how the reverend offender should be dealt with. All were agreed that he should be prosecuted, but the question was in what court he should be tried. Godolphin and Marlborough were for impeachment before parliament, lest he, with others of his class, should preach them all out of the kingdom. Sunderland agreed with them, but Somers differed. He remarked: "I think it best to make use of that ordinary method of process which our laws have provided. If the majority of the noble lords should absent themselves, or if the members of the Commons should revolt to the other party, you will then find it too late to have recourse to justiciary proceedings; for when your adversaries perceive you are feeble, they will become more daring. Order a charge to be drawn up against the offender; but still take care not to consult your passions or affections more than your own dignity and usage. We are all of us liable to passion, and no man looks to the injuries done to himself as small ones. For my own part, I look upon those which Dr. Sacheverell has done to the ministry to be very great; but in the punishment thereof let no hatred, revenge, anger, or passion, interpose; for where these take place, the mind does not easily discern the truth; or if it does discern it, it is not apt to embrace it; and that which would pass among others as anger only, our people would call cruelty in the government, which is odious to all men." This sage advice of Somers was not adopted. Godolphin winced under the odious name of "Volpone," and he was resolved upon an impeachment. Marlborough, Sunderland, and their friends, were equally in favour of that course of proceeding. The matter was brought forward in the Commons by Mr. Dolben, son of the late Archbishop of York. He complained of Sacheverell's two famous sermons: the one preached at Derby, and the other in St. Paul's Cathedral. They contained doctrines, he said, contrary to revolution principles, to the present government, and the Protestant succession. Some of the more violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverell was brought, nothing loth, before the bar of the House. He gloried in his prospect of martyrdom. Being ordered to withdraw, a motion for impeaching him at the bar of the House of Lords was carried by a large majority. A committee was appointed to draw up the articles, and Sacheverell was taken into custody. This was on the 15th of December, but the articles were not carried up to the House of Lords before the 13th of January, 1710, and then more than six weeks elapsed before the great doctor was put on his trial in Westminster Hall.

Meanwhile the whole country was in a ferment. It became evident that Sacheverell had the countenance of many of the leading clergy and of the queen herself. When he was brought before the Commons, indeed, he was attended by the chancellor of Oxford and numerous clergymen, among whom were several of her majesty's chaplains. Before he preached his famous sermons Sacheverell was well assured of support. It is affirmed that Harley was one of those who spirited him to undertake the enterprise, well knowing that it was suited to his vain and turbulent nature. When the doctor was impeached, Harley was at his country residence in Herefordshire; and there is a story told that while entertaining some friends after dinner there came a packet of expresses from London, which having read he exultantly snapped his fingers and cried out: "The game is up! get the horses ready immediately." This seems to be corroborated by Swift, who, in his "Memoirs relating to the Change in Queen Anne's Ministry," writes: "Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham, privately brought to the queen; and in some meetings easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the Church and against the measures of those in her service." The dispositions of the people were those of a mob; for the terms were synonymous with the oligarchs of that period. The multitude were too easily stirred to fury by party leaders to be a people in the sense in which in this enlightened age the term is employed. Before his trial, the clergy—High Churchmen—traversed town and country, and raised the old war cry of "the Church is in danger," to which the people responded vociferously. It was boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the Church; and that the prosecution of Sacheverell was intended to try their strength, before they proceeded openly to effect their project. In many places there were riots of an alarming character. In the city of London especially there was excitement and terror. There the very lowest in condition took up the Church chorus, and shouted aloud in defence of the doctor. Marlborough appears to have been alarmed at the aspect of affairs. It was not a war to his taste. He could march bold as a lion into the field of battle against the French, but he could not face the enraged people. Before the trial he made many pretences to excuse himself from coming to parliament; and while it was proceeding he embarked for Holland. It was during the trial of the too popular doctor that the riots in London rose to their height. The storm which had been gathering then burst over the city. The trial commenced on the 27th of February, on which occasion Westminster Hall was filled with as gorgeous an assembly as when Strafford stood his trial there for treason. The queen was also there in a private box. During the first three days of the trial there was nothing but confusion and riot. The fury of the multitude rose so high that they threatened to demolish the mansions of the lord chancellor, the earl of Wharton,



BANK OF ENGLAND.

and the bishop of Sarum. They even threatened to attack the Bank, for in their zeal for the Church they were not averse to a little plunder. According to Burnet, they were otherwise rewarded for the work of demolition which they executed. He says: "Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down some meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the pews in them. This was directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were seen sending messages among them." He adds: "There were some of her majesty's guards and watermen taken in the very act of rioting, so that the court itself was not free from suspicion; but the queen, in order to prevent all reflections on her own conduct, issued orders to repair the damage, and promised that her servants should be brought to a fair trial." So alarming was the aspect of the mob that the horse and foot guards were called in to disperse them; but numbers still daily followed their hero during his trial to Westminster Hall, shouting, "The Church and Sacheverell!" "Sacheverell and the Church for ever!"

The trial lasted three weeks, during which time all other business was suspended. Sacheverell appeared at the bar attended by Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Atterbury, both of whom stood by his side nearly all the time of his trial. He was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Constantine Phipps. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, Sir Joseph King, alderman and recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, Mr. Dolben, Mr. Robert Walpole, and some others. When asked if he was ready to take his trial, he replied boldly in the affirmative. He gloried in that trial. It had raised him to an importance he never could have obtained by any of the ordinary methods by which men are made famous. Ready for trial? "Yes," said the accused, "and shall ever be ready to submit to the laws of the land." The articles of impeachment, which were fourfold, were then recited, and then the sermon which he had preached on the 5th of November was read to prove their justice. The sermon contained four separate dogmas of a dangerous character, which the managers of the impeachment took as texts whereon to found their charges. The articles set forth that the doctor suggested and affirmed that the means taken for the consummation of the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable. That the toleration to dissenters was both unreasonable and unwarrantable. That the Church of England was in great peril under her majesty's administration. That there were persons in office that endeavoured to overturn the constitution, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and that through the whole administration of affairs there was a general maladministration and corruption. These charges were supported with great eloquence by the managers for the Commons. Among their speeches none were more admired than that of Robert Walpole. He remarked: "I hope that your lordships' just judgment will convince the world that every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher—the doctor will pardon me for borrowing one string of epithets from him, and for using a little of his own language—who has no hope of distinguishing himself in the world but by a matchless indiscretion, may not advance with impunity doctrines destructive of the peace and quiet of her majesty's government and the Protestant succession; or prepare the minds of the people for an alteration, by giving them ill impressions of the present establishment and its administration." Hallam says that, "The managers of the impeachment had not only to prove that there was resistance in the Revolution, which could not, of course, be sincerely disputed, but to assert the lawfulness, in great emergencies, or what is called in politics necessity, of taking arms against the law—a delicate matter to treat of at any time, and not least so by ministers of state, and law officers of the crown, in the very presence, as they knew, of their sovereign." On this point Walpole argued thus: "Resistance is nowhere enacted to be legal, but subjected, by all the laws now in being, to the greatest penalties; it is what is not, cannot, nor ought ever to be described or affirmed in any positive law to be excusable: when, and upon what never-to-be-expected occasions, it may be exercised, no man can foresee, and ought never to be thought of but when an utter subversion of the laws of the realm threatens the whole frame of a constitution, and no redress can otherwise be hoped for: it therefore does, and ought for ever to stand in the eye and letter of the law as the highest offence. But because any man, or party of men, may not out of folly or wantonness commit treason, or make their own discontents, ill principles, or disguised affections to another interest, a pretence to resist the supreme power, will it follow from thence that the utmost necessity ought not to engage a nation in its own defence for the preservation of the whole? The doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive obedience was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs, some time or other, of making use of it. What then can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, when the *law* is the only rule and measure of the power of the crown and the obedience of the people?" It would be uninteresting to follow out the arguments by which the several other articles were supported, or to narrate those urged by the counsel of Sacheverell's defence. When his counsel had pleaded, the doctor offered a defence of his own. It is more than suspected, however, that it was not his own composition; that he was assisted in it by able divines and professional statesmen. According to Defoe, his trial stopped all lighter matters of social interest while it was pending. In a spirit of irony he writes: "The women lay aside their tea and chocolate, leave off visiting after dinner, and forming themselves into cabals, turn privy councillors, and settle the affairs of state." It is not improbable that the interest which the ladies took in the great doctor's fate had something to do with the mildness of his punishment; or at all events with the result of the division. Statesmen, as other men, are not proof against female influence. The debates in the House of Lords were very animated. The duke of Buckingham declared that he considered the matter merely as a trial of strength between the two parties; and there can be no doubt this was the general opinion of their lordships and of all ranks of society. One of the most remarkable speeches was that of the old duke of Leeds. He owned, he said, that he had had a great share in the Revolution; and that he never thought things would have been driven so far as to settle the crown on the prince of Orange. He affirmed, indeed, that the prince had told him that he himself had no such expectations. But the noble duke could not endure to hear the result of the Revolution now called into question. "What do I hear?" he asked. "King William set down in a sermon as an usurper? The Revolution a rebellion? Indeed, if that enterprise had not succeeded to our wishes, both these assertions had been true; and the judges would have pronounced all of us who then stood up in defence of our country, and our religion, and our laws, rebels. But since the cause of the prince of Orange has been avowed both by God and man, since he has been acknowledged in our public records as the deliverer, guardian, and preserver of our nation, and his enterprise to be most glorious, and the establishment of our present government, I wonder how there can be any debate among your lordships about this matter." The noble duke emphatically called upon their lordships never to suffer any question to be mooted in parliament as to what had been done at the time of the Revolution. The articles exhibited by the Commons were proved. He was found guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors imputed to him by a majority of sixty-eight to fifty-two; but the question now remained, what was to be his punishment for this deep offence? On the 21st of March Godolphin thus wrote to Marlborough:—"Our sentence against Dr. Sacheverell is at last dwindled to a suspending him for three years from preaching, which question we carried but by *six;* and the second, which was for incapacitating him during the time to take any dignity or preferment in the Church, was lost by *one:* the numbers were sixty to fifty-nine. So all this bustle and fatigue ends in no more but a suspension of three years from the pulpit, and burning his sermons at the Royal Exchange." True, my lord treasurer! All the bustle and fatigue did thus end, so far as the doctor, now rendered greater than ever, was concerned, but not as regards the ministry of which you were the acknowledged head. As a final result of that trial the Whigs have to be driven from power, and the Tories, who will uphold her hereditary right, will for a while bask in the sunshine of Queen Anne's favour.

Sacheverell, *in propriâ personâ,* was now enjoying his triumph. He had become a greater doctor than ever in his own estimation, and seemingly in that of his party. He had been carried in a chair on the shoulders of some of his friends from Westminster Hall, and was everywhere greeted "as another Hercules of the Church militant." His punishment proved to him a pleasure. He had no occasion to preach for a living. Rich presents poured in upon him, so that he could live at his ease. For some time he was feasted and petted by his friends in London; and early in the summer he went upon what is called his progress through the kingdom. The duchess of Marlborough shows the character of the progress of this charlatan divine in its truest light. "Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties; where with his usual grace"—which the duchess represents as haughty and insolent—"he received as his due the homage and adoration of multitudes; never thinking that respect enough was paid to his great merits, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable; putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man; dispensing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in; drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions without reserve, and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monk did over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin, '*Heu quanta potimus pro ecclesiâ!*' Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the Church!" But after all, the popularity of this High Church priest was evanescent. It was not many weeks before the sobriety of the people began to return, and his character to appear in its true colours.

The session of parliament, which had been chiefly occupied by this famous impeachment and trial, closed on the 5th of April. In her speech the queen expressed a hearty wish, "that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill intention, since they can only tend to torment, but not to heal, our divisions and animosities." A very few days elapsed, however, before the queen gave proofs that she was resolved to change her ministry. The prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell was a blunder. The vehemence with which the Whigs had thrown the whole weight of government in the scale against him had given mortal offence to the people. His trial had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters. Addresses were presented to the queen from all parts of the kingdom, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine founded upon antimonarchical and republican principles. It is true the Whigs procured counter-addresses, extolling the Revolution and justifying the conduct of the present parliament, but they had little weight with the queen compared with those addressed to her from the High Church party and their adherents. Encouraged by the manifest change which had taken place in the popular opinion in favour of the Tories, Anne began openly to express her attachment to them. She commenced by mortifying the duke of Marlborough, even before that change had become fully manifested. Early in the year she had assumed some courage from the colour of the times. The command of a regiment of dragoons had become vacant by the death of the earl of Essex. Hitherto Marlborough had possessed, as commander-in-chief of the army, the disposal of all military promotions. Mrs. Masham had a brother, Colonel Hill, who had somewhat distinguished himself at the battle of Almanza, but influenced by his sister, more than his merit, the queen wrote to Marlborough desiring that the vacant command should be bestowed upon him. Hill was but a young officer, and Marlborough represented the injustice of promoting him over the heads of brave men who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. Marlborough, moreover, resented the desired promotion of the brother of the rival of his duchess as an insult to himself and family. He threatened to resign the command of the army, and he retired in disgust to Windsor. For some time Anne was obstinate, and would not listen to Godolphin and other noblemen who ventured to expostulate with her on the consequences of offending a man who had rendered such eminent services to the nation. His services, she said, were still fresh in her memory, but she was not disposed to yield. Finding, however, that the earl of Sunderland, the duke's son-in-law, had formed a design to procure a vote of the Commons to remove Mrs. Masham from her presence and service, and that there was a commotion among the officers in her army on the subject, she finally permitted Marlborough to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper. But this circumstance clearly widened the breach between the queen and Marlborough, and the Whig ministers in general. It was evident that she considered them tyrants, and that she was resolved to rid herself of them at the first opportunity. That opportunity came in the midst of the Sacheverell tempest, when the public mind was hotly inflamed against the Whigs for the animosity they had shown in his impeachment. But the queen did not make a clean sweep of her ministry at once. That might still have been somewhat dangerous. A few days after the rising of parliament, however, she gave full proof of her intentions. She transferred the office of lord chamberlain from the marquis of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury. The noble duke had been a stanch Whig. Few had more greatly promoted the Revolution than he had, but he had now joined the Tories, and had voted with them in favour of Dr. Sacheverell. On this occasion Godolphin expostulated with the queen. She was suffering herself, he said, to be guided to her own ruin and destruction as fast as it was possible for those to compass it with whom she now took counsel. Anne took no heed of Godolphin's expostulations. On the contrary, this first blow to the Whig cabinet was followed by one still more significant and fatal. There was a whisper abroad in June that the dismissal of the earl of Sunderland was imminent. Sunderland was one of the most honest members of the cabinet; but his bold speaking was not pleasing to the queen, and she especially disliked him for his desire to deprive her of the services of her dear Mrs. Masham. The whisper was not without foundation. Anne had resolved to dismiss Sunderland from his office of secretary of state. To prevent this blow, the haughty duchess of Marlborough humbled herself before the obstinate queen as she had never done before. But Anne was inexorable. Sunderland was dismissed, and his post was given to the Jacobite Lord Dartmouth. Sunderland was offered a retiring pension, which he nobly declined, remarking that if he was not fit to serve his country, he was incapable of plundering it. It was apprehended by the leading Whigs who still retained office that Marlborough, on hearing of the dismissal of his son-in-law, would resent it by throwing up his command. He had on several occasions threatened to do so, and to prevent it they wrote to implore him, by the glory he had obtained, by the many services he had rendered to the queen and his country, and by all that was dear and tender to him at home, whose chief dependence rested upon his success, not to let his private mortification interfere with his public duty, but continue at the head of the army till his great work was completed. They hoped that by some signal victory gained by him in the field of battle they might still recover their waning popularity with the country, and thereby regain their old ascendency over the queen. But, as will be seen, Marlborough had in this year's campaign no heart for fighting. The loss of the queen's favour had struck a blow at his towering ambition from which he could not recover. As Sunderland was so nearly related to Marlborough, the allies were alarmed at his dismissal. They imagined that it was but the precursor of the downfall of the ministry by whom the war had been so long upheld. And their imagination was not ill-founded; for although the queen instructed Mr. Secretary Boyle to allay their fears, by assuring them she had no intention of changing her ministers, within a few weeks Godolphin was dismissed, and his office was put in commission. The intrigues of Mrs. Masham and Harley were triumphant. Harley was appointed chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer. The dismissal of Godolphin was quickly followed by an entire removal of the Whigs from office. Harley, indeed, endeavoured to effect a coalition with some of them, especially the Chancellor Cowper and Walpole, but his overtures were rejected. Every office of state was filled up by Tories, except that of commander-in-chief of the army, which Marlborough still retained. Thus the earl of Rochester became president of the council; the duke of Buckingham, lord steward; the duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Henry St. John, secretary; Sir Simon Harcourt, lord chancellor; and Mr. Granville, secretary of war. The earl of Orford withdrew himself from the admiralty, and his office was put in commission. There was a clean sweep of the Whigs from both cabinet and court. At all events, what few remained at the court of St. James's were men without name or influence. Swift, in his "Journal to Stella," says that Harley would not let the Tories be too numerous, for fear they should kick against him; but those Whigs who were kept in employment could scarcely be a counterpoise, for they were mere understrappers, and they expected to be turned out every day. There was still a Whig House of Commons, but that the triumph of the Tories might be complete, Anne announced to the council that there should be a dissolution of parliament. Accordingly the proclamation was issued, together with writs for a new parliament; and with the cry of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverell" as their watchword, the Tories and High Churchmen carried the elections with a high hand. There were few members returned but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for the Church and their animosity against the Whig administration. Burnet says that the practice and violence in elections went far beyond anything he had ever known in England. He attributes the great success of the Tories to the clergy, who, he says, besides preaching a course of inflammatory sermons, went from house to house pressing the people to show, on this great occasion, their zeal for the Church, and come forward to save it! The Tories had triumphed, but the contest between the rival parties was not yet over. For four years there ensued a struggle between them for the ascendency which threatened a convulsion, from which the nation seems only to have escaped by a miracle.

Once more we return to the operations of the long-contested war of succession. Early in this year of political intrigues, which resulted in what Swift calls "that great transaction," the change in the ministry, the negotiations for peace, which had been broken off in 1709, were renewed. The overtures for peace were again made by the French king. He hoped that the success of his arms in the previous campaign, and the bold attitude which his people had assumed in defence of their country, might contribute somewhat to moderate the tone of the allies. Accordingly the marquis de Torcy was again sent to the Hague, if haply his skill in diplomacy, for which he was justly celebrated, might obtain terms which his master might accept with honour. On his reappearance at the Hague, the Grand Pensionary Heinsius sent Petikum, "the busy minister of an insignificant power," to the court of Versailles with a message, proposing that if Louis was really desirous of peace he should sign the preliminaries before proposed; leaving the articles to which he objected open to future discussion in conferences to be held before the definitive treaty of peace could be signed. The French monarch showed that he was really desirous of peace by consenting to this proposal, humiliating as it must have been to his pride. Accordingly conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg. The French plenipotentiaries were the Abbé de Polignac and Marshal d'Haxelles. As usual, Marlborough represented England. But on this occasion Marlborough appears to have been entirely guided by the cabinet at home. He was "white paper," he said, upon which they might write their instructions, but he would not have the responsibility of giving advice upon his shoulders. The conferences, however, proved to be a mere farce. The negotiations were broken off, and Louis resolved to hazard another campaign; not without hope he might yet be able to obtain by the sword some more reasonable pacification. Nor was this his only hope. When the negotiations were broken off, the French monarch was well aware of the approaching revolution in the British ministry, which, when consummated, he was assured would be in his favour. Still, to continue the war was felt by him to be a hard necessity. According to St. Simon, the exhaustion of France, and the impossibility of obtaining peace on honourable terms, caused him severe anguish. The anguish was richly deserved, for there can be no question but that his inordinate ambition and lust of power had given rise to the deplorable condition into which his people had been plunged. But he seems now to have been alive to their interests, not to his own, which for years he had alone consulted. His conscience was greatly troubled on their account. His ministers had proposed that for the support of the war he should at once take the tenth of the substance of every one of his subjects. Louis had scruples of conscience as to the righteousness of this wholesale spoliation of his subjects. But he was soon relieved from these scruples. Having unbosomed himself to Père Tellier, that ecclesiastic consulted the Sorbonne, who declared that all the wealth of the kingdom was the king's, and that when the king took it from his subjects he only took that which was his own! The royal conscience was now appeased. An edict was issued that every man should pay into the royal treasury a tenth of his substance, and the French armies were enabled to take the field on the spoils of his country with renewed life and vigour.

Marlborough had in the meantime taken the field. He and Prince Eugene, at the head of sixty thousand men, commenced operations by investing Douay. He was before Douay when news reached him that his son-in-law, Sunderland, had been dismissed from office by the queen, and when the letter arrived from his colleagues imploring him not to allow that event to interfere with his public duty. He did *not* allow it to interfere, although it spread a still heavier gloom over his mind, and had an untoward effect upon his energies. He was threescore years of age, but in good health, so that he trusted he should end the campaign without feeling the inconveniences of age. Douay capitulated in the month of June. Marshal Villars had marched to its relief, but had marched away again without attempting to raise the siege. *His* chief object was to watch the enemy and to bar their road into the interior of France. He fixed his camp on the heights of St. Laurence, his lines, which were strong, stretching from Arras towards Miramont. The allies moved upon the town of Arras, but finding it well-fortified, they turned aside to besiege Bethune. Time had been when Marlborough would not have hesitated to attack the French lines, strong as they were, but he was no longer the bold general he had been. Every fresh intelligence that reached him from England during the summer cooled his ardour and damped his energies. Bethune was captured, but that was comparatively easy prey. About the same time the allies met with a reverse. A supply of powder and other stores, under a convoy of about 1700 horse and foot, was intercepted and destroyed. These were the chief events of the campaign in Flanders. All that Marlborough could boast of when he went into winter quarters, was the capture of two fourth-rate towns on the frontiers of France. He had done nothing to alter the state of affairs at home.

In Spain the war was more fruitful of stirring events; but which, in the end, left things pretty much in the state they were at the commencement of the campaign. After the trial of Sacheverell, General Stanhope, who had distinguished himself by his eloquence in support of the impeachment, returned to his command in Catalonia. He carried with him a plentiful supply of money, and was accompanied by large reinforcements. He reached Catalonia in May, and was joined by the imperial forces under Count Staremberg. Reinforcements reached them while in Catalonia from Italy, and then the combined forces marched into Aragon. King Philip was in Aragon at the head of a Spanish army. A battle was fought on the 27th of July near Almanara, in which the allies gained the victory. The Spanish horse was entirely routed, and Philip retired with his foot, the main body of his army, to Saragoza. Here he was defeated a second time. In a battle fought under the walls of Saragoza, on the 20th of August, the Spanish army was totally defeated. There was a great slaughter, and seven thousand Spaniards were taken prisoners. All their artillery and a great number of colours and standards fell into the hands of the victors. The cause of Philip seemed lost. After his defeat he returned to Madrid, where he was still as welcome as though he had been the conqueror. Madrid, however, was now left exposed to the enemy, and Philip again left his faithful city. Urged by Stanhope, King Charles now marched into Castile, and on the 28th of September he made his triumphant entry into Madrid. As became a Spanish king, he paid his devotions to Our Lady of Atocha. But there was no welcome for him in that proud capital. It was like a city of the dead, for the streets were empty and the houses closed. Charles left the city in disgust, but the allies lingered there, waiting for reinforcements from Portugal, which did not arrive till the beginning of November. The cause of Philip was *not* lost. While the allies lingered in Madrid, the duke of Vendôme arrived in Spain to take the command of the Spanish forces. The loyalty and affection of the Castilians for the king of their choice were unbounded. A large force was soon again collected under his standard, while flying bands of partisans hovered around the allies, and the peasantry cut off all stragglers without mercy. The position of the allies was well depicted by Stanhope. "The country is our enemy, and we are masters in Castile of no more ground than we encamp on." Charles returned with the best part of his cavalry to Catalonia, not deeming himself safe in any other part of Spain. Nor was it long before the main body of his army followed his footsteps. As winter advanced, they were in danger of starvation, for the Spaniards cut off all supplies. In their retreat they were divided into separate detachments—English, Germans, Catalonians, and Portuguese. Each of these divisions took different lines of march. This was fatal to their safety. On the same day that they separated, Philip and Vendôme entered Madrid, the streets of which were now alive with spectators shouting aloud their welcome. But there was no time lost in festivities and ceremonials. Vendôme was not a general to let the enemy escape so easily. The Spanish army, largely reinforced from all quarters, was returning along the Tagus by forced marches, and placing himself at their head, he crossed that river at Guadalaxara, and commenced a hot pursuit of the allies. He came up with the English at Brihuega, a small town on the river Taguna. The odds were against him, but Stanhope had no alternative but to fight a battle or surrender. He chose the former. Hastily throwing up barricades and entrenchments in the town, he stood on his defence. A brave resistance was made by the English, but to no purpose. For a whole day they fought against forces four times their number, but towards the evening, their ammunition being nearly exhausted, Stanhope asked and obtained honourable capitulation. All those who were not slain in the conflict were made prisoners of war. The defeat of Stanhope was followed on the next day by a victory gained by the energetic Frenchman over the other position of the allies under Count Staremberg, at Villa Viciosa. It was a hard-fought battle, but Staremberg was compelled to retreat. In his retreat he sustained severe losses by partisan cavalry who hovered around him, so that when he reached Barcelona, half his forces were left dead in Castile and Aragon. The campaign, which had commenced auspiciously for the allies, ended disastrously. The Spanish nation had proved their fidelity to King Philip, and the cause of his rival was henceforth hopeless.

On the 25th of November, 1711, the new parliament assembled. The choice of a Speaker indicated the altered character of the House of Commons. Mr. Bromley, the member for the University of Oxford, and the chief advocate of the bill against occasional conformity, was elected without opposition. He was a stanch supporter of the High Church party, now dominant in the country. Sacheverell had done them good service, for which he was now gratified with a living in North Wales. But though the Tories obtained a great majority in the elections, they did not universally succeed. Great exertions were made by them to keep the managers of the Sacheverell impeachment out of parliament, but in spite of them, Jekyll, King, Lechmere, and Walpole were re-elected. If the sentiments of the speeches delivered by the queen during the Whig administration could be supposed to have been her own, her mind had now undergone a complete metamorphosis. Although the campaign had been so far successful in Flanders as to hold France in check, there was not a syllable of congratulation in her speech. At the same time she recommended the prosecution of the war, especially in Spain, and, as usual, demanded suitable supplies. But the subject which chiefly showed that Anne was in the hands of new advisers was that of toleration. The Church of England was to have her assured support and encouragement, but "scrupulous consciences" were only to be allowed "indulgence:" a term which meant that whatever liberty of conscience dissenters enjoyed was a matter of favour and not of right. Both Houses unanimously voted addresses to the queen, but that of the Lords was cold in its language in comparison with that of the Commons. They said that they would concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace; while the Commons urged her majesty to discountenance all such measures and principles as had recently threatened her crown and dignity, and which were calculated to prove fatal to the constitution, both in Church and State. After this declaration the Commons proceeded to vote supplies for the war in compliance with the queen's demand; but the war of parties at home possessed now a deeper interest than those in which the nation was engaged against France and Spain.

Marlborough returned to London in December. On his return he found his power in the State had vanished. He assisted at a committee of the council, but it was a matter of mere form. His voice in the council of the nation was lost. He was the only Whig of note left in office, and his counsel was set at nought. A motion of thanks to him had been made in the Lords, but it was so vehemently opposed by the duke of Argyll, that it was withdrawn, and the queen took care to inform him that he need not expect it. While desiring that he should still retain the command of the army, she requested that he would not suffer any vote to him to be moved in parliament, as she was sure her ministers would oppose it. Ministers were intent upon his humiliation, especially Harley and St. John. "The great man," as they called him, was brought low, and they exulted in his abasement. "The queen," says St. John, "wished that Marlborough should command the army, and that he should have everything which as a general he could expect; but he has been told that he must draw a line between all that is passed and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new footing; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer."

When the queen expressed her resolution of prosecuting the war in Spain with vigour, the changing fortunes of war in that country were unknown; but on the second day of the new year the queen sent a message to this effect: that having received notice there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of King Charles, which, having heavily fallen on the British forces in particular, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair that loss. Ordinarily a victory is in favour of any government—Whig or Tory—but in this instance it was proved that the rule was not without an exception. The signal defeat of the British army under General Stanhope was a most auspicious event for the ministry of Harley and St. John, or Bolingbroke. The news of the disasters in Spain was received by the dominant party in parliament with unseemly joy. It was embraced by the Tories as a glorious opportunity of completing their triumph over the Whigs, just as the Whigs would have taken advantage of such an occasion to sing pæans of triumph over the Tories. It was an exhibition of the spirit of faction; a spirit which is always adverse to the solid interests of a nation, but which is too often displayed among rival politicians. In their reply to the queen's message, the Lords told her Majesty, that as this misfortune might have "been occasioned by some previous mismanagement," they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent a repetition of such for the future. Accordingly their lordships entered into an examination of the whole history of the war, from the time of the exploits of Peterborough to the defeat of Stanhope. But it was a one-sided examination. Although it was entered upon ostensibly to redress a national calamity, it was in reality to derive from that calamity the triumph of party. While the exploits of Peterborough were exalted, and the thanks of the House were tendered to him for his great and eminent services, it was resolved that the earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, by advising and prosecuting an offensive war in Spain, had been the occasion of all the misfortunes, and one great cause of the failure of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her Majesty. Peterborough was the Tories' hero, and the victories of Marlborough were disparaged to place him on the Tory pedestal of fame. Of this Marlborough appears not to have taken any notice, but he defended the characters of Galway and Tyrawley. "It was somewhat strange," he said, "that generals who had acted to the best of their understandings, and had lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like offenders, about insignificant things." Those generals, when Marlborough thus spoke, had been disgraced by being called to the bar of the House to give an account of affairs long since passed. During the autumn an address had been got up by the bishop and clergy of London and Westminster, and presented to her Majesty, which set forth that unprecedented attempts had been lately made to undermine "all religion and government whatsoever." In consequence of this address, and a message from the queen, the Commons demonstrated their attachment to the Church by voting 350,000*l.* for the building of fifty new churches in the cities of London and Westminster: the lack of churches it was said contributing to the great increase of schism and irreligion. But what is very remarkable, this church business was conducted by one of the most profligate men of the day. As secretary of state, Henry St. John was charged with the queen's message and the address of the Lower House of Convocation to her Majesty's faithful Commons, who thus manifested their interest in the Established Church.

The new minister, Harley, was no doubt popular with "the country gentlemen." At this time, however, his position was not a safe one. Intrigue was a game which more than one played at in the reign of Queen Anne. He had a rival in his cabinet in the person of Henry St. John. Burnet says, "In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of Tories of the highest form, who thought the court was yet in some management of the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him." Henry St. John was one of the principal of this new combination of Tories, and it was thought likely that he would have triumphed over the man who had secured the downfall of Godolphin. Swift, foreseeing the rising storm, wrote: "The ministry is upon a very narrow bottom, and stands like an isthmus, between the Whigs on one side and violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten, and the crew all against them." While thus threatened with the loss of his newly-acquired power, "an odd accident, that had been almost fatal," placed Harley above the reach of his rival for power, and for a time rendered him popular with the nation. That accident may be briefly related. Large sums were at this time squandered away on secret services. It mattered not which party held the reins of government—Whig or Tory—both had spies in their pay. Among these was a Frenchman who called himself the marquis de Guiscard. He was one of St. John's boon companions. He had a pension of five hundred a year, but that was not sufficient for the support of his profligate habits. He asked for more, and when he found it would not be granted, he wrote a letter to the court of France, to offer his services there. That letter was intercepted and opened at the post-office, and he was arrested as he was taking a morning walk in St. James's Park. That was on the 8th of March, and it is related that on the evening before he had been with the queen. On being arrested he was taken before the council, where he appears to have behaved with great confidence, denying everything till he was shown his own handwriting. Thus convicted, he wished to speak in private with Mr. Secretary St. John, but was refused. It was a favour, said his old companion, not to be granted to a man in such a situation. He had given up his sword, but he had secreted a penknife; and stooping down, as if he would have whispered something in the ear of Harley, he stabbed him in the breast. Harley fell to the ground bleeding. The knife had struck upon a bone, and was broken about half an inch from the handle. With his broken knife, before Harley fell, he had repeated the blow, but St. John and the other councillors drew their swords and cut him down. Many wounds were inflicted on the assassin, and it is related that he begged the duke of Ormond to kill him outright, and that his grace answered it was not "fit work for a gentleman." Guiscard lingered till the 17th, when he died of his wounds; but, says Swift, "the coroner's inquest found that he was killed by bruises received from a messenger, in order to clear the cabinet councillors." In three days Harley was again in his place in parliament, listening to the Speaker's congratulations upon his escape and restoration to health. This was, indeed, a rapid recovery, if there had been any danger. It was a lucky blow for Harley. Both Houses went up with an address to the queen, expressing their deep concern "to find such an instance of inveterate malice against one employed in your majesty's council, and so near your royal person; and we have reason to believe that his fidelity to your majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction." His rival St. John seems to have envied that lucky blow which struck upon the rib beneath the embroidered waistcoat of Harley. He affected to say that it was really intended for himself; but, says Swift, "I am apt to think Mr. St. John was either mistaken or misinformed." It is not often that the blow of a penknife leads to such results as it did in this instance. Burnet says that "the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one who was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the queen's person." In their zeal for the queen's person, parliament desired that she would cause all papists to be sent out of London and Westminster; and forthwith a proclamation was issued to that effect, and the English Catholics were subject, as of old, to the most harassing persecutions. If Harley had died he would most certainly have been looked upon by the people as a martyr. As it was, he lived to become in a very few weeks lord high treasurer, and to be transferred to the Upper House, under the titles of earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. But a worm was nibbling at the root of his prosperity. That more skilful intriguer even than himself, Henry St. John, was undermining his authority; which, with the aid of Mrs. Masham, who continued to engross the favour of the queen, in a brief period he accomplished. Figuratively speaking, his authority resembled Jonah's gourd, which "came up in a night, and perished in a night." That St. John was intriguing against his colleague at this period may be rightly inferred from the language of Swift, who says, that when he visited Mr. Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, he found several of his nearest relatives talking very freely of some proceedings of his rival. But almost the sum total of the history of this period is a history of manœuvres, intrigues, back-door influences, bribery, and corruption. There was even contemplated treason to the constitution in high places. Harley himself was carrying on a secret correspondence, directly or indirectly, with the court of St. Germains; and there was intelligence in the letters of Guiscard which were read at the council which few had any knowledge of before; and he was never asked from whom he had it, "the answer being evident." While preparations were being made for the continuance of the war, there was, as will be seen, a secret negotiation going forward with the French minister, Torcy, under the direction of St. John, through the Abbé Gaultier; while at the same time the queen was made to pledge herself to the Dutch government that no peace should be made but in concert with them. Hence it was the interest of both Harley and St. John that their duplicity to the allies, and their possible treason to the constitution, should be covered by the pretence that each was the intended victim of Guiscard, the French popish agent.

The attempt upon the life of Harley led to the passing of an Act by which it was enacted that any attempt upon the life of a privy councillor should be felony without the benefit of clergy. Towards the close of the session the Commons represented to the queen that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but had discharged heavy debts, of which the nation had so long and justly complained. It was pretended that they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money. More than thirty millions, they said, remained unaccounted for in the treasury—an omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. But these representations appear to have been made to inflame the minds of the people against the late cabinet, and to excuse their own extravagance. They had assured the people that their very first step would be to curtail the supplies so lavishly granted by the improvident Whigs, but no attempt was made at economy. Upwards of six millions and a half were voted with alacrity. The queen prorogued parliament on the 12th of June, on which occasion she thanked her faithful Commons, among other matters, for having granted sums more munificent than were ever given to any prince in one session.

Marlborough was then gone to the wars for the last time. Urged by the allies to appear again among them, and perhaps glad to escape from his enemies at home, in February he set out for Flanders. On his departure he was assured by the queen that he might depend upon the payment of his forces. So long as Godolphin was at the head of the treasury he had no misgivings, but the fact of the queen's assurance indicates that he was not now so sure on that point. It would naturally occur to his mind, that, now his enemies were in office, they would cripple his resources to diminish his fame. But for a time they could scarcely dare openly to stem the tide of war, for the nation was still inspired by ideas of glory and a lust of conquest. Hence it was, in part, that the Tory ministry so sedulously sought to bring the nation's heroes and Whig patriots into contempt. And Marlborough had not long taken the command before he found his authority diminished and his force weakened. Many of his best regiments were withdrawn for the hopeless war in Spain, or to sail on a quixotic and paltry expedition to Quebec, under the command of Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham. On the other hand, the French king and the French people had regained their spirits. Louis was well aware of the disposition of the Tory cabinet for peace. He knew that Lord Oxford would embrace the first opportunity of securing a peace, if not at any price, at least without insisting upon the dethronement of King Philip. And an event happened just as Marlborough took the field which gave him bright hopes that that opportunity would soon arrive. On the 17th of April the Emperor Joseph died of small-pox. There were two rivals for the imperial crown: Charles, the would-be king of Spain, the deceased emperor's brother, and the elector of Bavaria. Marlborough received orders from the British cabinet to co-operate with the allies and Prince Eugene to forward the election of the Austrian prince; and the French king gladly promoted the same object, feeling assured that if Charles were elected the obstacle to a separate peace would be removed, as the danger to the balance of power from the emperor being king of Spain would be felt by the allies to be greater than the union of the crowns of France and Spain. But time was needed for the election, and meanwhile the war continued. The French people, though greatly impoverished, supported the war with the utmost ardour. They bore their burdens, heavy as they were, without complaint, and flocked to the standard of their prince with surprising alacrity. There was an assured confidence, both in the court and the camp, that in this campaign defeat and its consequent disgrace would be brought upon England's hero, Marlborough, who had so often defeated them in battle, and the sound of whose very name was a terror to all France. And crippled as he was in his resources, the French monarch and his people were justified in indulging in that dream of confidence. Nor did they alone thus dream. The British cabinet, who had done all they could to realize that dream, felt confident that he was gone to Flanders to certain defeat and humiliation. But never did Marlborough stand in a loftier attitude than in the campaign of 1711. The eyes of his enemies were upon him, and he resolved, if genius and courage could defeat their envy and malice, no exertions on his part should be wanting to secure that defeat. Marshal Villars, the most renowned general France at this time possessed, had encamped with a numerous army behind the river Sanset. He deemed his lines, which stretched from Bouchain to Cauché, to be impregnable. In his own words they were the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. To render himself more secure, Villars had directed movements to be made on the Upper Rhine, which, as he foresaw, divided Marlborough's forces. Prince Eugene, who had opened the campaign with him, was obliged to quit his friend to look after the French on the Rhine. Villars was exultant. He conceived that he was privileged to be at his ease during the summer, or that if he was attacked in his wonderful lines he should gain a signal victory over the renowned Marlborough. Writing to his son-in-law, Godolphin, on the 4th of May, Marlborough says:—"The marshal de Villars was pleased to tell my trumpeter yesterday, that the death of the emperor would occasion great disorders among the allies, and that he should be thirty thousand stronger than we. If their superiority be as great as he says it will be, I should not apprehend much from them, but that of being able to hinder us from acting, which, to my own particular, would be mortification enough; for since constant success has not met with approbation, what may I not expect when nothing is done?" Marlborough designed investing and capturing Bouchain, but to enable him to do this it was necessary that he should break through the lines which Villars deemed impregnable. To effect this he had recourse to stratagem. By pretending to attack the French lines in one part, he induced Villars to concentrate his forces for its defence; but at nightfall he suddenly marched away, broke through the lines at Arles without losing a man, and proceeded to invest Bouchain. Villars was completely outgeneralled, but he still hoped to triumph over Marlborough. The frontier town was strong by nature and art, and he had taken care to have it well garrisoned. It was so strong, and Villars was so satisfied of its safety from its strength, that he did little or nothing for its relief, except burning and destroying all the forage about Quesnoy and Valenciennes to hinder the progress of the siege, and to render it impossible for the army of Marlborough to subsist. Had the siege been prolonged this plan of relieving Bouchain might have succeeded, but Marlborough pressed the siege so closely, that in twenty days after the trenches were opened the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. But this exploit, by which a passage was opened into the heart of France, was the last act which Marlborough performed in the tragedy of the War of Succession. Marlborough's warlike days were ended. His successes only forwarded the secret negotiations between the Tories and the agents of the French monarch to bring about a peace. During his operations against Villars the wily secretary had twice offered his congratulations to Marlborough on his superior generalship. Thus, when he with his whole army had passed the lines of the French, he wrote, "that he had obtained an advantage without losing a man, which had it been bought with the expense of several thousand lives, the government would have thought themselves gainers;" and while the siege of Bouchain was progressing, that there was scarcely "an instance of an inferior army posting themselves so as to be able to form a siege and keep the communication open with their own country in sight of an enemy so much superior." But while St. John was thus congratulating Marlborough, and withal, together with Lord Oxford, urging him to conduct the war with the utmost vigour till a general peace could be accomplished, in concert with the allies, they were plotting for his final downfall, and pressing forward by secret negotiation a peace with France, as though Britain were the sole party concerned. In October one great barrier to a general peace was removed by the election of Charles of Austria to the empire of Germany. As regards the throne of Spain, Charles appears anterior to his election to have lost all hope of securing it, for he had abandoned the war in that country in person altogether; and though troops had been sent there by the British government under the command of the duke of Argyll, but little or nothing had been done to retrieve the disasters of the previous year. Argyll had been promised liberal supplies from the treasury for the support of the war, but although the Commons had granted 1,500,000*l.* for that service, no remittances were made. Argyll was even obliged to borrow money on his own credit before he could take the field, and when he did he was unable to attempt anything of importance, so that he returned to England in disgust. Marlborough also, having put his army into winter quarters, returned from Flanders to the Hague, and from the Hague, home. He landed at Greenwich on the 17th of November. His fame was undiminished, but he foresaw his fate. In taking leave of the States-General he expressed his regret that he was compelled to return to England, where all his services to the republic would be turned to his disgrace; and he was right. He returned to an ungrateful country, to be insulted by the mob, baited by ministers, shorn of his command by the queen, and what was probably more galling than all this—to witness most of the fruits of his brilliant victories thrown away into the lap of humiliated France.

Mention has been made in a previous page of an expedition to Quebec, under the command of Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham. That expedition was designed for the conquest of Canada. A Colonel Nicholson having taken possession of Nova Scotia and garrisoned Port Royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis, came home with four live Indian chiefs, and represented to the government that great advantages would be derived by the nation from commerce if the French could be expelled from North America. The Tory ministry embraced his views. Hill was sent with five thousand men on this high enterprise. They embarked at Plymouth in May, with a strong squadron of ships, commanded by Sir Hovendon Walker. They were joined by two regiments of provincials at Boston, in New England, and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, were engaged to march from Albany into Canada, by land, to aid in the conquest. Hill entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence at the latter end of August, but he had scarcely begun to ascend the mighty river which pours itself into the gulf, when he was overtaken by violent storms, and driven among the rocks. Eight transports were dashed to pieces, and as many hundred men either perished by drowning or were scalped and tomahawked on the banks of the river on which they were cast by the wild Indians. If Hill had been a brave commander he would still have proceeded with his expedition, for his force was still sufficient to carry out the design, the French being ill-prepared to meet the invaders. But Hill was a coward. The storms had frightened him, and in a council of war it was resolved to return to England. The squadron returned to Portsmouth in October, and the ships had scarcely arrived in port when the admiral's ship blew up, with every soul on board. Such was the issue of an expedition intrusted to a man by court favour, without either talents or experience for the enterprise. In their secret overtures to France for peace, Oxford and St. John had bargained for the possession of every place Hill might win in America at the time of signing the definitive treaty of peace, and their mortification must have been great when their doughty hero returned home defeated simply by the weather.

Those overtures, to which allusion has already been made, require a brief narration. They commenced early in the year. Before they commenced it appears clear that a secret correspondence had been going on between Oxford and St. John with the Pretender at the court of St. Germains: Oxford by unwritten messages, and St. John, more bold than his colleague, by letters. One of their first agents was the Abbé Gualtier, a priest who was chaplain to the imperial ambassador at the English court, but who had no compunction to join with his sacred character that of a spy for the interests of the court of France. Ever since the breaking out of hostilities he had been in the double pay of the imperial ambassador for his sacerdotal functions, and the French court for political information, false or true. The Abbé Gualtier was known well among the Tories. He was an intimate of the Catholic Lady Jersey, the wife of a Tory minister. He was known as a man not to be altogether trusted, which was rather a recommendation to Oxford than otherwise; since if his proceedings should be discovered by the Whigs, they could the more easily be disavowed. Accordingly the Abbé Gualtier was sent to the French minister, De Torcy, to sound him on the disposition of France for peace. He went secretly, and the instructions given to him by Oxford were to be delivered *viva voce.* Having gained access to De Torcy, the abbé put to him this plain question: "Sir, do you wish for peace?" Before he gave the abbé an answer he desired a full explanation of his mission; who sent him, and whether there was any real desire for peace on the part of the British government. De Torcy was well aware that all the negotiations and attempts at negotiation with the allies had been only productive of a fiercer determination to prosecute the war; and that England had hitherto, more than any other power, "blown the fire." The abbé, however, fully satisfied him that the Tory ministry was as desirous for peace as the Whig administration had been determined on carrying on the war. All that the abbé asked for was a letter to my Lord Jersey, saying that the French minister was in good health, and that his messenger was charged with his thanks for his lordship's inquiries: the rest would follow. De Torcy himself says that no sort of engagement was required from the French monarch, and that Gualtier had orders to be satisfied with a simple letter of compliment, by which it would be understood that the general proposition had been favourably received by France. By the order of Louis the letter of compliment was written, and the abbé was instructed to assure the Tory ministry, verbally, his French majesty was so offended at the imperious conduct of the States-General, that he would never again treat for peace with them, but through England. Rejoicing in the success of his mission, the abbé returned to England, and was soon after sent back to France to ascertain what advantages Louis would offer for the recognition of his grandson Philip as king of Spain. Although desirous of peace, the French monarch was not at that time disposed to offer much. King Charles had been defeated, and General Stanhope had been compelled to surrender with his whole army, so that Spain seemed already to be secured to King Philip. All that Louis then offered was that England should keep Gibraltar and have a free trade with Spain and the Indies. If the Tory ministry had continued negotiations on such a basis as this it would have been a death-blow to their power. Besides, their secret became divulged to the States-General—probably by the abbé for a price—and the States then invited Louis to enter into a negotiation with them apart from England. But this game of circumvention was soon played out. The secret of the Dutch negotiation, like that of the British ministry, was not long kept. It became known to Oxford and St. John, and they were compelled to enter into an explanation with the States. Both now joined in a declaration to France that they were ready to enter into a general, definitive, and lasting treaty of peace; only Louis was given to understand that his offers must be large and liberal. But while the secret negotiations were proceeding, Marlborough had forced the boasted lines of Villars, and had captured Bouchain, and Oxford and St. John were compelled to pause. In the meantime the Abbé Gualtier was again sent to Paris. He was this time accompanied by the poet Prior, who was well known in France, having been secretary of embassy to the earls of Portland and Jersey. Prior was devoted to the Tory interest, and was well fitted for the mission with which he was intrusted. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the British cabinet, and to bring back the answer of the French court. Those demands or propositions were manifold. It was required that the Dutch should have a barrier in the Netherlands, and the empire on the Rhine; that the Dutch commerce should have a security, and the allies a general satisfaction; that the duke of Savoy should recover all the strong places he had lost, and should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him by treaties with the allies; that the French king should acknowledge Anne and the Protestant succession; that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished; that there should be a new treaty of commerce between England and France; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should continue in our possession; that the negro trade in America, held by France since 1702, should be given up to the English; that the English trading to Spain should enjoy all the advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation; that the trade of Newfoundland should entirely belong to the English, and that of Hudson's Bay should continue to be enjoyed by both nations; that England and France should possess whatever territories they might possess in America at the ratification of the treaty; that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united; and, finally, that the secret of these overtures should be kept inviolate till both parties mutually consented to make them public. It was, therefore, no longer insisted that Philip should be driven from the throne of Spain. That throne was virtually given up to him by these propositions. But it was a virtue which arose out of necessity. The throne of Philip had taken deep root in Spain, and was not easily to be overthrown. With the exception of the Catalonians and a few scattered bands of malcontents, the Spanish people had by their fidelity proved that they would have no other sovereign but King Philip. Besides, his rival Charles had become emperor of Germany, and the union of the crown of Spain with that of the empire would have been dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The altered state of circumstances absolutely required an alteration in the policy of the allies, and an advance for peace; but not such a peace as proposed by the Tory cabinet. That the French monarch perceived that they were more favourable than he could have expected, as Marlborough had opened the way into France, is proved by the readiness with which, in the main, he accepted them. As Prior had no power given him to negotiate, he returned with his friend the abbé to London, accompanied by M. Ménager, a skilful diplomatist, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. Ménager was instructed to obtain some slight alteration in the preliminaries. For instance, he was to demand some equivalent for the ruin of Dunkirk, and to require the restitution of Lille and Tournay, in Flanders, for which, however, he was to offer other places in exchange. On his arrival in London the queen commissioned the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. Secretary St. John, to treat with him. But before they met in conference the French diplomatist was required to give a categorical answer to all the propositions made by Prior in Paris. Ménager had been instructed to be circumspect, and he was greatly puzzled at this requirement. However, he drew up a paper, and although it was replete with equivocations and double meanings, so eager were the commissioners to forward the treaty, that they expressed themselves satisfied. The conference was opened in the house of Lord Jersey. Every movement was still made in secrecy. It was not yet known that Prior and the abbé had been to France on such a mission, or that Ménager was in London in any official capacity. The first conference was held privately, but despite all precaution, the conferences were discovered, and many were convinced that the Tory ministry were resolved to conclude a peace upon any terms. And they were justified in that conviction. There were some disputes between Ménager and the commissioners, but early in November the preliminary articles of peace were signed between England and France. When signed they were communicated to the ambassadors of the emperor and the States-General. Indignant at the clandestine manner in which they had been conducted, and dissatisfied with their nature, the emperor's minister made them public in a London newspaper; a step which the queen resented by dismissing him from her court. The Dutch minister also dissented from the articles. The States-General were alarmed at the preliminaries. An envoy extraordinary was sent by them to England to implore the queen to alter her resolution. There was a warm altercation and a long correspondence, in which the pens of Matthew Prior and St. John were employed; and in the end the British cabinet was obliged to consent to a congress which was to treat for a general peace at Utrecht. There was universal dissatisfaction throughout Europe with the preliminaries, France only excepted, where they were hailed as a success and triumph. Anne had been looked upon by the French king as a usurper, but now he testified that he had entire confidence in the queen of Great Britain. The Emperor Charles was furious when the preliminaries became known to him. In a circular letter he called upon all the princes of the empire still to persevere in all the objects proposed by the Grand Alliance. The elector of Hanover, too, who was soon to ascend the throne of Great Britain, sent a strong remonstrance to the queen against the preliminaries. At home the Whigs loudly denounced them as dishonourable; and there were some among the Tories who joined with the Whigs in condemning them. The press had full employment in issuing pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, from pens wielded on both sides. The understrappers of government were especially busy with their pens in defaming Marlborough and the Whigs. Swift, the reverend counsellor of the Tories, was one of these most potent "understrappers." In his "Journal to Stella" he says: "I have put an understrapper to write a twopenny pamphlet." That pamphlet was written as a squib against the Whigs, in reply to one written by a Whig writer lampooning the lord treasurer. There can be no doubt but Swift's "understrapper" refers to himself, who was the great ally of Oxford and Mr. Secretary St. John, and whose venal pen was ever active in their service.

The queen opened parliament on the 7th of December. Prior to its opening, the Tory government had been busily engaged in distributing titles and promotions among their party. Thus Lord Raby, the British ambassador at the Hague—who was of the Wentworth family, and cousin to the son of the famous Lord Strafford—obtained the earldom of Strafford; Sir Simon Harcourt became Baron Harcourt; and the Scottish Jacobite duke of Hamilton was rewarded with an English peerage under the title of the duke of Brandon. The promotions were caused by the decease of the earl of Rochester and the duke of Newcastle; the former was succeeded as president of the council by the duke of Buckingham, and the latter as privy seal by Robinson, bishop of Bristol. The opening passage of the queen's speech at the meeting of parliament was not to be mistaken. "I have called you together as soon as public affairs would permit; and I am glad that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." The "arts of those who delight in war" had especial reference to Marlborough and the late Whig government, but this reproachful language was ill suited to the lips of a queen who had joined with them in the cry for war. But the Tories had prepared the public mind for this sudden change in her character. Before parliament opened she had been represented as afflicted by the miseries war had inflicted on her people, and anxious to stop the effusion of blood; blood shed, not for their hearths and homes, or to uphold Church and State, but to gratify covetous and ambitious allies abroad, and her late ministers at home! But this was not all that marked her speech as strangely singular. She was made to declare that the States-General had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct, whereas they were not at all satisfied with the preliminaries of peace. Nay, more, while Anne and her Tory ministers were endeavouring, by all the means in their power, to undermine the Act of Succession, she declared that it was her chief concern to secure the succession of the House of Hanover! In moving an address in the Lords, ministers found themselves opposed by the earl of Nottingham, who had left their ranks, through jealousy of Oxford, and become associated with the Whigs. Nottingham moved as an amendment to the address, "that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to the House of Bourbon." The noble lord supported his amendment by a telling speech against the policy of the Tory cabinet. Marlborough took part in the debate which followed. Stung to the quick by the unjust allusion made to himself by the queen in her speech, and by an assertion of the earl of Anglesey, who, in supporting the address, remarked that a good peace might have been obtained after the battle of Ramilies, if it had not been for those who prolonged the war for their own interest, the duke vindicated his conduct with unwonted animation. He could declare, he said, with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, who *knew* him, and now *heard* him, of the peers there assembled, and of Almighty God, before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, he must soon appear to give an account of his actions, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he never had a design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. Nottingham's amendment was carried, and it therefore formed part of the address. The Tory cabinet, thus defeated, was perplexed, and to escape from their dilemma they put a falsehood into the mouth of the queen in her reply. She was sorry, she said, that any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the House of Bourbon! A similar amendment was proposed in the Commons by Robert Walpole, but in that House the Tories had a majority. The address was carried in its entirety, and being a simple echo of the royal speech, the royal reply was warm and cordial.

Comparing the constitution of the two Houses with that of more modern times, one cannot but be struck with the dissimilarity. As a common rule the Tories, or Conservatives, as they now are called, rule in the Lords, and the Whigs in the Commons. But in the reign of Queen Anne it was the reverse: in the present year—1711—especially, the Tories carried what they chose in the Commons, and the Whigs in the Lords. It has been seen that the Jacobite duke of Hamilton had been created duke of Brandon, which entitled him to take a seat in the British parliament. When he claimed that seat the Whig lords resisted his demand. It was incompatible, they urged, with the limitation of Scottish peers in the Act of Union, and dangerous to the constitution of the crown, to crowd the House with "poor, venal Scottish lords." The resistance of the Whigs was strangely inconsistent, for they had before permitted the Whig duke of Queensberry to take his seat in the House as duke of Dover. But all is said to be "fair in love and war," and perhaps it may be in politics. At all events, fair or unfair, Hamilton's claim was on a division rejected. Incensed at this decision, the Scottish peers drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as a breach of the Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. For a time they absented themselves from their places in parliament, but they were finally won back by the queen's fair promises. Before the Christmas recess the Bill againt Occasional Conformity was revived by the earl of Nottingham. It was somewhat modified, and as the earl promised his new allies, the Whigs, that if they now supported it, he would bring over to them not only Oxford and St. John, but many other high churchmen to their side, it passed. But Nottingham could not fulfil his promise, and by their acquiescence in that oft-rejected measure, the Whigs lost the favour and support of the dissenters. But, says Burnet, "Lord Nottingham had the mortification afterwards to see his bill rejected with scorn, and himself not much better treated."

"Being informed that an information against the duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons by the commissioners of the public accounts, her majesty thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation." Such was an entry made in the minutes of the cabinet council of the last day of the year 1711. It was a step replete with hazard, and could not have been safely taken without charging the duke with some high crime and misdemeanour. The charge against him was of a twofold character; first, that he had taken several sums of money annually from the contractors for furnishing the bread and bread-waggons in the Low Countries; and second, that he had deducted two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops in her majesty's service. To the first of these charges Marlborough urged in justification, that generals, or commanders-in-chief of the army in the Low Countries, had always, both before the Revolution and since, been allowed such perquisites; and whatever he had received he had employed for the public service, in keeping secret correspondence, and obtaining intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs; and to the second, that he had negotiated with the foreign states that such percentage should be deducted from the pay of their troops to cover all charges for secret service; and that when he succeeded to the command, the queen by her royal warrant had authorized his receipt of the same: adding, that he had always strictly applied the money for procuring timely and good advices." Marlborough's known love of money gave his enemies a signal advantage over him. No plea was admitted by the Commons, who readily passed condemnatory resolutions founded on these charges. It was voted that Marlborough's practices had been unwarrantable and illegal, and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. All the money Marlborough had received did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum which might soon be spent, as he asserted it was, in procuring intelligence of the movements and designs of the French armies in his several campaigns. Notwithstanding, the queen; on receiving the resolutions of the Commons, ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant! It was on these charges Anne publicly professed to dismiss Marlborough; and yet in the insulting letter which she addressed to him on his dismissal, written by her own hand, she distinctly attributed it to ill-treatment which she had received personally! Ministers, also, represented to the country that the duke's dismissal was a cruel necessity put upon the queen for a similar cause; by his putting himself at the head of those who opposed the blessed peace on which her compassionate heart was bent! The " head and front " of Marlborough's offence was in reality not pocketing the public money, but his bold opposition to the policy of the Tory cabinet. In his reply to the queen's insulting letter he boldly declared that he would not join in the counsel of a man who in his opinion put her majesty upon all manner of extremities; adding, " And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your majesty, there being in that court a root of enmity irreconcileable to your majesty's government, and the religion of these kingdoms."

The Tory cabinet of Queen Anne could not brook opposition. The House of Lords was the great stumbling-block to their policy. In order to remove this, ministers had recourse to a bold but dangerous manœuvre. During the Christmas holidays, having in vain endeavoured to win over some of the Whig lords by bribery, they created twelve new peers. The new patents were signed on the 1st of January, 1712, and on the very next day the twelve new lords took their seats in a body. The real meaning of this wholesale creation of noble lords was to obtain a preponderance over the Whigs. As such it was regarded by that party. According to Cunningham, while the Tories were elated at seeing the new peers take their seats, the Whigs " looked down upon the ground as if they had been invited to the funeral of the peerage ;" and that when the rights of the peers had been thus violated, all things succeeded in parliament to the queen's wish, and that the conditions of peace were approved, " just as her majesty, not to say the French king, pleased."

The purpose of the new creation was early manifested, as well as its efficacy. When the new peers had taken their oaths the queen commanded the Upper House to adjourn till the 14th of January. This was resisted by the Whig lords as unconstitutional. It was argued by them that the queen could not adjourn one House without the other. There was no precedent for such a proceeding: the crown, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, and adjourning, invariably addressing both Houses of Parliament. When put to the vote, however, ministers had a majority of *twelve*, and while the Lords adjourned, the Commons were left sitting. It was now that it was voted Marlborough ought to have accounted for the two and a half per cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, and that proceedings should be instituted by the law officers of the crown against him. At the same time they expelled Cardonel, the duke's secretary, from his seat in their House. Another victim was also found in the person of Mr. Robert Walpole, who, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig interest, had excited the animosity of the ministry. He had been secretary at war under the Whig administration, and it was discovered that he had been concerned in a transaction which might bring him under the ban of the House. He had desired that a friend of his should be admitted into the partnership of the contractors of forage in Scotland, but rather than admit him the contractors had presented his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Walpole, who endorsed it, and his friend got the money. This was held by the Commons to be a bribe, and Walpole was found guilty by the majority of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption! It was resolved that he should be committed to the Tower and expelled the House; some of the more violent of the Tories being of the opinion that this punishment was too merciful, and that he ought to be hanged! But the resentment of the Tory House of Commons was not confined to those who opposed the policy of the government at home. The Dutch had done all they could to retard the negotiations for peace. Moreover, they were the Whigs' firm friends, while they held the Tories " dangling at arm's length in scorn." Oxford and Mr. Secretary St. John had incurred their special enmity, which was manifested by invidious reports concerning them both in Holland and England. By way of reprisal, ministers induced the Commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-General. Thus it was resolved that the States had not provided their stipulated contingents either in the Netherlands or in Spain; and that the queen had overpaid the subsidies granted by the British parliament to the amount of three millions! But the sting of the resentment of the Tory cabinet against the Whig Dutchmen, and which really stung them to the quick, was wrapped up in the question of a Barrier Treaty, which had been concluded with the States by Lord Townshend after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By that agreement the States had bound themselves to maintain with their entire force Queen Anne's title and the Protestant succession. It was certainly very gracious of the States-General, and withal very patronizing, thus to pledge themselves to protect the queen and religion of Britain. It was a pledge of supererogation. The Tories held it was still more. It was a disgrace, they urged, that England should engage any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to set aside. It was further argued that by this treaty the States were authorized to interpose in British councils; and that being possessed of the barrier agreed upon, they might exclude the British from trading in the towns embraced in that barrier, to the deep injury of the manufactures of Great Britain. Hence it was voted that the Barrier Treaty was destructive to the trade and interests of Great

Britain, and highly dishonourable to Queen Anne; that Townshend had not been authorized to conclude such a treaty; and that he and all who had advised its ratification were enemies to her majesty and the kingdom.

The House of Lords reassembled on the appointed day. As the two Houses now had a Tory majority, the contemplated treaty of peace was brought more prominently forward. On the 17th of January the queen sent a message to parliament announcing that her majesty's plenipotentiaries had arrived at Utrecht, and had begun, in pursuance of their instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all her allies according to their several treaties, and particularly in relation to Spain and the West Indies. The terms of peace, she said, should be made known to parliament before the treaty was concluded, that all the world might see how groundless those reports were which had been spread abroad by men of evil intentions, that a separate peace had been treated of, for which there had not been the least colour given. The queen's message concluded with an expression of alarm at the freedom of the press. No mention was made of this part of the queen's message in the address of the Lords. They merely expressed their high satisfaction at her majesty's declaration that there had been no thoughts entertained of a separate peace with France. But the Commons were not so lukewarm. They asserted in their address that her majesty had been dishonoured by these reports, and that they had been promulgated by factious incendiaries to cloak their disaffection to the queen's administration, and conceal designs they dared not openly avow. As for the liberty of the press, it was denounced by the Commons as a reproach to the nation; since not only were false and scandalous libels printed and published against her majesty's government, but the most horrid blasphemies against God and religion. Anne was assured by her faithful Commons that they would find out a remedy for the cure of this mischief; which remedy was soon administered by the prosecution of printers and publishers, and the majority of those ill-natured writers who wielded their pens against the Tory government.

There was an attempt made during this session to pass a bill by which every printing press, with the names of their owners and their places of abode, would have been registered; and by which the names of the author, printer, and publisher, would have been attached to every book, pamphlet, or paper issued from the press. The scheme for thus restricting the press failed, but the Tories had previously succeeded in a scheme for taxing it. By a statute passed in 1711, and which was to come into operation on the 1st of August, 1712, among other articles, duties were imposed upon "certain printed papers, pamphlets, and advertisements." Swift gives a glimpse of the immediate effect of this "stamp duty." In his "Journal to Stella" he writes:—"Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now, for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's; but now every single half-sheet pays a halfpenny to the Queen. The 'Observator' is fallen; the 'Medleys' are jumbled together with the 'Flying Post;' the 'Examiner' is deadly sick; the 'Spectator' keeps up, and doubles its price: I know not how long it will hold."

As might have been expected, the high church party being in the ascendant, their principles were, during this session, put into practice. The Whigs when in power had passed an Act for the general naturalization of all foreign Protestants. This Act had always been obnoxious to the high church party, they conceiving, that as most foreign Protestants differed from the church government established in England, it increased the number of dissenters in the kingdom. It was accordingly repealed. And this was not the only attack which the high church party made upon those who dissented from the church government of England. By the Act of Union the security of the Presbyterian government in Scotland had been emphatically guaranteed. But notwithstanding this, and despite the remonstrances of the General Assembly, a bill was passed granting toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland. Henceforth those who belonged to the episcopal communion in that country were to be left free and undisturbed in the exercise of their religious worship, and their use of the liturgy of the Church of England. By one clause in this Scottish toleration bill the civil magistrate was prohibited from executing the sentences of the judicatories of the Kirk. The Presbyterians of Scotland were exasperated at this glaring breach of the Act of Union and attack upon the national religion of Scotland. But taking no note of their exasperation, the high church party proceeded to further provocations. A second bill was passed for continuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which the Presbyterians of Scotland held to be contrary to their tenets; and a third bill restored the rights of patronage in the Kirk to those whose rights had been set aside by an Act passed in the reign of King William. This last Act was the most mortifying of all to the Scottish Presbyterians. Some opposition was made to all these measures in parliament, but they passed both Houses by large majorities. "By these steps," says Burnet, "the Presbyterians were alarmed when they saw the success of every motion that was made on design to weaken and undermine their establishment." In this one session, indeed, the high church party managed to resuscitate alike the bitter hostility of the dissenters in England and the Presbyterians in Scotland.

Early in January Prince Eugene arrived in England. He was charged with a commission from the emperor of a manifold character: to endeavour to restore Marlborough in Queen Anne's favour; to convince her majesty that fatal consequences would result from the defection of Britain from the Grand Alliance; to show her that she was bound by honour and interest to continue the war till France submitted to all the conditions demanded of her by the allies in 1706; and to propose a new plan for the conduct of the war, in which the emperor pledged himself to take a more onerous part than had been required of his deceased brother. If the emperor thought that the prince would succeed in such a mission, he must have been utterly ignorant of the obstinate disposition of Queen Anne and of the policy of the Tory government. Eugene was well received by the people of England. There was no want of courtesy towards him at first, even among the Tories. But, regardless of the frowns of court and cabinet, he testified in the most public manner his sense of the injustice and impolicy of palace intrigues and parliamentary hatreds which had humbled the duke of Marlborough to the dust. Nor would he forsake the disgraced hero. The Tories used all their arts to win him over to their side, but he refused to listen to them. He destroyed their hopes by passing the greater part of his time with the duke, "winning their battles over again," and probably hoping that they might yet again rush to victory over the French together. But this firm friendship of Eugene to Marlborough, though honourable to his character as a man, was fatal to his mission. On his arrival the queen had received him with great complacency, but her smiles were soon turned into frowns. She learned to hate him as much as she hated Marlborough. The Tories too, as a body, after feasting him in their lordly halls with princely magnificence, and exhibiting to his eyes proofs of their wealth and power in the state, when they found that they could not win him over, and wean his affections from the man they had trampled upon, turned against him *sans ceremonie.* Nay more : they not only began to abuse him through the press, which for their own interest they sought to gag, but to charge him with taking a share in desperate intrigues and plots, in favour of Marlborough and against the queen and government. While the people pressed about the places where he was to be seen, to look on him, government had their spies about him to watch his movements, as though he had come to England to assist in a new and a great revolution. Prince Eugene left England in March. Before he left, the queen, who knew how to dissemble, presented him with a sword, and gave him some assurance that she would remain faithful to the Grand Alliance; but he left her presence and her kingdom with the full conviction that the interests of her allies would be swallowed up by those of France in a dishonourable peace.

Meanwhile congress had been opened at Utrecht. The plenipotentiaries of England were Robinson, bishop of Bristol and lord privy seal, and the newly-created earl of Strafford. The bishop of Bristol opened the proceedings on the 29th of January with a very devout exhortation, by which he hoped to secure unanimity in their deliberations. But he soon found that such a hope was baseless as a vision of the night. All the powers represented, except France, entertained sentiments now utterly at variance with those of Queen Anne and her Tory cabinet. Thus the emperor still insisted upon his claim to Spain and the Indies; and the Dutch sternly adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected. The Abbé Polignac, one of the two French diplomatists, took high ground. Circumstances, said the abbé, were changed since the propositions were made at Gertruydenberg, as preliminaries to a final treaty. These propositions were to be cast to the winds, and those signed by Ménager in London were alone to be the groundwork of the treaty of Utrecht. An attempt was made by the French diplomatists to ground a peace on that sandy foundation. Terms were offered by the French monarch, but as they were simply based on a system of exchange and barter, they were found irreconcilable with the general views of the other plenipotentiaries, except those of England. And even they made a show of agreeing with the other confederates on the very point which Queen Anne and the Tory cabinet had renounced in the separate articles signed by Ménager. In his terms of peace the French monarch offered to engage, that if his grandson Philip was left undisturbed in the possession of Spain and the Indies, he should give up absolutely, Sardinia, Naples, and Milan to the emperor. The ministers of the emperor, however, with the other plenipotentiaries, those of England included, demanded that the Spanish crown should be given up to the House of Austria, with all the jewels thereto belonging. The French diplomatists were required to give a specific answer in writing, but after some hesitation they refused, expressing at the same time their readiness to enter into a verbal conference on the subject. That neither England nor France was in earnest in the negotiations at Utrecht, is clear. On the 15th of April the bishop of Bristol wrote home that he did not find the French much given to dispatch, and that they even talked about breaking off the conferences with "a great air of indifference." But he coupled this intelligence with a solid reason for their delays; that they well knew their business was not to be transacted at Utrecht, but by "a negotiation carried on between London and Versailles." In truth, the real negotiations for peace were now being carried on by the courts of England and France at Paris, and the main object of Prince Eugene's visit to England was to prevent any such separate negotiations—a mission in which we have seen he signally failed.

Prince Eugene returned to take the command of the allies. On the dismissal of Marlborough the queen appointed the duke of Ormond commander-in-chief of the British forces. The Dutch, however, having no confidence either in the sincerity of Queen Anne or in the military abilities of Ormond, refused to entrust their troops to him. There were, therefore, two commanders-in-chief—Eugene of the Dutch and other allies, and Ormond of the English and their auxiliaries. Ormond, on arriving at the Hague, assured the States-General that his orders were to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. His assurance was justly doubted, but the States could never have expected the amount of treachery by which it was followed. The campaign opened by the reduction of Arras to a heap of ashes by a terrible cannonading and bombardment. That exploit was performed early in March by the earl of Albemarle. Prince Eugene and the duke of Ormond assembled the allied army in May. On the 26th of that month, with an army of 120,000 men, they passed the Scheldt below Bouchain. Villars, the French general, with an army of inferior force, was then nearer the French frontier. Had Ormond cordially co-operated with Prince Eugene, a victory might have been obtained such as Marlborough himself might have envied. But the command of Queen Anne and her Tory cabinet had gone forth; there were to be no more victories by the troops of England in this War of Succession. On the 10th of May Ormond received these instructions from Mr. Secretary St. John:—"Her majesty has reason to believe that we shall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as soon as a courier, sent from Versailles to Madrid, can return. It is therefore the queen's positive commands to your grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till you have further orders from her majesty. At the same time I am directed to let your grace know that the queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order." Ormond was informed that his instructions had been communicated to the court of France. That court was overjoyed at the intelligence, and soon made it known to Villars, who forthwith sent a polite note to Ormond, congratulating him on their being no longer enemies. But Ormond, Jacobite as he was, still retained some sentiments of honour. In a letter to Mr. Secretary St. John, he represented the difficult situation in which he was placed, and expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England. He had nothing to offer, he said, as an excuse why he should not march with Prince Eugene against the French. A second letter, written on the 8th of June, repeated his representation, as regards his embarrassments, but that letter concluded with an expression of readiness to do her majesty's will and pleasure, so that whatever sentiments of honour he might have entertained had then vanished. Meanwhile Prince Eugene had been urgent on Ormond to attack the French camp, which lay open and exposed. But he would not move; and when the allies insisted upon knowing why he was thus ruining the hopes of the campaign, he equivocated, by requesting delay. But although he would not move against Villars, he at last agreed to co-operate with Eugene in the siege of Quesnoy, but this was only to gain time to receive final instructions to retire from the war. Quesnoy was captured on the 4th of July, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war. This was the last military operation in which the British forces were engaged in this long-protracted war. The allies were basely deserted. On the 17th of July Ormond proclaimed an armistice between England and France for four months, and forthwith withdrew his troops from the allies. And to make this desertion still more infamous, Ormond, from instructions received from home, called upon the foreign contingents in the pay of England to withdraw likewise. But the greater part of these contingents had more honour than Ormond imagined they possessed. With few exceptions, they joined the army of the empire and the States, commanded by the brave Eugene. But brave as he was, he was now overmatched. He was defeated at Verrain on the 24th of July; and the French followed up their victory by recapturing all the fortified posts and towns which had been won by the allies. It is said that after the separation of the English army Prince Eugene lost forty battalions in killed and prisoners. Villars endeavoured to follow the infamous advice of Mr. Secretary St. John. The Abbé Gualtier, his agent in the secret correspondence with France, says that on his receiving the communication of the private order to the duke of Ormond, he asked Mr. Secretary what Villars was to do in case Prince Eugene and the Dutch attacked him; to which he replied, "There was only one thing to do; to fall upon him and cut him in pieces, him and his whole army."

This flagrant violation of the national faith did not pass unnoticed by the States General and the British parliament. The States remonstrated in a long letter addressed to the queen on Ormond's conduct in the war, but the Lord Treasurer Oxford only amused their envoy, "as his manner was," with a fair flow of words. The subject was taken up by the Whigs in the Lords on the 7th of June. Halifax, after descanting upon the ill effects of Ormond's refusal to co-operate with Prince Eugene, moved for an address to her majesty, that he might be ordered to act offensively in concert with the allies. In his reply the lord-treasurer amused the House as he had the Dutch ambassador. It was prudent, he said, to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially as the enemy they were dealing with was prone to break his word! That, said the earl of Wharton, naively, was a cogent reason for keeping no measures with that enemy. But to soften the asperities of the Whig lords, my lord-treasurer assured the House that Ormond had received orders to assist in the siege of Quesnoy. To this the greatest authority of the age—Marlborough—replied, that a siege could not be undertaken without either hazarding a battle if the enemy should attempt its relief, or a shameful abandonment of the enterprise. In the course of the debate, which was acrimonious to a degree—and which would have led to a duel between Marlborough and Earl Paulet had not the peace-loving queen interposed by a royal command—the Whig lords accused the government of intending to make a separate peace, and thus to abandon their allies. To this accusation the lord-treasurer replied in terms so emphatic, that it would seem impossible that negotiations then pending should give the lie direct to his words. It was never intended, he said, to make a separate peace; "for such a peace would be so base, so knavish, so villainous, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation!" But Oxford qualified his condemnation of a separate peace by declaring that it would be safe and glorious, and much more to the honour of the nation than the original preliminaries insisted upon by the allies! The motion of Halifax was negatived by a large majority, but twenty-five lords entered a protest, declaring that the order sent to Ormond was derogatory to her majesty's honour, to public faith, and to justice due to the allies. A similar address to that of Lord Halifax was moved in the Commons by Mr. Pulteney, but as that House was the stronghold of the Tories, it had not the remotest chance of being carried. The debate in the Commons was chiefly remarkable for the arrogance displayed by Mr. Secretary St. John. If the lord-treasurer endeavoured to soothe the Whig lords by fair words and soft speeches, St. John sought to intimidate the Whig commoners into acquiescence in the policy of the cabinet by holding out the Tower to their view! Many men, he said, had been sent there for less than some of them had said against the sovereign. The address moved by Pulteney was negatived, and a counter-address substituted for it, in which the Commons expressed entire confidence in her majesty and her government: for which the queen thanked them heartily, as being dutiful to her, honest to the country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, and procure one disadvantageous to her kingdom.

From the time that the bishop of Bristol wrote from Utrecht that negotiations could not settle the business there, the correspondence between the courts of Versailles and London had been more active than ever. While the Abbé Gualtier, aided by Mr. Harley, brother of the lord-treasurer, intrigued with the French ministers and their agents in Holland, Mr. Secretary St. John corresponded with the French minister, the marquis de Torcy, in Paris. There was one demand on the part of England which the French monarch was long loath to concede. At this time there was only the great-grandson of Louis XIV., a sickly child of two years of age, standing between Philip king of Spain and the throne of France. Death had recently been busy in the House of Bourbon. Within a few months the Dauphin and his son, together with the duke of Burgundy and his son, had all gone to the grave. The union of the two crowns of France and Spain, at no distant date, seemed not only probable, but almost certain. If not prevented, all the blood and treasures of this ten years' war would have been spent in vain. The voice of Europe was against such a union, and all the old national prejudices and jealousies of England were called up against it. Ministers found themselves compelled to make the separation of the two crowns a fundamental article of their secret treaty. When St. John first made this demand, De Torcy endeavoured to set it aside by a process of reasoning more specious than sound. But the queen of England, St. John said, insisted upon the renunciation by Philip of the throne of France, and after much pressing the court of France complied. St. John was assured by the French minister, that the king his master had sent orders to Philip that he must renounce either the kingdom of France or Spain. As will be seen, Philip, acting upon the well-known adage that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," renounced the throne of France; but, after all, his renunciation was vague and unsatisfactory. The queen, after requiring that the renunciation should be solemnly ratified by the states of France, was finally content with its being simply registered in the parliaments of Great Britain and France. Either of these forms, however, was but a slender security against the power, ambition, and interests of princes; and hence Philip's renunciation of the French throne, when obtained, was generally looked upon with grave suspicion.

But Queen Anne and her ministers conceived that they had gained a great victory in diplomacy. The bishop of Bristol was instructed to inform the Dutch, that unless they coincided with this arrangement, her majesty would consider herself at liberty to disengage herself from any treaty or alliance with them. Early in June the queen went to the House of Lords, and in a speech from the throne made known the terms upon which a general peace might be made. But her majesty had no authority from her allies to announce their consent to the terms she divulged to her parliament, so that the broad statement made at the opening of her speech was but a continuance of that duplicity which had from the first marked the secret negotiations with France. The terms unfolded to the British parliament were briefly these:—That the Protestant succession as by law established in the House of Hanover should be acknowledged; that as an additional security to that succession, the one person who had attempted to disturb that settlement should be exiled from the French dominions; that Philip of Anjou and his descendants should renounce all claim to the crown of France; and that the king of France for himself and his heirs should repudiate all claim to the crown of Spain. The other terms of the proposed treaty were chiefly territorial arrangements. Certain territories in America were to be ceded to Great Britain, and she was to possess undisturbed Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and Minorca. The old story, that Dunkirk should be demolished, was again repeated as part of the terms of a treaty with France. The allies, it was stated, were to be satisfied in a reasonable manner. Proper barriers were to be established for the emperor, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy. But no guarantee was given in the queen's speech that the allies would be satisfied, or that the barriers spoken of would be deemed sufficient. The courts of London and Versailles had made arrangements to their own satisfaction, and that was sufficient. It mattered but little what the emperor, the States-General, and the duke of Savoy thought: they were so many "nobodies." And so the British House of Commons seemed to think. They hailed the queen's speech with rapture, and having voted an address of confidence and thanks, went up in a body to present it at the foot of the throne. But the Lords were not so complacent. The twelve newly-created peers might secure a majority, but opposition was not disarmed by that creation. In that House an amendment was moved to the complimentary address proposed, recommending a general guarantee of the allies to the conditions of peace. This amendment was moved by Lord Wharton, and it was supported by the duke of Marlborough, who had grown bold by his persecutions. The amendment of Wharton was rejected, but the Whig dissentients entered a protest, stating their objections to the proposed treaty in forcible language. The protest was so cogent that it moved the ire of the Tories. It was voted as too violent and indecorous to remain on their journals, and it was accordingly expunged. But it was not suffered to sink into oblivion. To the great chagrin of the ministers, it was printed and widely circulated, and its contents had no small influence on the public mind. The funds, which had risen at the prospect of peace, went down again when the conditions became known. But ministers braved public opinion. Having previously obtained the protection of a vote of confidence and thanks by a majority in parliament, the treaty between England and France was boldly proceeded with and consummated.

When parliament was prorogued the earl of Strafford was again sent to Holland to induce the States-General to accept the terms agreed upon between England and France, and to declare a cessation of arms. The Dutch, however, and the allies generally, were indignant at the abandonment of their cause by England. They resolved to continue the campaign, the results of which have been before recorded. They were beaten at every point. It was to compel them to submit to the terms agreed upon by England and France, that the duke of Ormond was ordered to withdraw his troops from those of the allies. At that time Ormond was covering the siege of Quesnoy with his whole army; and accordingly he signified to Prince Eugene and the Dutch field-deputies that the French king had agreed to several articles demanded by the queen as the foundation of an armistice, and that therefore he could no longer act with them. He was to march, he said, and take possession of Dunkirk, and then so far as England was concerned there would be no more fighting in this campaign. The French king had agreed to put the English troops in possession of Dunkirk, which was to be held, it was said, by the queen of England as a pledge that France should perform all that she had promised in the negotiations at Utrecht, which were still incomplete. And Ormond was not only ordered, as before seen, to withdraw his twelve thousand English troops from the allied army, but all those foreign mercenaries who had been in the pay of England. "Up to this time," writes Cunningham, "these mercenaries had punctually obeyed orders; but now, when they were required to separate from the allied army, the men made answer to their officers that they would obey the duke of Ormond in everything else, but in this single point, in which the common safety and their own honour were in the utmost danger, that in this particular point they could not be prevailed with by any promises or threatenings to follow him, without the commands of their respective sovereigns." Their "respective sovereigns" with but few exceptions approved of the conduct of their soldiers, and utterly repudiated the idea that they had hired out their troops for gold only, but for the common safety of Europe, and from a duty they owed to the German empire. Mr. Secretary St. John, who had been raised to the peerage on the 7th of July by the titles of Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke, expressed his indignation at these obstinate, but patriotic Germans. But he had no compunction in withdrawing the English troops from the allies, and leaving them exposed to the slaughter. Before Ormond broke up his camp he sent a detachment to take possession of Dunkirk, but they found its gates shut against them. As the auxiliaries refused to obey the truce proclaimed by Ormond, the French marshal objected to give up Dunkirk. Subsequently, however, the French king gave orders that it should be given up, and it was taken possession of by a British detachment under Brigadier Hill, the French garrison quitting it to a man. Meanwhile, on the 17th of July, Ormond, that "stupid tool" and "general of straw," as the British troops now called him, began his march homeward. "It was a day," says Cunningham, "which caused sorrow and disgust to the allies, and branded the British name with infamy and disgrace." The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the British troops, that on their route they were not suffered to enter into any of their towns. The very gates of fortified places which Marlborough had won were shut against them. Ormond, however, pursued his march unmolested, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the queen of England. He lay at Ghent for some time, but in the autumn, having first reinforced Brigadier Hill at Dunkirk with six battalions, he returned to England. Despised as he was by his troops, and scouted by the Dutch, he was warmly received by the Tory ministry, and soon after his return most of his troops were disbanded, and a general disarming was commenced.

On the withdrawal of the British troops from the war in Flanders, the British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice. They urged, and that truly, that the allies were now unable to cope with the French army. But they turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, counsel, and arguments, and concerted measures for the prosecution of the war—with what success has already been related. Eugene was not able with his dismembered forces to contend against the military resources of France and the genius of her commanders. While he was fighting bravely, but hopelessly, Bolingbroke, accompanied by Mathew Prior, went to Paris to settle some points that were still disputed between the two courts. But his mission seems rather to have been to play into the hands of France and the Pretender. Although only a fortnight in Paris, it is said that he had two private interviews with the Chevalier St. George. The removal of the Pretender from the French territory was one of the points which Bolingbroke had to settle. In discussing that point with De Torcy, he insisted upon the absolute necessity of the removal of the chevalier; but, he added, the time might come when the well-disposed in England would be sorry if he was exiled to any great distance from the British Isles. It was finally agreed that his residence should be fixed at Lorraine, and that security for his person should be demanded of its duke and the emperor. While Bolingbroke was in Paris a cessation of arms was agreed upon for Italy. But Anne's wily ambassador had a difficult task to keep the French king true to his engagements. He was distinctly told by Torcy, that if the victory of Villars and Devain had occurred earlier the French king would not have consented to the separation of the crowns of France and Spain. The draft, however, of Philip's renunciation, which Bolingbroke knew was valueless, was presented to him, and which he forthwith sent to the lord-treasurer. Before he left Paris a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France was agreed upon for four months longer. The allies were invited to join in it, but although they had then met with some reverses, they still refused to accede to the armistice. It was not, indeed, till all hope of successfully withstanding the power of France was lost, that they agreed to sheathe the sword.

Bolingbroke returned to England elated with the reception he had met with at the court of Versailles. Before leaving Paris the *Grand Monarque* presented him with a ring of the value of 4000*l.*, as a mark of esteem for his distinguished abilities in diplomacy. The poet Prior was left in Paris to finish the negotiations. Prior, whom Bolingbroke flattered as possessing a "fertile brain," was recommended by him to conceal the blunders of his countrymen as much as possible—who he said were not "much better politicians than the French were poets." Whether the fertility of Prior's brain failed him in the art of concealment, or whether it was because he was only a poet, the Tories subsequently resolved to have a duke at Paris. And of all the dukes in the kingdom, their choice fell upon the Jacobite Hamilton—a nobleman who had long maintained a correspondence with the Pretender and his numerous agents on the Continent and in England. Hamilton was in high favour in the court of Queen Anne, and his appointment as ambassador to the court of Versailles was naturally looked upon with grave suspicion. But he never went on his mission to Paris. "A dismal accident," says Burnet, "put an end to his life a few days before he was to set out on his embassy." It is difficult, from the rampant spirit of partisanship which prevailed at this period, to arrive at the exact truth of the cause of this so-called "accident." It would appear, however, that there had long been a feud between the duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, arising out of some lawsuits. A difference in politics may also have heightened that feud. Hamilton, it is related, bore a mortal hatred to Lord Mohun, and one day at an accidental meeting he grossly insulted his lordship. Mohun was a man of fierce passions, and one who was not to be insulted with impunity. He sent his grace a challenge. They met in Kensington Gardens on the 15th of November. Their seconds were Colonel Hamilton for his grace, and General Macartney for his lordship. On that fatal day the keepers of Hyde Park heard a clashing of swords, and running to the spot from whence the sounds came, they found both the duellists weltering in their blood, and dying. According to Burnet, they fought with such violent animosity, that, "neglecting the rules of art, they attacked one another as if they tried who should kill first, in which both were so unhappily successful, that Mohun was killed outright, and the duke of Hamilton died soon after." Among those who were accused of being concerned in that tragedy was the duke of Marlborough, and as he and his duchess shortly after went to reside on the Continent, his departure from England was interpreted by his enemies as a proof of his guilt. But Marlborough had more likely reasons for quitting his native country. His son-in-law Godolphin had died in September, since which time the court fury against him and his party had increased to an intensity which made his life bitter. At this time there were two suits pending against the duke; one for the two and a half per cent. that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for foreign contingents, of which an account was formerly given; and the other for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. Both these suits assumed the character of persecution. The latter especially was unjust, and even dishonourable to the queen. Burnet writes:—"The queen had given orders for building Blenheim House with great magnificence; all the bargains were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the Acts of Parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the queen built the house for him: yet now that the tradesmen had been allowed to run into arrears of 30,000*l.*, the queen refused to pay any more, and set them upon suing the duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them." According to Burnet, when Marlborough left England both these suits were stayed, which gave rise to a belief that the ministry—being uneasy at seeing so much public respect paid to a man whom they had used so ill—set these prosecutions on foot, to render his stay in England uneasy to him. On the other hand, his enemies accounted for his voluntary exile in ways less honourable to his character. It was said, for instance, that the Lord-Treasurer Oxford had become possessed of the letter which Marlborough wrote in King William's time to betray the expedition projected against Brest, and that therefore he left England. There can be but little doubt that Marlborough and some of the leading Whigs were equally guilty with Bolingbroke and the Jacobites of holding from time to time a correspondence with the Pretender; and that even after his retirement from England, the duke, while corresponding with the House of Hanover, still professed his attachment by letter to that exalted personage the Pretender, who, under a safe-conduct from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine, now resided at Bar. It mattered not whether Whig or Tory; there was double-dealing on both sides, with a view to their future interests; and the one end and aim of both parties, as the history of the times clearly unfolds, was to circumvent and ruin each other.

On the death of Hamilton the duke of Shrewsbury was sent to Paris to carry on the negotiations; Prior remained to assist him. About the same time Lord Lexington proceeded to Madrid to witness the renunciation by Philip of the crown of France. In the presence of the council of state and of the chief nobility of Spain, Philip signed that renunciation, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe it faithfully. His renunciation was approved and confirmed by the Cortes. A similar renunciation was subsequently made by the king of France for himself and heirs of the crown of Spain, and Philip was declared incapable of inheriting the French throne. Meanwhile the Dutch endeavoured to make their own bargain with the *Grand Monarque*. Deserted by England and defeated by the French, they found themselves compelled to seek peace. In October the States declared "that for the good of peace they were willing to yield Lille to France, and to recede from their claims to have Douay, Valenciennes, and Maubenge, provided Condé and Tournay were included in their barrier, the commercial duties with France restored to what they were in 1664, and the island of Sicily yielded to the emperor, and Strasburg to the empire." But the demands of the French rose, as victory declared in their favour, in proportion as those of the

Dutch, under the pressure of defeats, declined. The French king and court became so exacting that Bolingbroke, impatient of the delays caused by their haggling, sarcastically remarked that they treated "like pedlers," or, what was worse, "like attorneys." The negotiations went on so slowly that Bolingbroke was obliged to go to the Continent a second time to expedite them. And even his oily tongue and yielding policy were tasked to the utmost in bringing the negotiations to a close. Seven times the meeting of parliament was prorogued on account of his absence, but at length, on the 3rd of April, 1713, he returned to England.

Parliament met on the 9th of April, when the queen announced in general terms the conclusion of a treaty of peace. It was signed, she said, and in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. The queen declared that as the negotiations had been of such long continuance, the allies had had ample opportunities to adjust their interests. They might have had time, but the allies were ill satisfied with the adjustment made. The treaty was thrust upon them, and all they had to do was to make the best terms they could. It had been boldly declared by the Whigs that there was a coldness between her majesty and the House of Hanover, and an intention on the part of the Tory cabinet to play into the hands of the Pretender. In allusion to this declaration, the queen remarked that what she had done for the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship which subsisted between her and the House of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. It is said that Swift had been consulted in the composition of this speech, and had revised it. If true, it is strange that he should have sanctioned a clause which it contained, respecting the publication of scandalous and seditious libels. Swift was one of the keenest satirists of the day, and yet the queen was made to condemn the licentiousness of the press in unmeasured language. It encouraged, she said, the blaspheming everything sacred, and the propagation of opinions tending to overthrow all religion and government. Ay, there was the rub! Swift's pen supported government, but the pens of the Whigs were employed in endeavouring to uproot the Tory cabinet. Hence it was that the queen called for a new law to stop the growing evil, and upon the members of both Houses to use their best endeavours in their respective stations to discourage it. Each House presented her majesty with a warm address of thanks and congratulation; the Commons especially lauding the great concern and care she had taken for the illustrious House of Hanover!

The treaty of Utrecht was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General, on the 11th of April, 1713. The emperor proudly stood aloof from this act and deed of his old allies. The ratifications were forthwith exchanged, and on the 4th of May—the anniversary of the proclamation of the war in 1702—peace was proclaimed in London.

On this subject Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," writes:—"Whatever judgment we may be disposed to form as to the political necessity of leaving Spain and America in the possession of Philip, it is impossible to justify the course of that negotiation which ended in the peace of Utrecht. It was at best a dangerous and inauspicious concession, demanding every compensation that could be devised, and which the circumstances of the war entitled us to require. France was still our formidable enemy: the ambition of Louis was still to be dreaded, his intrigues to be suspected. That an English minister should have thrown himself into the arms of this enemy at the first overture of negotiation; that he should have renounced advantages upon which he might have insisted; that he should have restored Lille, and almost attempted to procure the sacrifice of Tournay; that throughout the whole correspondence, and in all personal interviews with De Torcy, he should have shown the triumphant queen of Great Britain more eager for peace than her vanquished adversary; that the two courts should have been virtually conspiring against those allies without whom we had bound ourselves to enter on no treaty; that we should have withdrawn our troops in the midst of a campaign, and even seized upon the towns of our confederates, while we left them exposed to be overcome by a superior force; that we should thus have deceived those confederates by the most direct falsehood, in denying our clandestine treaty, and then dictated to them its acceptance—are facts so disgraceful to Bolingbroke, and, in somewhat a less degree, to Oxford, that they can hardly be palliated by establishing the expediency of the treaty itself."

The principal articles of the treaty of Utrecht, which Hallam thus justly and eloquently condemns, were briefly these:—The French king was to acknowledge Queen Anne's title and the Protestant succession, and to abandon the Pretender for himself and his heirs and successors; that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united; that Dunkirk should, like Carthage, be destroyed, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired; that Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and the islands of St. Christopher and Newfoundland should belong of right to Great Britain—the French retaining the right of drying fish at the latter island; that the French in Canada were not to molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great Britain; and that England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar. So far as England was concerned, these were the chief advantages derived from this long and costly war: it was a war which had brought renown to her warriors, but now shame to her statesmen. As regards the allies, if the emperor of Austria acceded to the treaty by the 1st of June he was to receive the duchy of Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands. Sicily was awarded to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and in default of descendants from the Bourbon Philip, the succession to the throne of Spain was vested in his royal house. Finally the Dutch, in addition to the places already possessed by them, were to have Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Ypres, and Nieuport. The great gainers by this treaty were the Bourbons. While the French monarch was left in full possession of his dominions, which had been laid open to the allies by the victorious Marlborough, his grandson Philip obtained the splendid prize of Spain and the Indies, which the allies had banded together to wrest from his grasp. Though oft defeated in the field, therefore, the *Grand Monarque* triumphed in diplomacy.

Dishonourable as this treaty was to England's statesmen, it was nevertheless accepted by Queen Anne's Tory parliament. But that parliament was not one of the wisest that ever assembled to settle the affairs of the nation. The treaty of Utrecht was accompanied by a commercial treaty between France and England. By that treaty Great Britain and France were mutually to enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favoured nations. All the laws made since 1664 for the prohibition of French imports were to be repealed. This scheme has been attributed to the wisdom of Bolingbroke, but it was only a child of his adoption. The bright idea is really due to Mr. Arthur Moore, who from humble life had risen to wealth and influence by trade and commerce. Moore was deeply imbued with free-trade principles, and Bolingbroke, convinced by him of the advantages which would accrue to England if those principles were acted upon, negotiated a treaty of commerce with France based upon them. Probably, also, he conceived that such a treaty would make that of Utrecht more palatable, at least to the trading part of the community. But its articles were conceived in a spirit of liberality far before the age in which they were propounded. A perfect storm of opposition was raised against Bolingbroke's treaty of commerce both within and without the British House of Commons. After a protracted debate, its rejection was moved by a Tory—Sir Thomas Hanmer—and his motion was carried. The French commercial treaty was therefore lost. In their opposition to the treaty the Whigs hoped to cripple the Tory ministry, and for a moment they succeeded. But their victory was soon explained away by those who helped to gain it. Hanmer subsequently moved and carried an address of thanks to her majesty for the great care she had taken of the honour and security of the kingdom in the treaty of Utrecht, and for having laid so good a foundation for the interests of her people in trade; at the same time praying that she would appoint commissioners to explain and perfect those articles which related to commerce! Anne in her reply affected to consider this address as an approbation of all the articles of the treaty, political and commercial; but the address and the reply were mere manœuvres to explain away the victory which the Whigs had gained in the rejection of the treaty of commerce. Notwithstanding, it still remained a victory, and it was the precursor of others which led to the downfall of the Tory cabinet.

If there was any great popular joy manifested at the return of peace it quickly subsided. All classes of society soon learned to condemn the treaty of Utrecht. Some of its articles were fallacious. One of these was brought under notice during this session. By that treaty the French king had bound himself to send the Chevalier St. George out of France. He had obliged him to withdraw from St. Germains, but he had allowed him to take up his residence at Bar-le-duc, in Lorraine. He could carry on his intrigues with Scotland and England with as much facility at the one place as at the other. Accordingly motions were moved in both Houses by the Whigs, for addresses praying the queen to "use her most pressing instances for removing the Pretender from the duke of Lorraine's dominions." These motions were carried without opposition, the very Jacobites preserving a remarkable silence. When the addresses were carried up to the queen, she expressed her high satisfaction, and promised to comply with their prayer; but, says Burnet, "it was generally believed that the duke of Lorraine did not consent to receive him till he sent one over to know the queen's pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that."

During this session, notwithstanding the peace, large supplies were demanded. These supplies were readily granted. In order to secure their influence with their constituents, the Commons reduced the land-tax to two shillings in the pound. But while they pleased one section of the community by their financial measures, they displeased another. In renewing the malt-tax for another year, it was resolved that Scotland, hitherto free from that duty, should now be subjected to it. It was in vain that the Scottish members opposed that measure. They urged that by an express article of the Union it was stipulated that no duty should be laid on the malt of Scotland during the war; which, as peace with Spain was not yet proclaimed, they affirmed was not yet ended. They further urged that, as the tax itself was, by the express words of the bill, to be applied to the deficiencies in the war, they were clearly, by the Treaty of Union, exempt from the impost. Their arguments were cogent, but unheeded. Thus aggrieved, the Scottish members of both Houses appealed to the queen. Two lords, the duke of Argyll and the earl of Mar, and two Commoners, Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Cockburn, were deputed to lay their grievance before her majesty. They were even directed to declare that such a breach of the articles of Union prompted the whole body of the Scottish members to declare that it was dissolved. They requested the queen's permission to bring in a bill for a repeal of the Union. Alarmed at this bold language, the queen expressed a wish in her reply that they might not repent of such precipitation. She recommended patience, and promised to use her endeavours to make all things easy. Acting under her Tory advisers, Anne was at all times lavish of her promises, but she was amazingly slow in performing. But if the queen had soothed her parliament by fair promises in the matter of the Pretender, at least so far as the Whigs were concerned, the Scottish members were not to be hoodwinked by them, as regards the breach of faith which had been made in the articles of the Union by imposing the duty on malt on their countrymen Probably the queen, when she dismissed the Scottish deputies, thought that their threat would end with their interview with royalty. But there was something deeper in their thoughts than the offence given to the Scottish members in the matter of the malt-tax, and they resolved to proceed with their motion.

By the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht the Lord-treasurer Oxford had gained a great victory over his enemies. But his position had never been a safe one, and he still stood upon very dangerous ground. He was surrounded by enemies who were ever watching an opportunity to overthrow his power. Among those enemies, at this time, the duke of Argyll was one of the most conspicuous. It was Argyll who animated the whole opposition on the subject of the dissolution of the Union. He was a nobleman who uniformly professed his attachment to the Protestant succession, and his aversion to a minister who was deemed to favour the Pretender. The lord-treasurer was well aware of Argyll's principles, for he took no pains to conceal them. Nor was he any stranger to the noble duke's importance. He had resolved to gain him by promises of advantage, but Argyll was not to be won over by fair words. Oxford's object was to engage him as a kind of spy upon the Whigs, and by his means to terrify that party into submission to his measures. But Argyll declined to enter into his views without a high reward. By the death of the duke of Hamilton, the office of master-general of the ordnance became vacant, and Argyll demanded it as the price of his adhesion to Oxford's views. This was refused, and Argyll's resentment to the lord-treasurer was thereby greatly increased. He was resolved to gain by force, if possible, what he could not gain by favour. He entered with great zeal into the views of his countrymen for the dissolution of the union between the two kingdoms. Under his leadership the Scots of both Houses and both parties, Jacobites and Whigs, laid aside all party distinctions to obtain their object. Had they obtained it, it would have introduced confusion into the measures of government; and what they more desired, it would have ruined the lord-treasurer, whom both sides regarded as an enemy. A motion was made in the Upper House by Lord Findlater, on the 14th of June, for leave to bring in a bill to dissolve the Union. His principal reasons for demanding, on behalf of the Scottish nation, this disseverance, were: that the Scots were deprived of a privy council, and subjected to the English laws in cases of treason; that their nobles were incapable of being made peers of Great Britain; and that they were now oppressed with the burden of a malt-tax. In the debate which ensued the two great parties in parliament completely changed sides. The Whigs voted for the dissolution of the Union which they had carried, and of which they had boasted as the chief glory of their administration; while the Tories, who had argued with so much vehemence against it, as fraught with ruin to the nation, now as vehemently opposed it. Peterborough said that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven! He indulged with great levity in invectives against the Scots. They were a people, he said, who would never be satisfied. They would have all the advantages resulting from the Union, without making any return, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. The duke of Argyll, in reply to these animadversions, said that he had been reflected upon for changing sides. He owned he had a great share in bringing about the Union, with a view to secure the Protestant succession; but he now felt that this end might be as effectually answered without, as with the Union. If it were not dissolved, he conceived, he said, that there would shortly be no property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. He inveighed bitterly against imposing the malt-tax on his country. It was like taxing land, he said, by the acre throughout England, because near London it was worth five pounds an acre, whereas in the remote counties it would not fetch as many shillings. But the warmth of Argyll damaged his cause. In the course of the debate he poured contempt upon the Pretender, which offended some of the lords who otherwise would have voted for the motion. It is related that two bishops in particular, who possessed three proxies between them, quitted the House, by which five votes were lost to the Scots and the Whigs. When put, the motion was lost, but only by a majority of four. But some good arose out of this strange contest, for the injuries inflicted upon the Scots were thus exposed, as well as their resolution not to submit to them tamely.

The queen prorogued parliament on the 16th of July. In her speech Anne took honour to herself for having concluded the war by what she called "a safe and honourable peace." One part of her speech gave deep offence to the Whigs. The next time they met, she expressed a hope that the affairs of commerce would be so well understood that the advantageous conditions obtained from France might be rendered effectual to her people by law. Burnet says that the Whigs expressed their resentment at being thus marked out for censure; and that they thought it strange her majesty, who confessedly knew nothing of trade, should presume to pass a censure on her parliament for rejecting the treaty of commerce. The Whigs took exception, also, against that clause in her speech which declared that on her accession she found a war prepared to her hands. But they were more deeply offended by omissions in the speech than by what it contained. There was no mention made either of the House of Hanover or of the Pretender, for which Burnet says the speech was more reflected upon than any similar discourse. As usual, their feelings and views were expressed through that powerful engine for good or evil, the press. Parliament was on the 8th of August dissolved by proclamation. Hence each party strove with all their might to ensure their interests in the approaching elections.

There was a public thanksgiving for the peace on the 7th of July, when both houses of parliament went in procession to St. Paul's. Previous to this the Commons had proclaimed their Tory proclivities in a manner not be mistaken. It has been seen that the Lords had forbidden Dr. Sacheverell to preach for three years. That term expired in March. Great rejoicings were made by his party upon this occasion, but the queen quietly gave him the rich living of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and his day of triumph was over. The bishop of Bristol was promoted to the see of London, long held by the fiery Compton. Atterbury became bishop of Rochester. During the summer there were also several important changes both in court and cabinet. Thus the duke of Shrewsbury, after his return from Paris, was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; that "general of straw," Ormond, was appointed governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports; Lord Dartmouth took the privy seal, resigned by Robinson, bishop of London; Lord Lansdowne became treasurer of the household; Bromley, the Speaker of the Tory House of Commons, was associated with Bolingbroke as joint secretary; and Sir William Wyndham was made chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Benson, who was created Lord Bingley and sent on an embassy to Spain. These changes were significant of the rising power of Bolingbroke. Encouraged especially by the accession of Secretary Bromley and Sir William Wyndham, he continued his intrigues to grasp the treasurer's staff, which was now falling from Oxford's hands. And in these intrigues he was aided by Mrs. Masham, who had helped to raise Harley to power, but who now sought to pull Oxford down from his high station. Oxford was aware that his term of power was approaching. Nay, he felt that by these changes it was already in great part gone. He had some thoughts of retiring, but he still clung to office. There was in reality no safety in retreat, and therefore though comparatively powerless he resolved to bear with his mortifications rather than resign his power to his rival. As for Bolingbroke, he now gave a freer scope to his evil genius. He had gone too far in his intrigues to bring in the Pretender to retrace his steps. It was known to the House of Hanover what his aim was, and therefore if they succeeded to the throne he knew there would be no security for him in England. Hence he worked steadily, with the Jacobites, in preparing the way for "their legitimate shadow of a king." It was Bolingbroke, in connection with Ormond, who reduced the army, and in doing so they were careful to select the regiments which had been raised by King William for that reduction. Then again, their own instruments were placed in the command of various strongholds. Ormond himself appears to have been made governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports to facilitate the landing of the Chevalier St. George. And there can be no doubt that Bolingbroke was acting in unison with the queen's views. His keen penetration had discovered her innate hatred of the House of Hanover, and her desire that at her decease the son of her father and her half-brother should succeed her on the throne. But Anne foresaw that there was one grand obstacle to the fulfilment of her desire. She was herself a stanch Protestant. She believed, and that conscientiously, that there was no salvation out of the pale of the established Protestant Church of England. Moreover, she knew that it would not be possible for any prince to rule over the destinies of England who did not at least profess to be a member of that church. But the Chevalier St. George would not become a hypocrite. In his adherence to the Romish faith, he inherited the inflexibility of his father, James. In a letter written in 1711 to his adherents, this candid sentence occurs:—"Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion, and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons because in this they choose to differ from me." The chevalier added that he should not refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they—meaning the people of England when he obtained the rule over them—had to say upon the subject. His letter throughout breathed the true spirit of toleration, and perhaps Bolingbroke and the Jacobites may have thought that this would answer his purpose. Toleration was then a large word in the Tory vocabulary, but with little meaning. Be that as it may, they still continued, as our pages will unfold, with untiring energy, their efforts to set aside the succession, and to bring in the Stuart. Their exertions were still greater, because it was evident, from the failing health of the queen, that her throne would soon become vacant.

The elections were conducted with unwonted party violence. It was an occasion in which each party put forth all their strength, and used all their arts to obtain a majority in the new parliament. Letters were received from the Pretender and his chief advisers, entreating all the friends of the good cause to vote for the Tories. In the elections, Bolingbroke took up the "good cause," as it was called, undisguisedly. But not so did Oxford. He was a sort of political hermaphrodite. He "kept the balance in his own power, to give a turn the way he thought would prove most suitable to continue for his own private interest." In the elections the Tories took their stand upon the peace and the high church interest; and the Whigs upon the treaty of commerce, and the old jealousies of the nation against the French. In token of their principles the former wore green boughs in their hats in honour of the restoration of the Stuarts; and the latter a lock of wool, to manifest their concern for the good old principles of exclusive trade. The result of the elections added a few members to the Whig minority, but left the legislative power in the hands of the Tories.

The foreign transactions of 1713 redeemed no part of the lost honour of England. During this year, Philip king of Spain renewed the treaty of 1667, by which England regained that odious traffic, which she had forfeited by the war, of supplying African slaves to the Spanish colonies in America. By the intercession of the English government, Philip expressed his readiness to forgive the brave Catalans for the part they had taken in the war, and, with some exceptions, to grant them their lives, honours, and estates. The people of that province, however, rejected his proffered grace, and prepared to defend themselves against his power. But their cause was hopeless. Aided by some of those French veterans whom England had left free to march wherever they pleased, Philip quenched the "rebellion," as it was termed, in a perfect deluge of blood. Meanwhile the emperor, who had rejected the treaty of Utrecht, continued the war on the Rhine. Prince Eugene still commanded the forces of the empire, but they were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that the contest was very unequal. Villars reduced the important fortresses of Landau and Fribourg, and in the autumn the emperor found himself compelled to listen to pacific overtures made by the electors of

Cologne and Palatine. Conferences were opened at the castle of Alkastadt, between Eugene and Villars, on the 26th of November. For a time no agreement could be arrived at. Eugene demanded back provinces which had been long wrested from the empire; but the French king resolved to keep all his arms had won, and demanded large sums of money besides for the expenses of the war. Negotiations were for a time broken off, but they were subsequently renewed. A treaty between the courts of Vienna and Versailles was signed in March, 1714. By that treaty it was settled that the boundary betwixt France and Germany should be the same as it was at the commencement of the war, and that of the Netherlands as determined by the treaty of Utrecht. It was further settled that the emperor should retain the Milanese, the kingdom of Naples, and all the places held by him on the coasts of Tuscany and Sardinia. On her side France was to hold in possession the whole of Alsace, with Landau, Strasburg, and the fortresses of New Brisac and Huninghen; and the allies of France—the electors of Bavaria and Cologne—were to be set free from the rule of the empire and restored to their dignities and dominions. Finally it was agreed by the contracting parties that a congress should be held at Baden on the 1st of May, to terminate all differences between the French king and the emperor, so as to make peace between them perpetual. At this congress the plenipotentiaries of England were excluded. The emperor demanded that the ministers of both England and Holland should be present, but the French monarch absolutely rejected that demand; and when Anne complained of this slight, he simply replied that he would do her majesty all good offices, and take care of the interests of Great Britain. In the treaty of Rastadt, the French king so far regarded the interests of Great Britain as to acknowledge the elector of Hanover, but "all was false and hollow." Cunningham says that the exclusion of Anne's ministers from the congress at Baden was considered a most dangerous juncture to the Protestant succession; and that the Pretender, from his residence in Lorraine, was sending expresses to Baden and everywhere, to secure the British crown. He adds, that by the advice of the pope—whose nuncio took his seat at the congress of Baden—he was induced to demand the daughter of the emperor in marriage; and that he urged the pope and all the popish princes "not to have anything more at heart, in this critical juncture, than the popish religion and his cause, which were always united." And yet at this very time his adherents in England were everywhere proclaiming abroad that there were good grounds for hoping that the Chevalier St. George would renounce the religion to which he affirmed he was "always united," and conform to the Church of England! As Queen Anne advanced nearer and nearer to the grave, Bolingbroke and the Jacobites laboured more and more to secure the succession of the Pretender. Cunningham says, that he came rashly into the sentiments of the Jacobites, and that he even treated with the earl of Oxford about paying the dowry of the queen dowager, widow of King James, then in exile in France. Oxford hesitated on that point. He did not see on what grounds it could be done. The widowed queen herself settled the point. She claimed the dowry, not as queen dowager, but as queen mother; on which Oxford remarked it could not be admitted after her son was attainted by law.

Meanwhile the intrigues of court and cabinet thickened. The queen was thrown into a maze of confusion by them. Her mind was agitated by different partialities and conflicting passions. On the one hand, those favourable to the House of Hanover represented that she would risk her soul's welfare and her people's happiness by contributing to the succession of a prince who had been nurtured in the Romish faith; and on the other, those who were in favour of the Pretender worked upon her natural affection to lend her aid in restoring him to the throne of her ancestors. In the midst of these intrigues Anne, during the winter of 1713-14, was seized with a dangerous illness at Windsor. It was thought that her end was approaching. The nation was in a state of alarm. Both parties were strangely agitated by hopes and fears. The adherents of the Pretender worked themselves into the belief that their "king would have his own again;" while the Whigs brooded over their own coming ruin and that of the kingdom. Both sides felt assured that the crisis was near, and sought to turn the scale in their own favour. There were all sorts of reports spread abroad for that purpose. The feeling of the nation was tested by the Whig community. A report was industriously circulated that the Pretender was actually coming to England. There was a squadron of fourteen men-of-war, in which fourteen thousand men were to embark, fitting out in the ports of France, to convoy the Chevalier St. George to his throne. The result of the Whig test of the feeling of the nation was significant. Its truth-telling barometer, the funds, fell below zero. The monetary world became out of joint. There was an awful run upon the Bank. In their terror the directors applied to the "cunning and close" lord-treasurer for assistance and advice. The lord-treasurer assured them that their fears were groundless, but as he was suspected, from his "trimming ways," he was not believed. Nothing less could remove their apprehensions than a letter from the queen herself. That letter, which was written on the 1st of February, 1714, was addressed to the lord mayor, and it announced her recovery. The gout had succumbed to the treatment of her physicians. It had approached her stomach, but had been stopped in its deadly progress. The change which it wrought in the nation was marvellous. The public melancholy and panic were changed into festivity and joy. The run on the Bank was stopped, and the funds rose to their original height. The squadrons and armies of France, said by the Whigs to be preparing in the ports of France, disappeared *in nubibus;* and the Pretender, whom fame had placed at their head, was still quietly plotting in his obscure retreat at Lorraine. From this event the Whigs may be presumed to have taken heart and hope, for it had proved that, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Pretender's adherents to place him on the triple throne of Great Britain and Ireland, the nation as a people were against his succession.

The illness of Queen Anne delayed the opening of the new parliament. It had been summoned for the 12th of November, 1713, but it did not meet before the 16th of February, 1714. And even then, although her majesty had, to allay the fears, and doubts, and agonizing feelings of her people, announced her recovery, she was not sufficiently convalescent to open the session in person. The choice of a Speaker fell on Sir Thomas Hanmer, the Tory member who had moved the rejection of the enlightened treaty of commerce with France. His election was unanimous; for he was now in heart more a Whig than a Tory, having secretly made his peace with the Whigs, under a promise from the agents of the House of Hanover, that, when the elector became king, he should have his reward by preferment and a title. The nomination of Hanmer was seconded by one of the most able Whig writers of the day, who by the recent election now first took his seat in parliament. This was Richard Steele. But, like many authors, if Steele could write to please the public, he could not by offhand oratory charm a public assembly. His first sentence showed that he was no orator. "I rise up," said he, "to do him honour." He could say no more, but as the word "Tatler" was sounded in his ears, he retired confused. As he retired it was remarked: "It is not so easy a thing to speak in the House; because he can scribble, he fancies he can speak." But Steele must have smiled when he found himself thus reproached by the ignorant knights of the shires and patrons of decayed boroughs who formed the majority in Queen Anne's parliament. He had stung them by his former witticisms in the "Tatler," and this was their impotent revenge.

The queen went in her sedan chair to the House of Lords on the 2nd of March, and delivered the speech from the throne. In her speech she told the two Houses that she had obtained an honourable peace for her own people and for the greater part of her allies. She assumed to herself the high character of the arbitress of Europe. She hoped, she said, by her interposition, effectually to complete its settlement. Treaties of peace and commerce had been exchanged with Spain, and under her auspices trade had been greatly promoted. Supplies were demanded for the payment of debts and the current services of the year. The House of Hanover and the press—those old vexed subjects—again formed prominent features in the royal speech. Some persons, she said, had been so malicious as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover was in danger under her government. Anne knew as well as those who heard her that it was in danger, and yet she declared that those who made those insinuations only designed to distract men's minds and disturb the public tranquillity. After all she had done, she said, to secure the liberty and religion of her people, she could not help mentioning these proceedings with some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, were not the proper means of strengthening the Protestant succession. As for the press, that was denounced in the usual language; it had become more than ever dangerous to both Church and State, and hence required a remedy by the strong arm of the law.

At this time Bolingbroke had commenced a prosecution of printers and publishers. He had caused eleven to be arrested in one day. But his prosecution was one-sided. It was only those who wrote against the ministry who felt his vengeance. Those who wrote in support of the government might still scatter with impunity their libels and slanders broadcast among the people. Swift was still retained by the lord-treasurer as his champion in the penny-paper war; and as hopes were held out to him that he would one day be promoted to the highest dignities in the Church for his services, he dipped his pen deeper in gall than ever. Swift's chief antagonists were Steele and Addison, both of whom sat this session on the opposition benches in parliament. These celebrated writers had been associated in the issue of the "Tatler," the news department of which seems to have ceased with the victories of Tournay, Malplaquet, and Mons. At this time their politics, which were comparatively mild for the age, were propounded in the "Whig Examiner" and the "Englishman." In his zeal for the Protestant succession, Steele had recently written a pamphlet called "The Crisis," wherein the danger by which it was beset was proclaimed abroad with no uncertain sound. The adherents of the Pretender were alarmed at its trumpet-tongued warnings. Swift took up his venomed pen, and replied to it in a pamphlet entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs, set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the 'Crisis.'" That pamphlet was replete with bitter sarcasm, interspersed with the most scurrilous abuse of the Scottish peers—Argyll in particular—and of the whole Scottish nation. Indignant at this, the Scottish peers went up to the queen in a body and demanded satisfaction, and Anne offered by proclamation three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author; but Swift was safe, and what was more, he was munificently rewarded for his pamphlet by the cunning double-dealing lord-treasurer.

Steele put his name, "Richard Steele," to the "Crisis," and among those who fell upon the bold author were Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer; Harley, the brother of Oxford; and Foley, a near kinsman of his lordship. So violent were these accusers, that they proposed proceeding to extremities without allowing the accused to make any defence. That being overruled, three days at the most they urged should only be allowed, one of those days being Sunday. On this Steele's wit broke forth with withering effect on Harley and Foley. Both these honourable members had been Puritans, but had left the conventicle for the church; and Steele, putting on a sanctified countenance, and adopting the whining tone of the conventicle, which they probably had not yet lost, deprecatingly remarked: "I own, in the meekness and contrition of my heart, that I am a very great sinner, and hope those members who spoke last, and who are so justly renowned for their exemplary piety and devotion, will not be accessory to accumulating the number of my transgressions, in obliging me to break the Sabbath of the Lord, by perusing such profane writings as shall serve for my defence." Steele was allowed a week to prepare for his defence; and assisted by his friend Addison, who sat by his side, and "prompted him on occasion," he astonished his hearers by delivering a speech of three hours' duration. Persecution had unloosened his tongue and made him eloquent. He was ably defended by Robert Walpole and Lord Finch. It was in vain, however, that Steele defended himself, and that he was defended by Walpole and the grateful Lord Finch. He stood accused of representing in his writings that the succession of the House of Hanover was in danger under Queen Anne and her ministers, and that the peace of Utrecht had dishonoured the nation; and it was voted by a large majority that Richard Steele had been guilty of a scandalous libel, and should be expelled the House. The fox-hunting Tories had thus run the celebrated Whig author to earth. But he still lived to use his pen, which had been, and still was, used chiefly to allure his admiring countrymen into the more flowery paths of literature.

Steele's representation that the Protestant succession was in danger was the view taken of the state of affairs at this crisis by the whole Whig community. And in this last parliament of Queen Anne they resolved to prove the truth of his position. As the Pretender was still fixed in his residence at Lorraine, the Whig lords moved for an address to the queen, and carried it, praying to know what steps had been taken for his removal. No steps had been taken beyond the unmeaning negotiations carried on by Bolingbroke and Prior with the French minister, De Torcy, and therefore ministers were in a dilemma. The lord-treasurer sought to escape out of it by one of the many subtle tricks of which he was guilty. For some time there had been a desire among the Whigs that the electoral prince of Hanover should land in England with an armed force, to secure his succession. This had been warmly recommended by some of the Whig leaders, and Marlborough himself, who while on the Continent had been watching events narrowly, to see on which side his interests would lie in the event of the queen's death—whether to espouse the cause of the elector or that of the Pretender—had finally adopted the views of the Whig leaders. It would have been a dangerous expedient, which the elector himself knew, and therefore he hesitated to embark in such an enterprise. Still in the present maze of political perplexities, it was just possible that his reluctance to take such a step, hazardous as it was, might be overcome. The lord-treasurer seems to have been convinced of its possibility, and resolved to prevent it; but in doing so he outwitted himself. In a pretended zeal for the Protestant succession, he moved that for its further security it should be made high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom. But clothed as his meaning was in fair words, it was perfectly understood. It was to all intents and purposes a blow aimed at the Protestant succession. On being called upon to explain his meaning, he clearly unfolded that his zeal for that succession was a sham. He meant, he said, that his bill should apply only to foreign troops introduced by the Pretender. But this was a subterfuge. He was reminded, with strict truth, that by the existing laws, all such troops, if foreigners, would be public enemies, and if natives, rebels. The lord-treasurer was fairly unmasked, to his great discomfiture. The Whig lords endeavoured to follow up their victory over him by a motion, which if carried, would most likely have sent him to the Tower and the block. Wharton moved "that the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration." This motion was followed by a warm debate, in which the archbishop of York and the earl of Anglesey took part with the Whigs. The duke of Argyll was as outspoken as usual on this question. He could prove, he said, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted sums of money to the highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be devoted to the Pretender; and he affirmed that the new modelling of the army, and the disbandment of certain regiments out of their turn, was on account of their affection to the House of Hanover; thereby clearly indicating the designs of ministers. In reply, Oxford, hypocritically laying his hand upon his breast, said he had so frequently given proofs of his affection to the Protestant succession, that he felt assured no one in that august assembly would doubt him. He owned he had remitted money to the highland clans, and he expressed a hope that an opportunity would be given him to justify his conduct. The Protestant succession was voted out of danger, but only by a small majority. Besides the archbishop of York and the earl of Anglesey, several bishops and noble lords, hitherto firm supporters of the ministry, voted with the Whigs. And the same changing of sides on a similar motion took place in the Commons; where, although it was rejected, there was a great diminution in the Tory majority. But it would appear that the Tories who voted with the Whigs on this occasion in the Lower House were partly influenced by Bolingbroke and his party in the cabinet, who were zealously seeking the overthrow of the lord-treasurer, for it is said that the result of the division gave them "great joy." In both Houses the Tories, and even the most rabid Jacobites, joined with the Whigs in a resolution desiring her majesty to renew her instances for the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine. Lord Wharton would have had him put out of their reach for ever, if he could have had his will. He moved that in the address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any one who should apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive. The motion was seconded by the duke of Bolton, but several Whigs opposed it on the grounds that it would look like an encouragement to assassination, and as inconsistent with the high character of the House, and of a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency. An amendment more merciful in its meaning was substituted for Wharton's motion. It was resolved that the queen should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising "a reward for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice in case he should land, or attempt to land in Great Britain or Ireland." To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and Whig lords only, the queen gave a haughty reply. "It would be," she said, "a real strengthening to the succession of the House of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary I shall give my orders for having it issued." But although the queen treated the fears which were abroad as groundless, they were, notwithstanding, well founded.

The question was which of the rivals would come to England first; the electoral prince of Hanover or the Pretender? There can be no doubt but that the cabinet were secretly designing to bring in the Pretender. It was evidently to this end that Oxford transmitted money to the highland clans in Scotland; but when he was attacked on that subject he silenced his opposers by affirming that he had only followed the example of King William, who after he had reduced them to his sway sent them money to keep them quiet. As was natural, the fear of the Pretender's coming to England was shared with the Whigs by the House of Hanover. For some time the electoral prince had really desired to take up his residence in the country over whose destinies he hoped one day to preside. As there was now every prospect, from Anne's failing health, that her throne would shortly become void, Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian resident at the British court, urged by the Whigs, and at the ready sanction of the Hanoverian court, demanded of the lord chancellor, Harcourt, a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover to sit in the House of Lords as duke of Cambridge. The prince had been created a British peer by that title, and Schutz informed the chancellor that he designed taking up his residence in England. Harcourt thought this too grave a matter for his own decision. He hoped, he said, that the baron would not think he refused the writ, but he must first have the queen's order for it to be issued. Anne, in her reply to the baron's demand, which was sent through the chancellor, affected to believe that he had not received any orders from the court of Hanover to make it, but, added Harcourt:—"The writ for the duke of Cambridge was sealed of course when the writs of summons to all other peers were sealed, and lies ready to be delivered to you whenever you call for it." It was however not without some trouble that the baron obtained the writ. More than a month elapsed before Schutz succeeded in obtaining it. His importunities gave deep offence to the queen. They were represented as irregular and disrespectful, and he was peremptorily banished from the court. Meanwhile the baron had been continually urging the electoral prince to come to England. It was absolutely necessary, he said, as the fears of the Pretender's coming were but too well founded. As an inducement for him to come, in one of his letters Schutz said that there had been great rejoicings all over the city since it was known he had demanded the writ, that the bells had been ringing for some days past, and healths drank to his safe journey. The truth is, all that the queen and her cabinet could do to keep the electoral prince of Hanover in his ancestral home had, while Schutz was pressing for the writ, been done. While Oxford himself, fearing that the refusal of, or the delay in delivering up the writ would be imputed to him, sent by a special messenger a letter expressing his unalterable devotion to the interests of the electress and her house, in whose succession, he broadly asserted, he had had "the greatest hand;" he was doing all he could by means of his brother, Mr. Harley, whom he had despatched to Hanover "to keep all things smooth," to intimidate that court, and especially the Princess Sophia, by complaints of the offensive manner to the queen in which the writ had been demanded. Nay, more, Harley was instructed—which instructions he followed out to the very letter—to show cause why the prince should not come, and to make the most solemn protestations of her majesty's attachment both to him and his family. Other agencies were employed to the same end. Thus Lord Strafford, who was still at the Hague, wrote to the Electress Sophia, assuring her that the embassy of Lord Paget, which was preparing to go to Hanover, and which the Whigs said was to hinder the prince from coming, was simply "to explain matters, and set them in so true a light that no artifice of faction or party, for private views and interests, might be able for the future to cause any unquietude between the queen and that illustrious family." But while the queen and her cabinet were endeavouring to keep the electoral prince out of England, the Whig leaders were as earnestly endeavouring to induce him to come. On his banishment from court, Schutz having returned to Hanover to justify his conduct, they commenced a closer correspondence with that court. Marlborough urged him to take that step before Lord Paget arrived at Hanover. By that means, he said that the succession would be secured without risk, without expense, and without war; as it was very probable that France, finding herself thus anticipated, would abandon her design of assisting the Pretender. The leading Whigs generally joined in Marlborough's suit. And according to Lord Townshend, there were not a few of the Tories who now desired the electoral prince to make his appearance in England. They had changed their tone, he said, and were so far from exclaiming against his coming, that they were now applauding it, and advancing pretensions to have the principal share in his highness's favour. And if Townshend is to be believed, he was not jealous of the competition which was likely to take place between the Whigs and the Tories for the smiles of the prince when he did appear among them. He says:—"This we will not envy them, providing they attach themselves to him, as they appear resolved to do; and it is not to be doubted but, as soon as he appears, the lord-treasurer will seek his protection, and both parties pay court to him." His lordship intimated that they would pay court to him in a manner not to be mistaken: that they would concur in parliament to settle a revenue of thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling upon him. This in itself was a prize worth coming for; but Townshend added, in order to obtain it, "the prince must come before the end of the session." Nor were the clergy altogether wanting in zeal for the House of Hanover. That court having written to the archbishop of York to secure his support, he responded to the appeal with strong professions of attachment. In his reply he expressed a hope that the electoral prince would have the satisfaction of seeing every day, more and more, that not only he himself, but the whole body of the clergy were faithful to and zealous for him; and that the same good spirit was still among them which so laudably, and, through the blessing of God, successfully opposed the attempts of France and popery in the reign of King James. Although the church had not now the power of setting up kings as in former ages, yet this promised support of the archbishop of York, and the clergy of whom he was the mouthpiece, must have been very encouraging to the court of Hanover. But while it gratified that court it was far from pleasing Queen Anne. She was arriving at the conviction that the nation believed she and her ministers were betraying them to France and the Pretender, and the archbishop's letter went far to confirm her in that conviction. Alarmed at it, in an interview with his grace, Anne made the most solemn protestations that she was most zealous for the Protestant succession, but she expressed no wish that the electoral prince should come to England. Her protestations were irreconcilable with her conduct towards the House of Hanover. About this time the Electress Sophia and her son presented a memorial to her majesty, which, together with the proceedings of the leading Whigs and expectant Tories, had the effect of greatly adding to her failing health. The memorial prayed that the queen would see the necessity of obliging the Pretender to quit Lorraine without loss of time; that a member of the electoral family should be allowed to settle in Great Britain; that a pension should be fixed by Act of Parliament on the electress, as the nearest heir to the crown; and that her majesty would be pleased to grant titles, belonging to the princes of the Royal Family of Great Britain, to such of those of the electoral family as were not yet thus honoured. This was a closer test than any to which Anne had yet been put in proof of her zeal for the Protestant succession. The memorial was not acted upon; but the queen was still profuse in her protestations of zeal for the cause the nation had at heart. If, however, her majesty was zealous for the Protestant cause in England, it is clear that she was not desirous of its permanent establishment under the family of the Guelphs. Notwithstanding all her professions of attachment to them, her secret aversion to that family amounted to downright loathing. Nothing was more dreaded by her than the appearance of the electoral prince in her dominions. Fearing that all the efforts made by her ministers and their agents to keep him in Hanover would prove fruitless, she added the weight of her own royal pen to stop his projected journey. Her first letter was to the Princess Sophia, the second to the electoral prince, to prevent his coming to England. He must, indeed, have been puzzled how to act; on the one hand, the pressing invitations of his friends, on the other, the queen's letter forbidding him. The queen, however, still fearing, notwithstanding all her professions and promises, that the electoral prince would make his appearance at her court, wrote a third letter, which was addressed to his father, the elector. This time it was a threatening letter. It ran thus:—

"As the rumour increases that my cousin, the electoral prince, has resolved to come over to settle in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments upon a subject of this importance. I freely own to you that I cannot imagine that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your electoral highness can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringement shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority. I am no less delicate in that respect, and I am determined to oppose such a project, so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be. Your electoral highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness that I give on all occasions proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crown, which I always recommend to my people as the most solid support of their religion and laws. I employ all my attention that nothing should efface those impressions from the hearts of my subjects; but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogative of the prince who wears the crown without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors. Therefore I doubt not but you will prevent the taking such a step; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most solemn friendship."

This letter—signed, if not written by Queen Anne—is one of the most remarkable itemed down in the pages of history. It is not an ordinary letter, even in state annals. It was manifestly penned by a cunning writer; and yet never were greater fallacies unfolded in a state paper. At this time Anne was almost in a dying condition. One of the most cogent reasons urged upon the electoral prince to make haste to England was her evidently near approach to the grave. And there was certainly good reason for the presence of the electoral prince in England at such a critical juncture. But Anne neither wanted to see him nor any of his family near her throne. That was the plain and simple meaning of all her actions and her letters. And at length she was freed from all anxieties concerning the journey of the electoral prince to England. Her letter to the elector prevailed. It would appear, indeed, that while the electoral prince and his grandmother, the Electress Sophia, had been eager for the expedition, his father, the elector, had been opposed to it; as some have imagined, lest his son should supplant him on the British throne. At the same time the letters which the queen had written to the electoral House of Hanover were published in England, with a view of informing the friends of that family why the duke of Cambridge had given up his design of residing in Great Britain. But those letters were never intended for publication. Anne was incensed at their appearing in print. She considered it a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinion of her subjects, and she revenged herself by ordering the publisher to be taken into custody.

If Mr. Molyneux, the agent of the duke of Marlborough at the court of Hanover, is to be believed, this last letter of Queen Anne to that court had a fatal effect on the old Electress Sophia. Although eighty-four years of age, the princess was ambitious of becoming and dying queen of England. She had been accustomed to say that if she could only live to have "Sophia, queen of England," written on her tombstone, she should die happy. But that empty satisfaction was denied her. Molyneux attributes her death to the chagrin she suffered from the perusal of Queen Anne's letter. Be that as it may, she died suddenly in the garden of the country house of the court at Herhenhausen, while her mind was brooding over its contents. Her death was intimated to the queen by Baron Bothmar, who arrived in England as envoy extraordinary from the elector. At her death the English court put on the garb of mourning, and the elector was ordered to be prayed for in her stead in the Liturgy of the Church of England; but both in court and cabinet the friendship professed for that house was "false and hollow."

The lord-treasurer still continued to make advances to the court of Hanover. But he had the misfortune not to procure any credit to his professions. His character had become too well known for him to be trusted. And while his credit with the queen rapidly declined, Bolingbroke was rising still higher in her favour. That Bolingbroke's star was in the ascendant is manifested by the appointment of the earl of Clarendon, without Oxford's knowledge, on a special embassy to Hanover in the room of Lord Paget, who was stopped after he had made all his preparations for departure. Clarendon was the grandson of the renowned chancellor, but was as foolish and incompetent as his grandfather was wise and skilful in diplomacy. Clarendon found that the elector had no intention of altering his resolution about the prince's coming to England. The elector, however, was not altogether blinded by his representations. He knew that there was danger lurking abroad, and that neither her majesty nor her ministers were at heart his friends. Hence it was that the baron de Bothmar was sent to London—but his mission was of greater significance than merely to announce the death of the Princess Sophia—it was to watch the framing of the instruments of regency which her demise rendered necessary.

Meanwhile the parliament, in which the Whigs hoped to see the electoral prince take his seat, continued its sittings. Macpherson designates it as a suspicious rather than busy session of parliament. The Whigs were both suspicious and vigilant. And they had solid reasons for their conduct. Reports came thick and fast from France that the Pretender was making preparations for an expedition either to Ireland or Scotland. It was even asserted that he had reviewed his troops, and that vessels were prepared in different French ports for their embarkation. But what caused still greater alarm was the well-ascertained fact that several Jacobite agents were enlisting recruits for his service in different parts of the country, and even in London. Some of these practices were discovered by the earl of Wharton, who sounded the alarm. At his request, Chief Justice Parker issued warrants for the arrest of two Irish officers who were enlisting men in the City and in Westminster. These officers made their escape from London, but they were arrested in their flight, and passes were found on them from the earl of Middleton, who was the minister of the Pretender. Some half dozen of their recruits were also arrested. The matter was brought before both Houses, in which the Whigs, and those Tories who favoured the House of Hanover, loudly called for some measure of severity to be taken by ministers. The queen and her cabinet were compelled to respond to the demand of the two Houses. A proclamation was issued on the 23rd of June, promising a reward of 5000*l.* for apprehending the Pretender whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain. Both Lords and Commons voted an address of thanks to the queen, but the Commons did not think the reward sufficient for the capture of such noble game; for in their zeal for the Protestant succession, they resolved that the reward should extend to 100,000*l.* A bill was also passed in both Houses, by which it was declared that those who should enlist or be engaged in the Pretender's service should be deemed guilty of high treason. According to Bolingbroke, the proclamation was proposed in council by Oxford, and that he did not think it safe or prudent to oppose him. Smollett says that Bolingbroke himself proposed the bill, making it high treason to serve under the banners of the Pretender. But this was simply for his own safety. That he was uneasy at this time is clear, for in a letter to Swift he plainly declared that he had been for some time most miserable. By his intrigues he had sown the wind, and he lived in dread of now reaping the whirlwind.

During this session Bolingbroke, aided by the Jacobite Bishop Atterbury, devised one of the most infamous Acts that was ever brought before parliament. This was the Schism Act; a measure as intolerant and tyrannical as any measure that disgraced the reign of the Stuarts. Bolingbroke is said to have introduced it into parliament to harass Oxford, who was seeking a close alliance with the low churchmen and dissenters, and to gain to himself the support and affection of the high church party. The measure was conceived in a spirit of malignity rarely equalled in the legislative history of the country. Its object was to prevent dissenters from having any share in the education of the young. They were not even to teach the "young idea how to shoot" in their own families. The right of education was to be vested as a monopoly in the Church of England! No proposition could have been more monstrous. It was a complete lopping off of the liberty of conscience. If any one desired to keep a school, either public or private, or to act as a tutor, he was bound by this Act, first to subscribe to a declaration that he conformed to the Church of England, and to obtain a license from the bishop of the diocese; which license could not be obtained unless the applicant for it produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament according to the communion of the Church of England within the last year, and also to his having subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Any one who presumed to teach without the necessary subscription and license was to be committed to prison without bail! It was the old spirit of persecution revived in all its pristine vigour. And it gained the support on which the arch-intriguer, Bolingbroke, calculated. The Whigs opposed it in both Houses to a man, but the Tories of all degrees rallied round this godless champion of high church principles. The bill was introduced into the Commons by Bolingbroke's friend, Sir William Wyndham, where it was finally carried after a warm debate by a majority of nearly two to one. It was brought before the Lords by Bolingbroke himself. In that House it met with sterner opposition. It was not, indeed, carried in all its integrity. Certain modifying clauses were adopted. For instance, dissenting dames and schoolmistresses were to be graciously allowed to teach the children of dissenters to read; and offending schoolmasters and tutors were to be tried for their offences in the ordinary courts of justice, and not subjected to the convictions of magistrates in their private rooms, as originally proposed. They were, also, to be allowed a right of appeal to a higher court. One clause introduced by the Lords was of the most singular and at the same time the most impudent character. That clause exempted from the Act any tutor employed in the family of a nobleman! The Act as thus amended was, by the decision of the Lords, to be extended to Ireland. It passed, but only by a majority of five, and thirty-three lords, five of whom were bishops, entered a strong protest against it on their journals. The bill, with its amendments, when sent down to the Commons, passed with but little opposition, and it was to come into operation on the 31st of August. Queen Anne gave her ready assent to it, for her high churchism had become stronger as she drew nearer to her last home. Her assent, however, to that intolerant measure was among the last acts of her life. She died before it became law, and, to the great joy of low churchmen and dissenters, in the reign of her successor it became a dead letter, and was finally repealed.

The queen closed the session on the 9th of July. She was then able to meet her parliament. In her speech, she said she hoped to meet them again early in the winter, and to find them in a temper necessary for the improvement of the commerce of the country, and of all the other advantages of peace. The queen had not found them in that temper this session, for just previous to her closing the session, the Lords, taking exception to the treaty of commerce with Spain, had resolved to address her for the production of the papers relating to the negotiation of that treaty, together with the names of the persons who had advised her majesty to ratify it, which had been effected without the consent and knowledge of her parliament. The opposition which the queen and her government met with in parliament, and in the House of Lords especially, was a source of great uneasiness to them. Both Anne and her cabinet wished the ship of state to sail over a calm unruffled sea, with no lowering clouds hovering over it, and no breakers ahead to disturb the repose of those by whom it was guided. It was her chief concern, said her majesty, proudly, to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdom. "But," added Anne, reprovingly, "I must tell you plainly that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies which create and foment divisions among you be laid aside; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people."

During the sitting of parliament the animosities between the lord-treasurer and Bolingbroke were in some degree restrained by their common fears. Each in his turn had sought the other's ruin in the course of the session, but only, as it were, by side blows. Thus Bolingbroke sought to ruin Oxford by the Schism Act, for which he foresaw the lord-treasurer would not vote; and Oxford sought the downfall of Bolingbroke by suggesting to the Whig lords that they should call the ratification of the treaty of commerce with Spain into question. But the blow which Oxford aimed at the head of his rival Bolingbroke recoiled upon his own. By the treaty of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, which had been secretly concluded at Madrid, the queen had reserved for herself the fourth part of the Assiento, or contract for negroes. This share was privately divided into sixteen parts. Oxford and Bolingbroke were each to have five parts, Lady Masham four, and Mr. Arthur Moore, who suggested the treaty, was to have two, as a reward for his service to the State. Oxford, however, aware of the dangerous state of the queen's health, resolved to sacrifice an uncertain interest for very possible revenge. He not only suggested to the Whig lords that they should call the treaty into question, but he openly joined them in their opposition to the measure. He even encouraged an address requesting her majesty to apply her part of the profits of the Assiento contract to the use of the public. This incident hastened the fall of the lord-treasurer. It was an offence which neither Bolingbroke nor Lady Masham could forgive. Swift had often reconciled his two patrons, but he sought in vain to reconcile them in this matter. Bolingbroke's interest was injured and his pride wounded, and nothing but revenge would satisfy him. And in this he was heartily joined by Lady Masham. But this offence was not the sole cause of the disgrace of the lord-treasurer. Being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, the rivals gave a loose to their mutual animosity. In a letter to the queen, containing a detail of the public transactions, Oxford endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the designs of Bolingbroke to bring in the Pretender; and on the other hand Bolingbroke charged Oxford with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of having become a warm partisan of the Whigs and the House of Hanover. It is possible that the queen would not have paid any serious attention to their mutual recriminations, but Lady Masham decided the point. On the 27th of July there was a protracted dispute between the two rivals and that lady in the presence of the queen. It is said that the altercation between the lord-treasurer and Lady Masham lasted till two hours after midnight. Words ran high between them. Incensed at Oxford for having opposed her will and disappointed her of money, the lady bluntly told him that he had never done the queen any service, and that he was not capable of doing her any. To this Oxford retorted that he had been abused by lies and misrepresentations, and that he would leave some people as low as he found them. The quarrel ended in the dismissal of Oxford. Anne demanded his white staff, but, says Macpherson, he was permitted to fall gently from his high station, being suffered to retain all his other offices.

When Oxford was dismissed, Bolingbroke became all-powerful in the state. He did not receive the treasurer's staff, but he became everything that he wished. All offices in the state were at his disposal, and he gave them to his friends the Jacobites. They were bound to his interests, and he surrounded himself with them. Personally he still retained the seals of secretary, but he now had the sole management of foreign affairs. The treasury was put into commission, the Jacobite Wyndham being placed at its head. The privy seal was given to Bishop Atterbury, the friend of Sacheverell. Bromley, the other secretary, was allowed to remain as "a good man and true;" and the earl of Mar, one of the most desperate Jacobites living, was to be secretary for Scotland. Harcourt was of course to remain chancellor, he being above suspicion as to his Jacobitish principles, and the duke of Ormond was to be commander-in-chief. Lastly, the duke of Buckingham was to become lord-president. There were many minor offices to be disposed of, and no doubt, if Bolingbroke had filled them up, they too would have all been given to the Jacobites. But Bolingbroke had no opportunity of proceeding further with the disposal of offices in the state. Three days had only elapsed since the dismissal of Oxford, when the queen was seized with an apoplectic fit. The scene she had witnessed between the lord-treasurer and Lady Masham had proved too much for her shattered constitution. Ever since she had been in a state of great agitation, which was succeeded by the fit, and after the fit she sunk into a stupor. It became evident that she was dying. As soon as her condition was known there was an upward rise in the funds. It was felt that, had her life been prolonged under existing circumstances, the constitution would have been in danger, and that even property itself would scarcely have been safe. Hence at least the monetary world, whatever others might do, made no display of grief at the prospect of the death of the queen. Bolingbroke, however, with all his party, were dumbfoundered by this sudden blow to their hopes. They met in council at Kensington Palace, where the queen lay a-dying, but they knew not what to do. As a ministry they had been formed, but they had not been officially appointed. While deliberating, they were thrown into consternation by the sudden appearance of the dukes of Argyll and Somerset. Though not summoned to the council, they said, they came to offer their assistance. Bolingbroke was silent, but the duke of Shrewsbury, who had been playing a very ambiguous part, bade them welcome. The duke had become a Whig again, and had been secretly in league with the chiefs of that party. On taking their seats at the council board, Argyll and Somerset urged that in the dangerous state of the queen's health the post of lord-treasurer should be instantly filled up, it being essential that at such a moment there should be a recognised prime minister. They proposed that the duke of Shrewsbury should be at once recommended to her majesty to fill that high office. He was, they said, the most fitting nobleman to manage affairs at that crisis, and to secure the Protestant succession as fixed by parliament! There was no opposition. Bolingbroke did not utter a word. He was amazed beyond measure at the turn affairs had taken. He saw that all his plottings had been labour in vain. All that was now wanting was the sanction of the queen to Shrewsbury's appointment, and he, the great Whig nobleman, and not the arch plotting Jacobite, Bolingbroke, would be at the head of the state. Was the queen in a condition to give that sanction? The physician said she was still sensible, and the lords in a body, Bolingbroke included, resorted to her dying chamber. It is probable that the dying queen did not understand the recommendation that was poured into her ears. No word was spoken by her, but she gave a nod, which was interpreted as the royal assent, and Shrewsbury became lord-treasurer and prime minister. Bolingbroke's dream of ambition passed away as a morning cloud. The blow struck at his short-lived power was followed by another, which defeated all his schemes for bringing in the Pretender. Argyll, who was a man of action, moved that every privy councillor in or about London should be immediately summoned to attend the council. There was to be no distinction of party; Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites were all to be summoned. Here was a change indeed. The Whigs, who had long been strangers at court, came joyfully from all quarters; one of the most conspicuous being the ex-chancellor, Somers, who was bowed down with age and infirmities. The action taken at the council board round which they assembled was decisive as to the future sovereign of the realm. Before the partisans of the Pretender had time to act, they were outvoted and crushed as a party. Troops were called up to London, a fleet was ordered to be forthwith prepared, and a messenger was despatched to hasten the arrival of Prince George. Other arrangements were also made as rapidly as possible to defeat the designs of the Pretender, and to secure the Protestant succession. No time was to be lost. Death was already standing in the queen's bedchamber, to claim his prey. Bolingbroke had assured an agent of the French king that his measures had been so well arranged that in six weeks' time all they wished would have been secured. They would have been in such a state as to have left him nothing to fear on the queen's demise. But at the death of the queen how altered became his language. Anne died on the 1st of August, and out of the depths of his despair Bolingbroke thus announced the event to Swift:—"The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" Bolingbroke was bewildered. He could not see how his schemes, which had been so cunningly devised, could fail. The champion of the high church party was an infidel. He did not know, and he did not even believe that there was an overruling

Providence, who could turn all his counsels and plottings to nought. Yet so it was. At the death of Queen Anne the elector of Hanover was joyfully proclaimed in London, York, and other places, and not a Jacobite dared show his face in the streets. As usual, on the accession of a prince to the throne of England, there was plenty of bell-ringing, and a large amount of wood and candles consumed in bonfires and illuminations, in the midst of which there were mighty shoutings of "Liberty and Property!" and "Long live King George."

Queen Anne died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. Of her character little need be said, as it is unfolded in the pages of her history as queen of England. At her death she was neither hated nor greatly beloved. Smollett says that she was called "The good Queen Anne," and that she well deserved the epithet. Probably she would have been more estimable and useful in private life than as a sovereign. Her mind was weak and indolent, and hence the power of her favourites over her, but the virtues of her heart can never be called into question. They were her chief crown and glory.

CHAPTER II.

History of Laws and Government from A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

THE revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne of England was the least violent, but the most beneficent of all the revolutions recorded in our national history. It did not pluck one jewel from the crown or assail its privileges, nor did it add a single new right to the people; and yet, while the English sovereigns have not suffered, the people have gained by that memorable event. The whole English law was left in all its pristine integrity. It was a defensive, not an aggressive revolution. It did not result in a new constitution—for that was not required—but it produced a new and glorious era in the history of that constitution. There were no more breaches to be made in its hallowed walls by despotic monarchs. Henceforth it was sacred to the touch of monarchy; for monarchy from that time to the passing hour is strictly and definitively limited by law. All that the Revolution did was to establish those fundamental laws which had been the main principles of our government, and which had been engraven on the hearts of Englishmen for centuries, as on a sure foundation. But in order to do this it was necessary to break the line of succession. A king was wanted who would enter into a solemn compact with the people, and who would faithfully perform his engagements. The Stuarts had been tried and found wanting. They had sought to rule absolutely and not constitutionally. Hence it was that all eyes were turned on William, prince of Orange, and his consort, Mary, the daughter of the deposed monarch James. By thus breaking the line of succession, it was thought by the promoters of the Revolution that the constitution which had been invaded by the monarchs of the House of Stuart might be preserved and handed down to posterity in its entirety. And so it has happened. On this subject Hallam writes:—"It cut up by the roots all that theory of indefeasible right, of paramount prerogative, which had put the crown in continual opposition to the people. A contention had subsisted for five hundred years, but particularly during the four last reigns, against the aggressions of arbitrary power. The sovereigns of this country had never patiently endured the control of parliament. Nor was it natural for them to do so, while the two houses of parliament appeared historically, and in legal language, to derive their existence as well as privileges from the crown itself. They had at their side the pliant lawyers, who held the prerogative to be uncontrollable by statutes—a doctrine of itself destructive of any reconciliation and compromise between a king and his subjects—and they had the churchmen, whose casuistry denied that the most intolerable tyranny could excuse resistance to a lawful government. These two propositions could not obtain general acceptation without rendering all national liberty precarious. It has been always reckoned among the most difficult problems in the practical science of government to combine an hereditary monarchy with security of freedom, so that neither the ambition of kings shall undermine the people's rights, nor the jealousy of the people overturn the throne. England had already experience of both these mischiefs. And there seemed no prospect before her, but either their alternate recurrence, or a final submission to absolute power, unless by one great effort she could put the monarchy for ever beneath the law, and reduce it to an integrant portion, instead of the primary source and principle of the constitution. She must reverse the favoured maxim—*A deo rex, a rege lex*—and make the crown itself appear the creature of the law. But our ancient monarchy, strong in a possession of seven centuries, and in those high and paramount prerogatives which the consenting testimony of lawyers, and the submission of parliaments had recognized; a monarchy from which the House of Commons and every existing peer, though not perhaps the aristocratic order itself, derived its participation in the legislature, could not be bent to the republican theories which have been not very successfully attempted in some modern codes of constitution. It could not be held, without breaking up all the foundations of our polity, that the monarch emanated from the parliament or even from the people. But by the Revolution and by the Act of Settlement the rights of the actual monarch, of the reigning family, were made to emanate from the parliament and the people. In technical language, in the grave and respectful theory of our constitution, the crown is still the fountain from which law and justice spring forth. Its prerogatives are in the main the same as under the Tudors and the Stuarts; but the right of the House of Brunswick to exercise them can only be deduced from the convention of 1688."

Of the Revolution of 1688, Earl Russell, in his work entitled "The English Government and Constitution," remarks, that to his mind it appeared the perfection of boldness and prudence. He illustrates his sentiment by the motives with which the two parties by whom the Revolution was brought about were actuated. "The Tory party," he says, "in general were not so much alarmed at the subversion of liberty as at the innovations introduced in religion. 'Church and king,' in the order in which those words are used, was their motto and their faith. In their anxiety to preserve the church, they appealed to the prince of Orange. The princess of Orange being the nearest of blood—except the infant son of James—and a Protestant, the prince of Orange—himself the nephew of James—was the fit person to be king. He had, besides, this merit in the eyes of the Whigs, that his right to the crown, and the right of the people to their liberties, were thenceforth to be placed on the same foundation, and opposed to the same Pretender. The more violent of the Whigs were not satisfied with changing the dynasty. They looked to extensive reforms both in church and state: they wished to change our ecclesiastical laws, and remodel the House of Commons. Others desired to abolish the monarchy, and constitute a republic. But the leaders of the Revolution knew, with Machiavel, that nothing so much tends to give stability to a change of government as an adherence to old forms and venerated institutions. They knew that to enter upon a discussion of new projects, however plausible, at such a moment, and in the face of a large adverse party, would expose their work to be presently overthrown, and could only lead to endless conflicts and unsatisfactory decisions. For these reasons, the leaders of the Revolution contented themselves with confirming by solemn statute all the ancient liberties of England, and protesting against those particular violations of them which had taken place in the late reign."

The leaders of the Revolution, however, cannot be looked upon by posterity as true patriots. Massey affirms, that among the statesmen who framed the settlement of 1688, "Somers was the only one in whose breast a regard for the public welfare predominated over fear and self-interest." Sweeping as this assertion is, there is reason to believe that it had its foundation in truth. The new state of things was for a series of years a source of party strife. It has been well remarked:—"There is nothing more painful to one who looks back upon the history of his country with an earnest desire to think the best of her public men, than to trace amidst the bitter contests of factions the slight predominance of the patriotic spirit. The second session of the Convention Parliament is a melancholy exhibition of party intrigues for power; of rivalries that were to be made enduring by mean revenges; of desperate attempts to revive the indiscriminate hatreds of the past in a frequent disregard of the necessities of the present; hateful contests, that made William seriously purpose to throw up the government, and remove himself from a scene where he was unable to make men understand that there was a duty to their country which ought to outweigh all selfish desires."

Yet in the midst of these rivalries, revenges, and hatreds, the second session of the Convention Parliament passed an Act which forms the basis of the present fabric of our constitution. This was "An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown," known in history as the "The Bill of Rights." This measure was the reduction to a statute of the declaration of rights to which William and Mary had solemnly assented as the undoubted privileges and liberties of the people of England, when called to the throne. Some important provisions, however, were superadded to the declaration to which they had assented in "The Bill of Rights." Thus, to prevent the kingdom being governed by a papist, it was enacted that the sovereign should in parliament, and at the coronation, adopt by repetition and subscription the declaration against transubstantiation. It was also enacted that if the sovereign should marry a papist the subject should be absolved from allegiance; and by another clause the dispensing power of the crown, which had been the cause of so many conflicts between the sovereign and the subject, was wholly swept away.

"The Bill of Rights" struck a heavy blow at the fabric of arbitrary power, but other Acts were wanting to effect its complete demolition. And these were found in the annual Mutiny Act, the annual Appropriation Act; the Act for securing the independence of the judges; and the Act of Settlement. When these were passed the hydra-headed monster—Arbitrary Power—under which the nation had groaned during the rule of the House of Stuart, was completely destroyed.

The preamble to the annual Mutiny Act reads thus:—"Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law: and whereas it is adjudged necessary by his majesty and this present parliament, that a body of forces should be continued, for the safety of the United Kingdom, the defence of the possessions of his majesty's crown, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe." It follows, therefore, that the consent of parliament is at all times necessary, and that annually, to the keeping up a standing army. But a standing army at the period, and subsequent to the revolution, was absolutely necessary both for the support of the throne and the safety of the kingdom. There was a militia force, but what could that force do against disciplined armies, strong in numbers and skilled in the art of war, which had assembled on the other side of the Channel for the invasion of our island? Regular troops, therefore, were essential for the safeguard of England. It was also essential that those troops should be under due subordination. The general safety required that a summary jurisdiction of terrible extent should be entrusted in camps to rude tribunals composed of those who commanded the troops—men who had swords in their hands, and who would use them for the welfare of the state. A mutiny at Ipswich convinced both Whigs and Tories that if there was a standing army kept up, a strict discipline should be maintained. The panic which that mutiny produced was the origin of the annual Mutiny Act. The Mutiny Act has been renewed annually, from the date of the Ipswich mutiny to the present time. Macaulay writes: "The estates of the realm continue to set up periodically, with laudable jealousy, a landmark on the frontier which was traced at the time of the Revolution. They solemnly reassert every year the doctrine laid down in the Declaration of Rights; and they then grant to the sovereign an extraordinary power to govern a certain number of soldiers according to certain rules during twelve months more."

Another admirable measure of William's first parliament was the settlement of the revenue. The parliament of the Revolution did not touch the hereditary revenue, but they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates. The sum of 1,200,000*l.* was voted for the annual revenue of the crown in time of peace; one half of which was to be appropriated to the maintenance of the king's government and royal family, and the other to the public defence and contingent expenditure. When war broke out with France a new arrangement was rendered necessary. Estimates of the probable expenditure in the army, navy, and ordnance were laid annually before the parliament, and the supply was voted accordingly; so much for the army, so much for the navy, and so much for the ordnance. This has been the invariable usage from the period of the Revolution; and the principle then adopted has proved to be the security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the crown. In the Appropriation Act of every session a clause is introduced, making it imperative on the crown that the supplies granted should be applied to the purposes specified and no other. Parliament may make lavish votes, but each vote must be distinctly made for the service of a particular department. It is this which renders the legislative power so supreme in England.

On this subject Mr. Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," remarks:—"This has given the House of Commons so effectual a control over the executive power, or, more truly speaking, has rendered it so much a participator in that power, that no administration can possibly subsist without its concurrence; nor can the session of parliament be intermitted for an entire year without leaving both the naval and military forces of the kingdom unprovided for. In time of war, or in circumstances that may induce war, it has not been very uncommon to deviate a little from the rule of appropriation, by a grant of considerable sums on a vote of credit, which the crown is thus enabled to apply at its discretion during the recess of parliament; and we have had also too frequent experience that the charges of public service have not been brought within the limits of the last year's appropriation. But the general principle has not perhaps been often transgressed without sufficient reason; and a House of Commons would be deeply responsible to the country, if through supine confidence it should abandon that high privilege which has made it the arbiter of court factions and the regulator of foreign connections. It is to this transference of the executive government from the crown to the two Houses of Parliament, and especially the Commons, that we owe the proud attitude which England has made since the Revolution."

Another measure of great public importance was the establishment of the independence of the judges. This was at first opposed by King William. They had been made independent of the crown as to their term of office, but not as to their salaries. They were appointed by him *quam diu se bene gesserit*, so that they could not be arbitrarily removed, but their independence was not complete by that commission. Parliament therefore passed a bill for legally establishing their judicial independence, and providing that each judge should be paid a thousand a year. They were, however, by one clause of the bill, to be paid out of the revenues of the crown, and as the previous consent of the king had not been obtained, he put his veto upon the measure. Hallam says that William "gave an unfortunate instance of his very injudicious tenacity of bad prerogatives in refusing his assent;" but Macaulay more charitably remarks that "William could only defend the proprietary rights of the crown by putting his negative upon the bill." But the great constitutional principle, to which William refused his assent in 1692, was determined by the Act of Settlement in 1701. By the seventh clause of that Act it was enacted that the office of a judge should be held during life or good behaviour, and not at the discretion of the crown; so that no judge can be removed from office but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament.

The importance of the independence of the judges is well illustrated by Earl Russell in Chapter XIV. of "The English Government and Constitution." He writes:—"Since this time the character of English judges has been held in deserved estimation: of their personal integrity, and their conscientious attachment to the law, no doubts or suspicions have been entertained. The corruption of Tressilian, and the unprincipled violence of Jeffreys, have never been repeated. The utmost that can be said is that, historically speaking, the judical bias in political causes has been naturally and inevitably in favour of the crown. Any one who follows the state trials will perceive that the judges, in their interpretations of law, and still more in their sentences, reflect too lively an image of the inclination of the government of the day; mild when the minister is moderate, severe when he is intemperate. Such has been the fault of the judges of England; but one which, seldom pushed to any great extent, even in language, and never to any violent or palpable misconstruction of law, is perhaps as slight a stain upon the ermine of justice as human nature will permit. Happily, too, precedents are now so numerous, and so carefully recorded, that a judge cannot in the face of the bar and of the country very greatly deviate from the line of duty. Hence the confidence of the people in the impartial distribution of justice still remains entire."

The Act of Settlement was the crowning measure by which arbitrary power was abolished in England. Its very title expresses its object emphatically. It was "an Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." It was the keystone of civil liberty. It recites that "the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof; and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm ought to administer the government of the same according to the said laws; and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same."

The first section of the Act of Settlement made provision for the succession to the crown. It enacted: "That the most excellent Princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, daughter of the most excellent Princess Elizabeth, late queen of Bohemia, daughter of our late sovereign lord King James I., of happy memory, be and is hereby declared to be the next in succession, in the Protestant line, to the imperial crown and dignity of the said realms of England, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereto belonging, after his majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and for default of issue of the said Princess Anne and of his majesty respectively; and that from and after the decease of his said majesty, our now sovereign lord, and of her royal highness Princess Anne of Denmark, and for default of issue of the said Princess Anne, and of his majesty respectively, the crown of the regal government of the said kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, with the royal state and dignity of the said realms, and all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdiction, and authorities, to the same belonging and appertaining, shall be, remain, and continue to the said most excellent Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants."

That the kings and queens of England should be Protestants, the second section enacted, "That all and every person and persons who shall or may take or inherit the said crown by virtue of the limitation of this present Act, and is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be subject to such incapacities as in such case or cases are by the said recited Act provided, enacted, and established; and that every king and queen of this realm, who shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom by virtue of this Act, shall have the coronation oath administered to him, her, or them, at their respective coronations, according to the Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of his majesty and the said late Queen Mary, entitled 'An Act for Establishing the Coronation Oath,' and shall make, subscribe, and repeat the declaration in the Act first above recited, mentioned, or referred to, in the manner and form thereby subscribed."

The third section of the Act of Settlement, for the further security of "our religion, laws, and liberties," enacted that from and after the death of his majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, 1. That whoever should hereafter come to the possession of the crown of England shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established. 2. That if the crown and imperial dignity should descend to any person not being native born, the nation should not engage in any war for the defence of any dominion or territories not belonging to the crown of England without consent of parliament. 3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament. 4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom which are cognisable in the privy council, by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same. 5. That after the said limitation shall take effect, as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereto belonging—although he be naturalized or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents—shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown, to himself or to any other or others in trust for him. 6. That no person who has any office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons. 7. This article establishes the independence of the judges as above narrated. 8. That no pardon of the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in parliament.

Such were the principal provisions of the Act of Settlement. As a body they are those by which the kings and queens of England now wield the sceptre. It is proper to observe, however, that the third clause in section third was repealed in the reign of George I., and the fourth and fifth in the reign of Queen Anne. All the other provisions of the Act are those under which the present royal family hold the crown of Great Britain and Ireland.

It was fortunate that Whigs and Tories were quarrelling about "trifling matters" at such a juncture. Mr. Hallam remarks truly: "The Act of Settlement was the seal of our constitutional laws, the complement of the Revolution itself and the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the crown, and manifests in any degree a jealousy of parliament in behalf of its own and the subjects' privileges." Posterity can forgive the contending parties for their seeming indifference to this great measure, as under the rule of the House of Brunswick, which it placed on the throne, "there has been a constant progress towards the solution of the difficult problem of representative government—the union of the largest amount of individual liberty with the most perfect security of good order."

It may be interesting here to take a brief view of the two great parties in the state—Whig and Tory. According to Roger North, the terms Whig and Tory took their rise about the year 1679, Tory having the start of Whig about a year. The word Tory applied a name given to the most despicable savages among the wild Irish. As a matter of course the Tories sought to revenge themselves on their opponents in their own fashion, and fixed upon the name of Whig, a Scotch word, signifying corrupt, sour whey. The name of Tory, therefore, was given to Englishmen who refused to concur in excluding a Roman Catholic prince from the throne; and the appellation of Whig was fastened on those politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the court, and to treat Protestant nonconformists with indulgence. The nicknames were originally given in insult, but they were soon assumed with pride, "which are still in daily use, which have spread as widely as the English race, and which will last as long as the English literature."

Concerning the division of England into two great parties, Earl Russell remarks that it "began, and still continues, in consequence of wide and irreconcilable differences of opinion. The Tories, at the commencement of the reign of James II., looked upon the exaltation of the crown as their favourite object. Allowing, as they now do, that the king is entrusted with power for the public good, they yet thought that the public good required complete freedom in the exercise of his prerogative, so long as the law is not infringed. While he remained, therefore, within the legal bounds assigned to him, they were, to say the least, extremely unwilling to control his power. If he stepped beyond them, or placed the country in great danger, they were ready to oppose the crown by their votes in parliament, or in any other legal manner. It followed from their doctrine, however, that their tendency always was to support the king, in the first place, in all his measures, and to refuse their sanction only when those measures had placed the country in peril so imminent that they were obliged reluctantly to disclose their own opinions. The Whigs looked towards the people, whose welfare is the end and object of all government. They maintained that, as the king's advisers are responsible for his measures, it is the duty of parliament to examine and pronounce whether those measures are wise and salutary. They were therefore ready to interfere with any exercise of the prerogative which they thought unwise or improper; and to insist—too haughtily, perhaps, at times—upon the adoption of that line of policy which they considered as best adapted to the wants and wishes of the country."

As the Revolution was chiefly brought about by Whig ascendency, as might be expected, that party maintained their ascendency in the state for a long period after that event. But the Tories were not wholly shorn of influence in the government. It was the policy of King William to balance one party by the other; and at no time during the reign of Queen Anne was there a pure Whig administration. In the latter part of the reign of Anne, indeed, there was an unmixed Tory cabinet, which was presided over by Harley and Bolingbroke. During the reigns of the first two monarchs of the House of Hanover the Whigs, however, were all dominant, arising chiefly from their support of the Act of Settlement and their opposition to the designs of the Pretender.

A brief notice of the principal Acts of Parliament passed into law during this period will conclude this chapter.

In 1694 a bill passed both Houses and received the royal assent for triennial parliaments. This Triennial Act, however, which was so solemnly appointed to "last for ever," had but a brief existence; it being repealed, as will be seen in a future page, in 1715, so that it continued in force only about twenty-one years.

In 1695 a bill for regulating trials in cases of treason and misprision of treason became law. By that Act the law of treason was placed on an entirely new footing. It enacted: 1. That all persons indicted for high treason should have a copy of the indictment five days before the trial, on paying for the same, and should be admitted to make their defence by counsel, and to produce witnesses on oath. 2. That no person should be tried for high treason but on the oath of two lawful witnesses; either both of them to the same overt act, or one of them to one, and the other of them to another overt act of the same treason. If, however, the party indicted, arraigned, or tried, should confess to the crime, or should refuse to plead, or should challenge above the number of thirty-five of the jury, then he was to be deemed guilty without the evidence of witnesses. 3. One witness to one treason, and another to a separate act of treason, were not to be deemed two witnesses. 4. No person was to be indicted if the indictment was not made within three years of the committal of the offence. 5. All persons tried were to have copies of the panel of the jurors by whom they were to be tried two days before the trial, and the court was to issue process to compel the witnesses for the accused to appear and give evidence, in the same manner as the witnesses against them. 6. No evidence was to be admitted or given of any overt act of treason that was not expressly set forth in the indictment. These were the leading features of the Treason Act passed in the reign of William and Mary. Its principles were subsequently confirmed in the reign of Queen Anne, by the 14th section, cap. 21, of an "Act for improving the union of the two kingdoms:" this further protection being accorded to the accused, that a copy of the indictment should be given ten days before the trial, and that with it should be given a list of the witnesses who were to prove the indictment, and of the jury by whom they were to be tried, together with the profession and abodes of the witnesses and jurors.

With reference to juries it may be mentioned that down to this period they were composed of freeholders only. Copyholders had been admitted to serve in some of the sheriffs' courts by ancient statutes, but not in the king's courts. By the statute of William and Mary, 4th and 5th, however, it was enacted that all jurors who possessed ten pounds a year in England and six pounds in Wales, from land, whether freehold or copyhold, were to be admitted to serve upon juries in any of the king's courts. This statute was to continue in force for seven years only, but it was subsequently renewed for seven years more during the reign of William and Mary; in the reign of Queen Anne for seven years longer, and in the reign of George II. it was made perpetual. But there was one exception. Apothecaries who resided in and within seven miles of the boundaries of London, and apothecaries who had served seven years in the country, were by the several statutes exempted from serving on juries, as well as from the offices of constable, scavenger, and other parish and ward offices; an exemption evidently made in deference to the virtue of their drugs rather than to their personal inconvenience.

The Act for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne, has been so fully recorded in the narrative of her reign, that further details are not needed. In consequence of that event, however, another Act requiring notice was deemed essential. In 1705, an Act was passed for "the better security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England in the Protestant line." In 1708, this Act was re-enacted, to meet the altered circumstances of the crown. By that Act all persons who maintained, either by speech, writing, or printing, that Anne was not the lawful queen of Great Britain, or that the prince of Wales or any other person had any right to the crown of England, were declared guilty of high treason. Preachers and others who thus acted, were to incur the penalty of *præmunire*. Parliament was to continue sitting at the death of the queen for six months, unless her legitimate successor should sooner prorogue or dissolve it. If a parliament was in existence at her demise it was to meet immediately; and if it was not in existence, then the last parliament was to assemble. In like manner the privy council were to retain their functions, and the great officers of state their offices, for six months after the death of the queen, unless removed by her successor. If it so happened that Anne, at the time of her death, should not be within the realm, then seven officers were to assume the government of Great Britain, with the title of lords justices. The officers named were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor or lord keeper, the lord high treasurer, the lord high admiral, the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, and the lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench. Other officers might be added to these seven officers, as lords justices, during the life-time of the queen, by her successor, by three instruments under his or her hand and seal; such persons being natural-born subjects of the realm of Great Britain. The lords justices were to have no power of themselves to dissolve the parliament, nor to repeal or alter an Act made in Scotland, intituled "an Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government;" and they were to take the oaths mentioned in the Act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary, and also an oath enacted to be taken after the demise of her majesty Queen Anne without issue. After her demise, and before the arrival of her successor, the lords justices were empowered to call a parliament by writs tested in their names, which parliament was not to be dissolved by the arrival of her successor, but were to proceed without any further summons.

During this period considerable alteration was made in the privilege known in history as the Benefit of Clergy. This privilege had its origin in the regard which was paid by the sovereigns of Europe to the early Christian church, and in the endeavours of the pontiff of Rome to withdraw the clergy altogether from secular jurisdiction. It was a privilege never extended to high treason nor to offences not capital, and wherein the punishment would not affect the life or limb of the offender. If a person who had committed any offence worthy of death pleaded that he was a clerk or clergyman, and claimed the benefit of clergy, the ordinary appeared and demanded him, on which a jury was summoned to inquire into the truth of the charge; and according to their verdict the accused was delivered to the ordinary either as acquit or convict, to undergo canonical purgation, and then to be discharged or punished according to the result of the purgation. At first it was the rule that the prisoner should claim his privilege in his clerical habit and tonsure; but in process of time it was deemed sufficient proof of his clerical character if he could read, which was a rare accomplishment in the middle ages except among the clergy. Blackstone says that the law continued thus for above a century, except that by a statute of James I., "women convicted of simple larcenies under the value of ten pounds should not have the benefit of the clergy, for they were not called upon to read, but be burned in the hand, and whipped, stocked, or imprisoned for any time not exceeding one year." In the reign of William and Mary a statute was passed extending a similar indulgence to women guilty of any clergyable offence whatsoever. They were allowed to claim the benefit of the statute once, in like manner as men might claim the benefit of clergy, and to be discharged upon being burned in the hand and imprisoned for any time not exceeding one year. All women, all peers, and all male commoners who could read were by that statute discharged in such felonies —absolutely, if clerks in orders—and for the first offence upon burning in the hand, if lay; yet all were liable except peers, if the judge saw fit, to one year's imprisonment; but those who could not read, if under the degree of peerage, were hanged. A further, and a more enlightened alteration in this strange law occurred in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne. It was then enacted that benefit of clergy should be granted to all convicted of any felony for which they were entitled to ask it, without requiring them to be able to read by way of condition. It was also enacted that when any person was convicted of any theft or larceny, and burnt in the hand, he should at the discretion of the judge be committed to the house of correction or public workhouse, and be kept to hard labour for any time not less than six months or more than two years; and that if any offender escaped, and was retaken, he should be committed for any time not less than twelve months, or more than four years.

These were the principal enactments during the period now under consideration. It may be mentioned, however, that in consequence of the arrest of an ambassador of Peter the Great, for a debt of fifty pounds, a statute was passed whereby the person of any ambassador, or other public minister of any foreign prince or state, authorized and received as such by her majesty, was rendered inviolate. All persons prosecuting such process, and all attorneys and solicitors executing such process, were to be deemed violators of the law of nations and disturbers of the public repose; and were to suffer such penalties and corporal punishments as the lord chancellor or lord keeper, and the two chief justices, or any two of them, thought proper to inflict.

It is proper here also to mention that statute which was passed in 1703, known by the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty." This was a measure for the benefit of the clergy. During the reign of popery in England the clergy had of their own free will, and in spite of the efforts of parliament to prevent or restrain the practice, assigned the "first fruits and tenths" of their preferments to the pope: the first fruits being the whole profits of the preferment during the first year, and "the tenths," the tenth part of the annual profit after the first year. When Henry VIII. laid his heavy hand upon the revenues of the Romish church, by an express statute these "first fruits and tenths" were given to him as head of the church, and thus became the revenues of the crown. Payments, indeed, for the smaller rectories or vicarages, were either wholly or partially remitted, but the larger benefices were bound to contribute to the crown the "first fruits and tenths" according to their value. By letters patent of the 3rd of November, 1703, however, Queen Anne restored to the church what the statute of Henry VIII. had taken from it. These letters patent were confirmed by statute. But the restoration did not relieve the larger benefices. On the contrary, they were still, by the "letters patent" and statute to be subjected to the payment of the "first fruits and tenths," and the revenue was to be vested in trustees, to form a fund for the augmentation of the smaller livings. There was, however, no immediate benefit to the poorer clergy from this judicious measure. The revenues arising from the "first fruits and tenths" had been anticipated by various grants for lives and years, and were, therefore, not available until several years after this appropriation. When the statute was passed there were more than five thousand livings under eighty pounds per annum, and in 1720 only three hundred had received any benefit from it. But since that period many a poor incumbent has had reason to be thankful for "Queen Anne's Bounty."

CHAPTER IV.

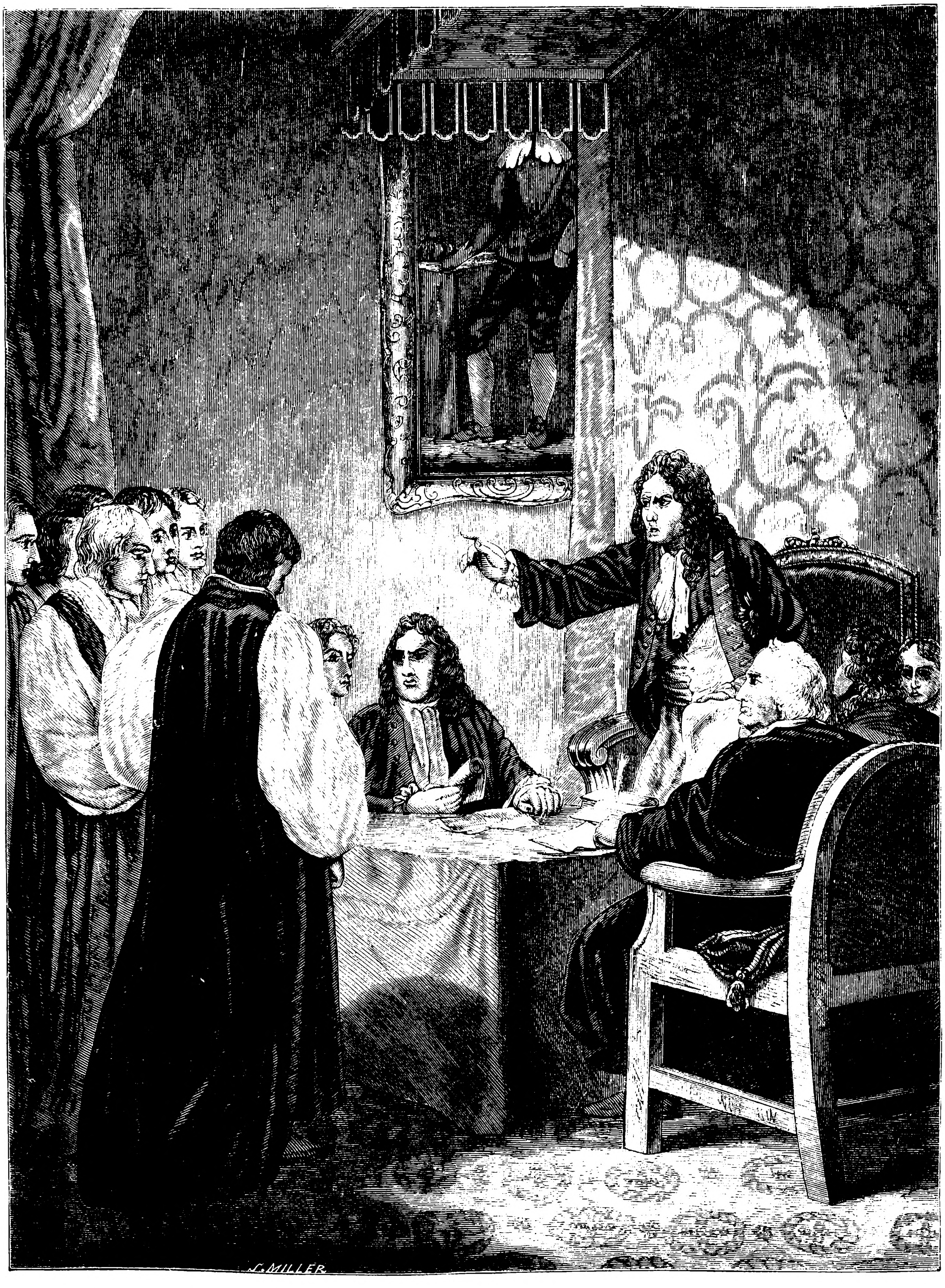
History of Religion, from A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

The Revolution which dethroned the family of the Stuarts was the final victory of Protestantism. It was the triumph of the Church of England over the insidious designs of the Church of Rome to recover its ancient ascendancy in our island. The men who brought that memorable event about were not so much alarmed at the despotic tendencies of the Stuart dynasty in temporal matters, as in matters of religion. It was the innovations introduced into religion which arrayed the nation—clergy and laity—against the crown. As a body, however, the clergy were ill satisfied with the effects of the Revolution. They did not intend going so far. In their anxiety to preserve the Church, the Tory party, whose motto and faith was "Church and king," appealed to the prince of Orange, but they did not desire he should supplant the legitimate king. After having gained their immediate object—their triumph over the crown in the matter of the right of petition against reading the Declaration of Indulgence, on which the infatuated monarch insisted—the great majority of the clergy would have gladly stopped the wheel of change in the state which the trial and triumph of the seven petitioning bishops mainly contributed to set in motion. From the earliest ages the crown had, in its contests with the other powers of the state, received the support of the Church, and the Church was still faithful to the crown. As a body the clergy were still willing to support the royal authority of King James if it could have been preserved. This was clear when, after the Revolution had been consummated, the hierarchy were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. Out of the seven prelates whose refusal to read the Declaration of Indulgence had given the signal for the Revolution, five of them absolutely refused to take that oath, or to acknowledge the new government. These five were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, bishop of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough. Three other prelates also refused to take the oath, namely, Thomas of Worcester, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester. The two bishops who petitioned against the Declaration, and gave their sanction to the change in the government, were Trelawney of Bristol and Lloyd of St. Asaph. Other prelates who took the oath were Lamplugh, archbishop of York; Compton, bishop of London; Mew, of Winchester; Sprat of Rochester; Barlow, of Lincoln; Braw, of Llandaff; Smith, of Carlisle; Watson, of St David's; and Crewe, of Durham. This latter prelate, however, appears to have taken the oath not as a spiritual but as a temporal peer. But of all who in heart sanctioned the accession of William and Mary, only two—Compton and Trelawney—can be truly said to have complied with the Settlement. The rest were hollow in their profession of allegiance to the new sovereigns. And no one was more so than Crewe of Durham.

That lay and spiritual peer was a disgrace to the Church of England. He was a papist at heart. When in 1687 James paraded Adda, the papal envoy, at Windsor in a royal coach, all clothed in purple, and wearing a brilliant cross at his breast, the people who went to witness the pageant recognized with disgust among the equipages of courtiers and ministers of state the arms and liveries of Crewe, bishop of Durham. Crewe was also present at the interview of the bishops with James just previous to William's arrival in England. In the manifesto of the prince of Orange it was asserted that some of the peers spiritual as well as temporal had invited him to invade England. James was anxious to ascertain the temper of the prelates. If they were hostile to him then he knew that his throne was really in danger. But he could not believe it. Having summoned those who were in London into his presence, and pointed out the passage in the manifesto which concerned them, he said that he was satisfied no bishop of the Church of England would rebel against his sovereign. It was a supposition too monstrous for belief. In his reply the primate said that the king had only done him justice. He had never invited the prince over, and he did not believe that a single one of his brethren had done so. Crewe said he was sure he had not, and so said Cartwright of Chester; but Compton, who had, parried the question with the adroitness of a Jesuit. Both Crewe and Cartwright might well be believed, as they had sat in the ecclesiastical commission. At the Revolution, however, the conduct of these two prelates widely differed. Cartwright fled beyond sea, and afterwards went to Ireland with King James, where he died in neglect and destitution, faithful to the last to his sovereign. According to Burnet, the bishop of Durham, also, intended to go beyond sea; but having received an intimation that if he would vote for the settlement of the government his conduct in the ecclesiastical commission should not be remembered, he submitted and retained his see; though "he had not one quality to recommend him to so great a post, unless obedience and compliance could supply all other defects."

At the time of the Revolution there were twenty-six bishoprics in England. One of these—Salisbury—was vacant. Altogether from various causes seven sees were unrepresented in the first parliament of William and Mary; that is, seven prelates were absent from causes unconnected with the question of the Settlement. Of the other nineteen prelates, eleven took the oath of allegiance to the government, and eight expressly refused to take it. But a few days after his accession William filled up the see of Salisbury, by which he added one of the firmest prelatical adherents to his throne he ever possessed. The manner in which he filled up that see indicated his sentiments touching ecclesiastical polity and public worship. The choice of a successor to Seth Ward, who had for many years presided over the diocese of Salisbury, which comprehended Wiltshire and Berkshire, and who was one of the founders of the Royal Society, was no trifling matter. The eyes of the clergy were upon the king. His choice of a successor to Seth Ward was certain to be considered as a prognostic of the gravest importance. Many divines, as regards erudition and eloquence, were entitled to the first great spiritual preferment he had to bestow, and some of them must have recommended themselves to his notice by their known attachment to the new settlement. William's choice, however, did not fall upon any of these divines, but on Burnet, who had for several years been his chaplain. And no one better fitted to preside over a diocese could have been selected. His fitness was proved by the zeal, diligence, and disinterestedness with which he discharged his holy calling. In him his clergy found a friend, and his flock a faithful pastor. When it was known that William had preferred such a man to the bishopric of Salisbury, there was a great commotion in the Church. It was hoped and believed that the primate would not obey the king's mandate for his consecration. Sancroft, indeed, who regarded Burnet as a scandal to the priesthood, and as a Presbyterian in a surplice, for some time positively declared that he would not obey the mandate. Nor did he consecrate him with his own hands, but after long holding out he did that which was pretty much the same; he issued a commission empowering any three of his suffragans to act in his name, and by that instrument Burnet was consecrated bishop of Salisbury.

From the commencement to the close of his reign William was more troubled with the conduct of the clergy than with any other class of his subjects. The example of the eight prelates who refused to take the oath of allegiance operated upon many of the inferior clergy. The conduct of the primate Sancroft, especially, had the effect of exciting disaffection among them towards the government. He not only refused to take the oath, but to sit in the privy council. Nay more, he ceased to confirm, ordain, and institute; nor would he pray for William and Mary as king and queen. He was considered by the Jacobites as a veritable martyr to the monarchy and the Church. But the opposition of the prelates to the government was not too powerful to be overcome. As it was found that they could not be reached by the existing law so long as they chose to absent themselves from parliament, an Act was eventually passed which reached both them and every churchman who refused to take that oath. That Act declared, among other regulations, that every archbishop and bishop neglecting to take the oaths which it contained should be liable to the same penalties as they would have been liable to by any statute for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy which the new Act abrogated. It was also enacted that every holder of any ecclesiastical office whatsoever, by whom the new oaths should not have been taken before the 10th of August, 1689, should be suspended; and if at the end of six months they still refused, they were to be deprived of office. Under the operations of this Act, accordingly, as the eight prelates still remained contumacious from and after the 1st of August, they were suspended, and at the end of that time, the 1st of February, 1690, they were *ipso facto* deprived. Notwithstanding, they were allowed to continue in their sees a year after this; doubtless in the hope that they would give in their adherence to the new government. All that time, Burnet says, they neglected the concerns of the Church and lived pri-



THE SEVEN BISHOPS BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

vately in their palaces. According to Burnet, great pains were taken to win them over, but without effect. By the queen's order he had moved the earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who had great influence with them, to try, whether, if an Act could be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, they would exercise their sacerdotal functions as heretofore. But to this the only answer they would give was, that "they would live quietly." Such at least was the answer of six out of the eight bishops who had expressly refused to take the new oath of allegiance. Two of them, Thomas of Worcester, and Lake of Chichester, had in the meanwhile died, and the former had been succeeded by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the latter by Dr. Pabuck. The other six lived to be ejected from their sees on the 1st of February, 1691. Thus Sancroft the primate was succeeded by Dr. Tillotson; Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, by Dr. Kidder; Turner of Ely, by Dr. Patrick; Frampton of Gloucester, by Dr. Fowler; Lloyd of Norwich, by Dr. Moore; and White of Peterborough, by Dr. Cumberland. The forbearance with which the ejected prelates were treated contrasts strangely with the policy adopted towards the inferior clergy. In their cases no extension of time was allowed to see whether they could be won over to the government. On the contrary, as soon as the six months' grace of suspension had expired, four hundred churchmen who had not then taken the oaths lost their benefices. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the wisdom of their resistance, their self-denial, in suffering for conscience sake, must ever be respected. The policy of their deprivation at the same time is very questionable. Their devotion to the principle of hereditary right might be an error in judgment, but it was not a crime for which they should have been called upon thus to suffer. Moreover, it led to considerable evils in the state, for during three reigns the ejected clergy were a constant source of irritation and alarm, under the well-known name in history of Nonjurors.

But this rigid policy can in no sense be attributed to King William. Had his parliament acquiesced in his known wishes in the great question of religious liberty and union, and carried out his abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men, the Church might have been saved more than a century of bitter animosities. It was well known that he was willing, if the legislature would comply, to let the clergy enjoy their benefices without swearing allegiance to him. While the new Act was passing he even addressed both Houses on the subject, expressing an earnest wish that they would modify the existing laws in such a manner that all Protestants might be admitted to public employments. He was willing to purchase liberty of conscience for his subjects by giving up one of the greatest safeguards of his crown. This was highly honourable to his character. "But," writes Macaulay, "it must be acknowledged that he showed less wisdom than virtue. The only Englishman in his privy council whom he had consulted, if Burnet was correctly informed, was Richard Hampden, supposed to be the grandson of the famous John Hampden; and Richard Hampden, though a highly respectable man, was so far from being able to answer for the Whig party, that he could not answer even for his own son John, whose temper, naturally vindictive, had been exasperated into ferocity by the stings of remorse and shame. The king found that there was in the hatred of the two great factions an energy which was wanting in their love to him. The Whigs, though they were almost unanimous in thinking that the sacramental test ought to be abolished, were by no means unanimous in thinking that moment well chosen for its abolition; and even those Whigs who were most desirous to see the nonconformists relieved without delay from civil disabilities, were fully determined not to forego the opportunity of humbling and punishing the class to whose instrumentality chiefly was to be ascribed that tremendous reflux of public feeling which had followed the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. To put the Janes, the Souths, the Sherlocks, into such a situation that they must either starve or recant, publicly, and with the gospel at their lips, all the ostentatious professions of many years, was a revenge too delicious to be relinquished. The Tory, on the other hand, sincerely respected and pitied those clergymen who felt scruples about the oaths. But the test was, in his view, essential to the safety of the established religion, and must not be surrendered for the purpose of saving any man, however eminent, from any hardship, however serious. It would be a sad day doubtless for the Church, when the episcopal bench, the chapter-houses of cathedrals, the halls of colleges, would miss such men renowned for piety and learning. But it would be a still sadder day for the Church when an Independent should bear the white staff, or a Baptist sit on the woolsack. Each party tried to serve those for whom it was interested; but neither party would consent to grant favourable terms to its enemies. The result was that the nonconformists remained excluded from office in the state, and the nonjurors were ejected from office in the Church."

During the first three years of William's reign the episcopal bench underwent a very remarkable change. What with the refusal to take the oath by some, and by the death of others at the end of that time, only ten sees were held by persons who had filled them in the previous reign. Sixteen new prelates, therefore, were indebted for their promotion to their known attachment to the principles of the Revolution, and were thus introduced into the House of Lords. Burnet intimates that they were the most learned, the most wise, and the best men in the Church, and that their promotion was not the result of their ambition, or seeking for court favour. On the contrary, "men were sought for and brought out of their retirements; and most of them very much against their own inclinations." Tillotson appears really to have accepted the primacy with reluctance, and to have been exposed after his acceptance of it to no small share of envy from very different parties. His promotion has been attributed to his eminent merits as an opponent of popery and irreligion, at a time when the tendencies of many in exalted stations were in one or other of these directions; but apart from this he had a strong personal interest in William's affections, who is said to have declared that there was no honester man than Dr. Tillotson, nor had he ever a better friend.

In his selection of prelates, William appears to have had in constant view his cherished object of religious toleration. The men chosen were of a more tolerant spirit than their predecessors. But there was no difficulty in obtaining that object, at least to a certain extent. In the previous reign, when the kingdom had been distracted by the fears of a popish plot, and Protestants of all parties were disposed to unite against a common enemy, there was a general feeling that the time was come when it would be wise to relieve dissenters from the penalties of certain arbitrary and cruel laws under which they had long suffered; laws which were well calculated to array that growing and important section of the community against the crown. A draft of a bill had been framed for that purpose. The earl of Nottingham, now at the head of the government, but who was then a member of the House of Commons, had borne a considerable part in the framing of that bill; and it would probably have passed both Houses had it not been opposed by the then powerful and intolerant earl of Shaftesbury. He refused to listen to any concessions to the dissenters, and thus threw away advantages which the House of Stuart might easily have secured. There was no more zealous churchman living than Nottingham, but his views of toleration accorded with those of his sovereign. Accordingly he brought from its obscurity the draft of the bill which had been opposed by Shaftesbury and his coadjutors in the parliament at Oxford ten years before, and with some slight alterations laid them on the table of the House of Lords. The Toleration Bill passed both Houses with very little debate or opposition. It is popularly considered as the great charter of religious liberty; but the Toleration Act as now existing is a very different statute from that which was passed at this period. That statute was but the ground-work of that which now exists. It did much and was highly acceptable to the dissenting community of the day, but it only laid the foundation of full religious liberty. It was simply an earnest of the good thing to come by emendations and modifications. The statutes which existed against dissenters required them under severe penalties to attend the services of the Church, and to abstain from attending conventicles under the severest penalties. These statutes were not repealed by Nottingham's Toleration Act, but it was merely provided that they should not be construed to extend to any person who should manifest loyalty to the crown by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and his Protestantism by subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation. This was a signal relief from a heavy burden long borne by indignant sufferers, but the boon was imperfect. Henceforth dissenters were not to be disturbed in the celebration of their worship, but dissenting ministers and teachers were required to subscribe certain articles of faith as contained in the thirty-nine articles of the Church. The articles to which they were not called upon to subscribe were the 34th, 35th, and 36th; together with that part of the 20th article which declared that the Church had power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversial points of faith. Those who had scruples about the baptism of infants were also exempted from subscribing part of the 27th article. The benefits of the Toleration Act extended to the harmless sect of the Quakers, who had in the reign of the Stuarts been the peculiar objects of state oppression. They were now to hold their assemblies in peace on condition of signing these three documents: a declaration against transubstantiation, a promise of fidelity to the government, and a confession of Christian belief. By their objecting to the Athanasian creed the Quakers were reputed to be Socinians in their religious belief, and as they sometimes asserted their knowledge of spiritual things was derived direct from heaven, they were suspected of thinking lightly of Holy Scripture; hence they were required to profess faith in the divinity of our Saviour and of the Holy Ghost, and in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments. From this it will be seen that the Act of Toleration relaxed the severe enactments of the two former reigns, but made no provision for their repeal. That the statute, however, gave great satisfaction to dissenters is evident. Defoe, a leading member of their body, was exultant over it. He called upon his brethren "annually to commemorate, by a standing law among themselves, that great day of their deliverance when it pleased God to tread down persecution, oppression, church tyranny, and state tyranny, under the feet of the law, and to establish the liberty of their consciences, which they had so long prayed for, in a public and legal toleration." But the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters was still denied to Papists. They were excluded from all relief, at which all sects rejoiced as much as at their own deliverance from the rod of oppression and persecution.

"The king," writes Macaulay, "had been bred a Presbyterian. He was from rational conviction a latitudinarian, and personal ambition as well as higher motives prompted him to act as mediator among Protestant sects. He was bent on effecting three great reforms in the laws touching ecclesiastical matters. His first object was to obtain for dissenters permission to celebrate their worship in freedom and security. His second object was to make such changes in the Anglican ritual and polity as, without offending those to whom that ritual and polity were dear, might conciliate the more moderate nonconformists. His third object was to throw open civil offices to Protestants without distinction of sect. All his three objects were good; but the first only was at that time attainable. He came too late for the second, and too early for the third."

William desired such an alteration in the ritual and discipline of the Church as would satisfy the scruples of those nonconformists who were averse to separation. To that end a bill called the Comprehension Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the earl of Nottingham. Its object was twofold: first, to admit Presbyterian ministers into the Church without acknowledging the invalidity of their former ordination; and second, to allow certain ceremonial forms in public worship to be observed or omitted at discretion. As regards the first object, although a minister might by the provisions of the proposed measure acquire all the privileges of a priest of the Established Church without re-ordination, he was nevertheless to be admitted to his new functions by the imposition of the hands of a bishop. This done, he was then to be considered capable of holding any rectory or vicarage to which he might be presented in any part of the kingdom. The clauses respecting the omission or observance of ceremonial forms chiefly provided that a clergyman might—with some few churches of peculiar dignity excepted—wear, or not wear, the surplice at his pleasure; that he might omit the sign of the cross in baptism; that the children might be christened if the parents desired it without sponsors, and that persons who objected to the posture of kneeling in receiving the Sacrament might receive it sitting. By the last clause in the Comprehension Bill, it was proposed that the two Houses should petition the king and queen to issue a commission empowering thirty divines of the Anglican Church to revise the liturgy, the canons, and the constitution of ecclesiastical courts, and to recommend such alterations as they might upon mature consideration deem desirable. At first the bill encountered but little or no opposition. It went into committee by the general consent. But when in committee it was soon discovered that it was unpopular with the High Church party. All sorts of objections were urged against it. It passed the Peers, but it was in a mutilated shape, and when it reached the Commons it was received with coldness.

The Comprehension Bill does not appear to have been more popular with dissenters than it was with High Churchmen. Years had passed away since the great body of dissenters could have been won over to the Church by such a scheme. If the bill had passed there would probably have been a defection among them, but it could not have been general. The Independents, the Baptists, and the Quakers all held that a national Church, be it governed by pope, king, bishop, or synod, was an unscriptural institution, and that every congregation of believers was in itself, under Christ, a church. How then could *they* have been expected to return to the bosom of that Church from which they were so irrevocably separated? But the Comprehension Bill does not appear to have been intended to effect a reunion with those sects. It was rather intended to remove the scruples of the Presbyterians, who although separated from the Anglican Church, held more favourable views of its institution than the Independent, Baptist, and Quaker. But even they were by no means unanimous in wishing the bill to pass. Nor, as regards worldly prospects, had they any reason to wish it. Their situation was such as the great majority of the clergy of the Established Church might well envy. Few of the parochial clergy enjoyed such comforts as the nonconformist preachers in the capital and other large towns throughout the country. Since the Declaration of Indulgence some of the most eloquent among them had been agreeably settled in the midst of large and influential congregations, who would not suffer them to want for anything. Many of them, indeed, had become rich by the voluntary contributions of their wealthy hearers. It is true that their comforts had, under the Declaration of Indulgence, been somewhat precarious, but now that they had toleration assured them by Act of Parliament they could enjoy the fruits of their spiritual labours without any longer having a single fear of losing them by the interference of government.

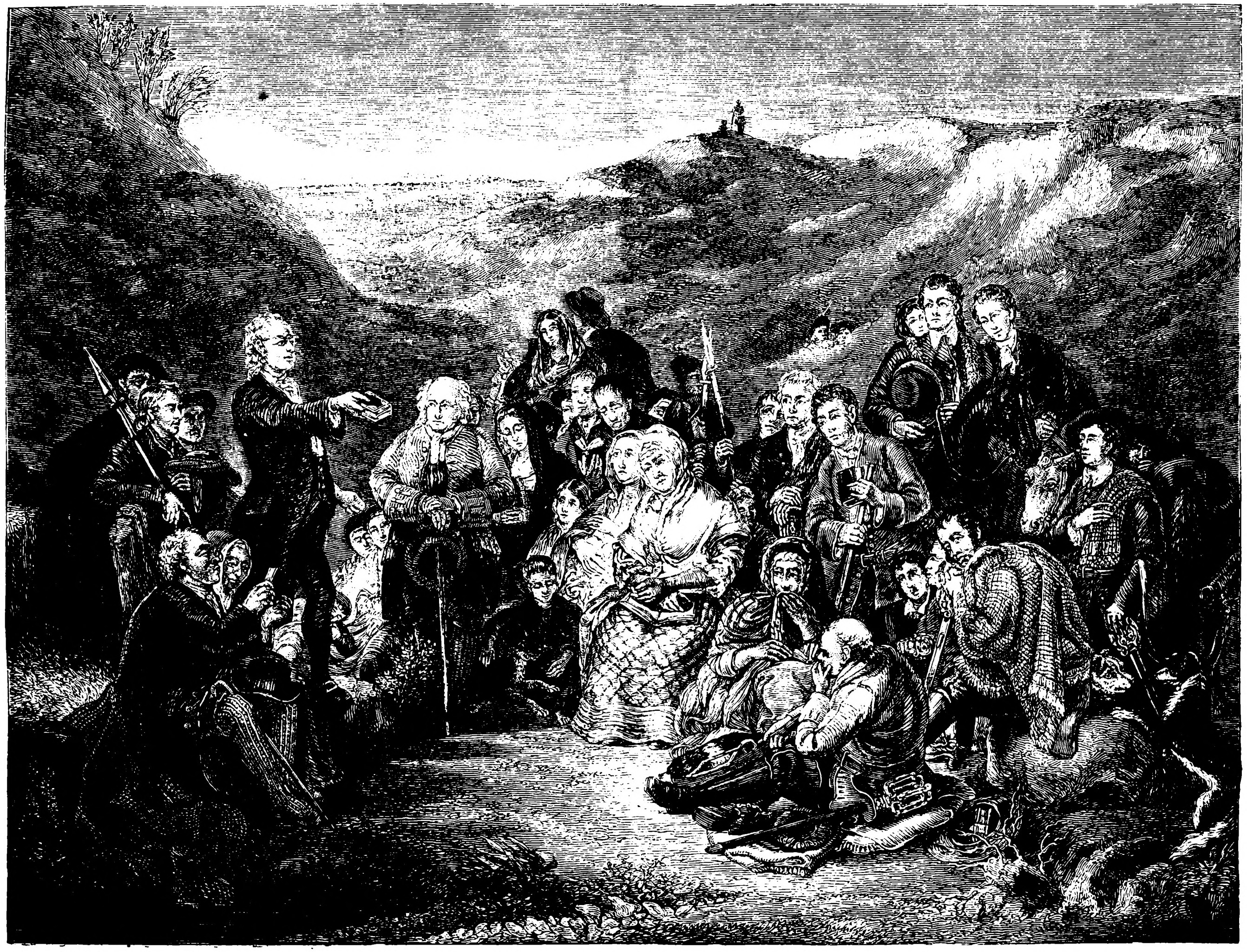
The project of Church reform, however, was not yet abandoned. The subject was referred to convocation. On the 19th of April an address was presented to the king by both Houses, praying him to summon that body; and in compliance with that address, William issued his writ for a convocation to meet during the next session of parliament. Among the clergy there was a diversity of opinion on the prudence of such a step being taken in the matter. Burnet conceived that it would end in utter failure; but the future primate, Tillotson, and others thought differently. Preparatory to the meeting of convocation a commission was appointed to examine the liturgy, the canons, and the whole ecclesiastical system, to consider and report on what alterations were deemed requisite. Most of the bishops who had taken the oaths were in that commission, and with them twenty priests of great note from among both High Church and Low Church were joined. Among the former were Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; and Jane, the king's professor of divinity in that university; and among the latter Tillotson, who was looked up to as their chief; Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; Sharp, dean of Norwich; Patrick, dean of Peterborough; and Tenison, rector of St. Martin's. The commissioners met in the Jerusalem Chamber early in October, and, as might have been expected, during the whole of their sittings there was much controversy to very little purpose. But even if they had been all agreed on every point which they discussed, it would have been labour in vain. They did agree to recommend some alterations in the baptismal service, in the ecclesiastic calendar, and in the liturgy; but whether those alterations were good or bad, they were all doomed before they were made public. When the writs summoning a convocation were issued, there was widespread excitement among the clergy, especially in the province of Canterbury. Nay, everywhere there was a cry raised that the Church was in danger. Burnet says that the Jacobites, as friends of the deposed monarch, took advantage of the occasion to fill men's minds with all sorts of false rumours and unfounded fears. The Church was to be pulled down and Presbytery was to be established upon its ruins. The announcement that a convocation was to sit for the purpose of deliberating upon a plan of comprehension roused all the strongest passions of the High Churchmen, who had just taken the oaths of allegiance to King William, and who had already more than half repented of their compliance with the law. Low Churchmen also joined in raising the note of alarm. The Act of Toleration had, they conceived, done all for the dissenters which was compatible with the dignity and security of the Church. No further concession ought to be made to them. There ought not to be the hem of one of her vestments torn away, nor an epithet omitted from her liturgy, to satisfy their scruples. As for the king, he was denounced as an enemy to the Church as by law established. He conformed, indeed, to its worship, but it was only occasional conformity. William, in truth, took no pains to conceal his distaste to some ceremonies to which High Churchmen attached the highest importance. He especially disliked the cathedral service, and had given orders that in his private chapel the service should be read instead of being sung; an order which caused great mumuring. Great efforts were, therefore, made by the clergy to resist all innovations in the services of the Church. Burnet says that "great canvassings were everywhere carried on in the election of convocation men, a thing not known in former times; so that it was soon very visible that we were not in a temper cool or calm enough to encourage the further prosecuting such a design." It would appear from Burnet that the commissioners had many meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber, and that they occupied themselves very diligently with the business of their commission for some weeks. He says that matters were well considered, and all was digested into an entire correction of everything that seemed liable to any just objection. But these corrections were not made by the commissioners as a body, but by the more moderate Churchmen, for Burnet acknowledges that the more rigid either never came to their meetings or soon withdrew; some being dissatisfied with all that was doing, and others objecting to all alterations whatsoever. The alterations drawn up to be reported and recommended for the adoption of convocation were of a varied character, and better calculated to offend the prejudices of Churchmen than to accomplish their main object—the conciliation of dissenters. It was determined to recommend that a communicant who objected to receive the bread and wine kneeling might receive them sitting; that chanting in cathedrals should cease; that the lessons from the Apocrypha and those from the Old Testament which were "too natural" should be expunged; that the legendary saints' days, such as St. Valentine, St. Chad, St. Swithin, St. Edward, King of the West Saxons, St. Dunstan, and St. Alphage, should no longer share the honours of St. John and St. Paul; that the ridiculous fable of the discovery of the cross should not henceforth be coupled with the awful facts of the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Saviour; that the use of the cross in baptism should be recommended in a new rubric, but not made imperative; that the word "remission" should be omitted in the Absolution, that word not being very intelligible; that some few obsolete or otherwise objectional terms in the prayers should be changed; that kings and queens should not be prayed for by any title or epithet, but by the simple word "sovereign;" that as regards the surplice, a large discretion should be left to the bishops; that Presbyterians might, without admitting the invalidity of their Presbyterian ordination, become ministers of the Church of England; and that parents might present children in baptism in their own names without godfathers and godmothers. The Athanasian Creed was, it appears, one of the most difficult questions for the commissioners to settle. It was a subject that caused much perplexity to the doctors of the Jerusalem Chamber. It was, however, finally proposed to add a rubric, to be drawn up by Stillingfleet, which declared that the damnatory clauses were only to be understood as applying to those who obstinately denied the substance of the Christian faith. Dr. Nichols, an eminent clergyman of the establishment, in his defence of the Church of England, asserts that it was left to the minister to use the Athanasian Creed or to change it for the Apostles', at his discretion. The same authority adds these further particulars of the commissioners. He says: "New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epistles and gospels for the whole year; and these were composed with that elegance and propriety of expression, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect the hearts of the hearers and elevate their minds to God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick, who was reckoned to have great skill in liturgical composition. Bishop Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them, and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his easy and flowing eloquence. Dr. Ridder, who was well versed in the oriental tongues, made a new version of the Psalms more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tenison made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the liturgy which had been excepted to, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to objection." These labours of the commissioners, however, were never laid before the convocation. That body met on the 21st of November: the bishops in the Upper House, and the inferior clergy in the Lower House. It was by the inferior clergy that the project of a comprehension was set aside. The temper of that body was shown in the election of a prolocutor or president. Dr. Jane, the king's professor of divinity at Oxford, was one of those who had withdrawn from the Jerusalem Chamber consultations, but he appeared in convocation, and was elected president by a large majority in opposition to Dr. Tillotson, who was proposed by the moderate party. It was evident by that election that the High Church party was dominant, and that nothing would be done. When, indeed, Dr. Jane was presented to Compton, bishop of London, who sat as prolocutor in the absence of the primate, Sancroft, after delivering a speech in Latin, in which he extolled the Established Church as perfect in all its rites and ceremonies, he exclaimed, in the language of the barons in the time of Henry III., *Nolumus leges Angliae mutari*—"We will not that the laws of England be changed." Nor could the Lower House be induced to alter its determination. It was in vain that Compton exhorted its members to moderation in non-essentials in religion, by which the door of salvation might be opened to a multitude of straying Christians, and in vain that he showed them that it was their duty to show the same indulgence and charity to dissenters under King William which some of the bishops had promised in their addresses to King James—his words fell on their ears as an idle tale. Great exertions were afterwards made to bring over some of the leaders and partisans in the Lower House, but it was to no purpose. The king himself tried to bring them to a better temper, but it was equally in vain. In a written message to convocation he expressed the warmest zeal for the establishment of the Church of England, and declared that it should always have his favour and protection: adding that he did not doubt they would assist him in promoting its welfare, so that no prejudices with which some men might have laboured to possess them should be suffered to disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the Church of any benefit from their consultations. To this message the Upper House unanimously voted a warm address, but the Lower House was with difficulty induced to join in that address. The address ultimately agreed upon acknowledged his majesty's zeal for the welfare of the Church of England, and assured him that in pursuance of the trust and confidence he had reposed in them, they would consider whatever should be offered to them from *him* without prejudice and with candour and impartiality; but the Lower House showed no disposition to carry out the terms of that address. Burnet says that there was but a small number of bishops in the Upper House of convocation, and that as the metropolitan was absent they had not strength nor authority to set things forward, so that they advised the king to suffer the session to be discontinued. It was, therefore, first prorogued and then dissolved; and thus the Comprehension Bill and the reform of the liturgy went to the ground together.

Although Protestant dissenters were by the failure of the Comprehension Bill still kept out of the pale of the Established Church, the repeal of the penal statutes against them had the happiest effect. Writing in the year 1700, Burnet says that "the toleration of all the sects has made us live more quietly together of late than could have been expected when rigorous laws were made against dissenters." He testifies that no tumults or disorders had been heard of in any part of the kingdom since that Act had passed. But the spirit of intolerance was still as rampant as ever. If the dissenters had been relieved, and were still enjoying their relief, there was a growing disposition to impose severer pains and penalties against the most numerous class of nonconformists, the Roman Catholics. The tolerant disposition of William had for several years made the old penal statutes against them a dead letter. In 1698 Tallard, the French ambassador, writing to his court, says:—"The Catholic religion here is tolerated more openly than it was even in the time of Charles II.; and it seems evident that the king of England has determined to leave it in peace, in order to secure his own." But appearances were deceitful. The king desired that his Roman Catholic subjects should live in peace, but when Tallard wrote the popular bigotry was about to burst forth against them with more virulence than ever. In 1699 parliament, in its furious hostility to the crown, passed the most disgraceful law of this reign. The national craving for more virulent laws against popery, which had been restrained, became too ardent to be repressed any longer. The popular bigotry was made subservient to the ends of the heartless politicians of both the great parties of the day, each of whom sought to make capital out of the persecution of the Papists. The fruits of this bigotry were gall and wormwood to the Roman Catholic subjects of King William. An Act was passed "for the further preventing the growth of Popery," which affected both their liberty and property. After reciting that there had been a greater resort of Popish bishops, priests, and Jesuits into this kingdom than formerly, and complaining of the neglect of the due execution of the laws already in force, the Act contained the following extraordinary enactments. Every person who apprehended any Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, and prosecuted him to conviction for saying mass or exercising any priestly function, was to receive one hundred pounds reward. The priest so convicted was to be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. A similar penalty was to be imposed on any Papist keeping a school, or undertaking the education, government, or boarding of youth. Every person educated in the Popish religion, upon attaining the age of eighteen, was to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, and in default of such oath and subscription was not to be capable of purchasing or of inheriting lands under any devise or limitation. The next of kin being a Protestant was authorised to take possession of and enjoy lands so devised during life. By an Act of James I., parents sending a child to be educated abroad in the Romish religion were liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds, half of which was to be paid to the informer, and half to the crown. By this new Act the informer was to receive the whole of the penalty, as a reward for his detection of the crime. Finally, it was directed that if any Popish parent should refuse to allow his or her child, professing the Protestant faith, a maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of the parent and to the age and education of the child, upon complaint to the lord chancellor, he was to make such order in the case as should be agreeable to the intents of the Act. According to Burnet this atrocious law originated with the Tory or Jacobite opposition in the House of Commons; that party hoping it would have been opposed by the court, and would thereby incur the odium of favouring and protecting the Papists. But in this they were disappointed. The court, says Burnet, promoted the bill, but when the Jacobite party saw their mistake they were desirous of its failure, and clogged it with many severe and unreasonable clauses, in the hope that the Lords would not pass it; but such was the zeal against Popery in that House that it passed in all its integrity, and received the royal assent. Yet, severe as it was, it did not go far enough for some Protestant zealots. There were some who desired to rid the kingdom of every Roman Catholic by the bitter means of persecution. Of this number was Burnet, notwithstanding his professions of toleration, and his boasted aversion to all persecution for conscience sake. He convicts himself of inconsistency. "This Act," he writes, "hurt no man that was in the present possession of an estate; it only incapacitated his next heir to succeed to that estate if he continued a Papist; so the danger of this, in case the Act should be well looked to, would put those of that religion, who are men of conscience, on the selling their estates, and in the course of a few years might deliver us from having any Papists among us." But if the expulsion of proprietors was the object of the statute it was defeated in most cases by the more liberal spirit of the judges, who put such constructions upon the clauses of forfeiture as eluded its efficacy. Hallam expresses his belief that there were scarce any instances of loss of property under this law; but it is certain that Papists held their landed estates in England upon a very precarious holding, and that the Act in its several enactments was a grevious oppression to the whole body of Roman Catholics. Three years after, when Anne had ascended the throne, the Irish parliament passed a similar Act, in which there were even more stringent clauses; such as Burnet exultingly admits were sufficient to make its full force be felt in that country. That Act contained a provision that the estates of Papists should, notwithstanding any settlement made to the contrary, be equally divided among all the children of a deceased parent, unless those on whom they were settled qualified themselves by taking the oaths and receiving the sacraments according to the forms of the Established Church. This was a more atrocious enactment than that of the English law which gave estates to the next of kin being Protestants, inasmuch as it not only had a tendency of breaking up the heads of families, but of creating discord and strife among brethren. Both the English and Irish penal statutes against Papists, however, failed in the object they had in view. The heads of Roman Catholic families for the most part still retained possession of their estates in both countries. It would appear, also, that they still possessed patronage in the Church, for the last parliament of the reign of Queen Anne revised and made more effectual certain old statutes which enacted that no Papist patrons of livings in the Church as by law established should exercise their patronage.

According to Burnet, the terms of High Church and Low Church first began to be used about the year 1700. Symptoms of this division into High Church and Low Church had become apparent some years before. Archbishop Tillotson, who died in 1694, whose tolerant temper and liberal principles did him honour, had been made very uneasy by the conflicting opinions of his clergy. Tillotson was succeeded in the primacy by Dr. Tenison, who presided over the Church during the remainder of William's reign, and throughout the whole of that of Queen Anne. It has been said of Tenison that he was an exact pattern of that exemplary piety, charity, steadfastness, and good conduct requisite in a governor of the Church, and that perhaps since the primitive age of Christianity and the time of the apostles there had been no man whose learning and abilities had better qualified him to discharge and defend a trust of that high importance. But Tenison was not made less uneasy by the conduct of the clergy than his predecessor had been. During the whole of the twenty years the Church was under his government the clergy were in commotion. There was a continual war of faction among them. Moderate divines, says Burnet, were looked upon by some men with an evil eye as persons cold and indifferent in Church matters; their gentleness of temper and principle being represented as an inclination to favour dissenters, which was considered a more heinous thing than a leaning to Popery. In another passage, he says:—"All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the prince of Wales and for the Revolution, were represented as secret favourers of Presbytery, and as ill-affected to the Church, were called Low Churchmen. It was said that they were in the Church only while the law and preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. With these false and invidious characters did the High party endeavour to load all those who could not be brought into their measures and designs."

At this time several books had been published by Jacobite and nonjuring divines that were thought to savour of Popery. Thus Dr. George Hicks, an eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, had propounded a doctrine which more than hinted that there was a real sacrifice in the Eucharist; and one Brett, a clergyman, had preached and printed a sermon maintaining that no repentance would avail a sinner without the absolution of a priest. Burnet says, that a motion was made in the Lower House to censure these opinions, but that it was lost for want of due support. No notice appears to have been taken in the Upper House of these doctrines. The bishops had what they considered to be a more important matter under their consideration. Dodwell, a learned divine, had promulgated a doctrine that the sacrament of baptism was invalid unless performed by a clergyman episcopally ordained. According to Burnet, several little books were published and widely circulated to prove the necessity of re-baptising those who had been baptised by dissenters, and that till it was done they were in a state of damnation. This, he says, made dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to the Church out of the question. In order to put a stop to this doctrine, the bishops drew up a declaration pointing out the irregularity of baptism by persons not in holy orders, but, at the same time, stating that according to the practice of the primitive Church, and the usage of the Church of England, no baptism if performed in the orthodox mode ought to be reiterated. This declaration was sent down to the Lower House, where it was utterly ignored. Burnet says that it was not so much as taken into consideration, but was laid aside from the thought that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood. And thus this session of convocation, as those before and after it, came to an end with "a busy doing of nothing."

While the Revolution consolidated and confirmed the established episcopacy in England, it had the very opposite effect in Scotland. In that country it was utterly uprooted, and the old abolished edifice of presbytery was re-erected on broader and deeper foundations than ever. The Scottish Episcopal Church had been long tottering to its fall, and at the first shock of the Revolution it was thrown to the ground. In the Act passed by the Scottish parliament settling the crown upon William and Mary, it was declared



COVENANTERS' PREACHING.

"that prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the reformation, they having been reformed by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." The Act in which this declaration was averred formed the Scottish Declaration of Rights, and by accepting the crown under that instrument William bound himself not to uphold an institution which it thus emphatically condemned. That instrument, however, did not define the form of Church government which was to be established on the ruins of the episcopacy. During several months, therefore, everything was in confusion. Macaulay writes, "One polity had been pulled down, for prelacy was abolished in the session of 1689 by the Scottish parliament, and no other polity had been set up. In the Western Lowlands the beneficed clergy had been so effectually rabbled, that scarcely one of them had remained at his post. In Berwickshire, the three Lothians, and Stirlingshire, most of the curates had been removed by the privy council for not obeying that vote of the convention which had directed all ministers of parishes, on pain of deprivation, to proclaim William and Mary king and queen of Scotland. Thus throughout a great part of the realm there was no public worship, except what was performed by Presbyterian divines, who sometimes officiated in tents, and sometimes, without any legal right, took possession of the churches. But there were large districts, especially on the north of the Tay, where the people had no strong feelings against episcopacy; and there were many priests who were not disposed to lose their manses and stipends for the sake of King James. Hundreds of the old curates, therefore, having been neither hunted by the populace nor deposed by the council, still continued to exercise their spiritual functions. Every minister was, during this time of transition, free to conduct the service and to administer the sacraments as he thought fit. There was no controlling authority. The legislature had taken away the jurisdiction of bishops, and had not established the jurisdiction of synods." It was the duty of parliament to put an end to this confused state of things. Lord Melville had been sent down to Edinburgh by William, as lord high commissioner, and armed with authority to assent to such ecclesiastical arrangements as might satisfy the Scottish nation. Burnet says that he received his commission chiefly through the Episcopalians, who looked upon him, though a Presbyterian, as an easy man who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that party; but he intimates that they were mistaken, Melville being "by his principles bigoted to presbytery, and ready to sacrifice everything to their humours." When parliament reassembled in April, 1690, the work of establishing Presbytery was carried on with the utmost vigour. One of the first laws to which the lord high commissioner gave his consent repealed the Act of Supremacy. He next gave assent to an Act which ordained that all Presbyterians then living who had been ejected from their charges since the 1st of January, 1661, or banished for not conforming to prelacy and not complying with the existing order of things at that period, should be restored to their churches, to resume their ministry without any new call thereto. That they might not meet with any impediment in entering immediately on their charges, this Act provided that, upon intimation thereof, the present incumbents were before Whitsunday next to come, the 15th of May, to desist from their ministry and to give up their manses and glebes thereto belonging, that the Presbyterian ministers formerly ejected should resume peaceable possession of them. The number of these pastors had been greatly diminished in the course of the thirty years which had elapsed since their ejection; not more than sixty out of about three hundred and fifty being still alive. Having thus restored the presbytery, the estates proceeded to establish the national creed. Every good Presbyterian considered that the confession of faith drawn up by the assembly at Westminster, the longer and shorter catechisms, and the directory, were the proper standards of orthodoxy. It was hoped by them that the legislature would adopt them, but in this they were disappointed. The confession was adopted without alteration, but the catechisms and the directory were after a long discussion left to the Church. By another law, the most memorable of them all, the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland was established. The government of the Church by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies was fully restored. The rule of the Church was to be put into the hands of the sixty ejected ministers who had been restored by the Act, and to such other persons, ministers or elders, as they should in their discretion see fit to associate with them. The sixty were also empowered to fill up those livings which had become vacant by the desertion, or rather the expulsion, of their pastors during the interregnum. The first meeting of the general assembly of the Church as thus established was appointed by the Act to be held at Edinburgh, on the third Thursday of October, 1689. Meanwhile, those Presbyterian ministers who had exercised their ministry within any of the parishes from which the episcopal clergy had fled or been driven previous to the 13th of April of the same year were empowered by desire or consent of the people to continue possession of the vacant churches, and to enjoy the benefices and stipends for the last year, and for all coming time, until the Church should take further course therewith. Finally, this Act empowered the general assembly, either by itself, or by such visitors as it should appoint according to the practice of Presbyterian government, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastic censures and process; and likewise to redress all disorders in the Church. It was also declared that whatever minister being called before the assembly or the visitors should either be declared guilty or prove contumacious by not appearing, should be adjudged to be punished either by suspension or deposition. This Act, which passed by an overwhelming majority, was followed by another, in order that the restored liberties "of the true kirk" might be complete which abolished patronage. This was a most delicate and difficult question to settle. Patronage had been abolished by a covenanted parliament in 1649, but had been restored by a royalist parliament in 1661. It was no easy matter to decide what was to be done at this period. Burnet says that William, while he agreed to the settlement of the presbytery, declared that he would not give up patronage and supremacy, and that both might have been preserved if Melville had been very zealous in their defence. It would appear, however, that in his private instructions William gave the lord commissioner authority to assent to the abolition of patronage, if nothing else would satisfy the estates. But that assent was given most unwillingly, and the king, who considered that it was "the taking of men's property," hoped that it would not be used. It is clear, indeed, that he did not mean it to be used, for Burnet affirms that when he found Melville had given up both patronage and the royal supremacy he was so offended with the lord commissioner that "he lost all the credit he had with him." But in giving up patronage Melville succeeded in effecting a compromise. It was abolished, but it was enacted that every patron should receive compensation for his rights. He was to receive the sum of six hundred marks, or about thirty-five pounds sterling, from the heritors on renouncing his right in their favour. As Macaulay remarks, the sum seems ridiculously small; but when the nature of the property and the poverty of the country are considered, it may be doubted whether a patron would have made much more by going into the market. By this Act, which passed on the 19th of July, the appointment of ministers was vested in a parochial council of Protestant landowners and the elders. The person selected by the parochial council was to be proposed by them to the congregation, and if their choice was objected to, then the matter was to be submitted to the presbytery, who, if they thought the reasons alleged against his settlement insufficient, had the power of inducting him into the benefice, notwithstanding the people's opposition. This arrangement, therefore, did not give to the people that power which they desired, and to which they conceived they were entitled, namely, the absolute right of choosing their own pastors. At the same time it does not appear that while the Act continued in force the landowners and elders very frequently nominated a person to whom the congregation as a body had any strong objections; nor does it appear that the Presbyterian ministers who were commissioned "to try and purge out" all unworthy incumbents acted in an intolerant spirit, for it is on record that out of about one thousand of the old prelatical clergy nearly one-third of them still retained their churches. In order to retain their livings, however, they were compelled to comply with the new order of things and to submit wholly to the government of the Church, as now by law established. It was thus that episcopacy was rooted out in Scotland, and the old abolished edifice of the presbytery re-erected; thus the Revolution secured to that kingdom, as it did to England, the establishment of a national Church on the foundation of the national faith.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of Literature, Science, and Art, from A.D. 1689, to A.D. 1714.

Literature.—THE Revolution was unfavourable to the progress of literature. During the rule of the Stuarts it had grown and flourished chiefly in the sunshine of court favour and protection, but William had no taste for literary pleasures, and when he ascended the throne it was left to the public appreciation, which not being sufficiently extensive to afford it the necessary warmth and shelter, it languished. Signs of a coming nightfall upon our higher literature, however, had been visible in the reign of James II. At his accession, John Dryden, who was then approaching the decline of life, had by general consent attained the first place among living English poets. There was no man of letters in the kingdom to whom James owed a deeper debt of gratitude than to John Dryden. But James set a higher value on money than poetry. From the day of his accession he commenced a system of petty economical reforms, which brought on his government the reproach of meanness without producing any perceptible relief to the finances. Dryden had a pension of a hundred a year granted him by Charles II., but this pension expired with that monarch, and it was not renewed. Moreover, it being necessary that the poet laureate, on the demise of the crown, should have a new patent, orders were given that the customary butt of sack which poet laureates had enjoyed from the days of Jonson annually from the royal cellar should be omitted. This was the only notice which James bestowed on the great satirist during the first year of his reign. But Dryden knew how to regain the patronage of the crown. For many years he had earned his daily bread by pandering to the vicious tastes of the pit, and by flattering rich and noble patrons. To regain his lost pension and his butt of sack he now pandered to the religious tastes of his sovereign. He knew little of, and perhaps cared less for religion. He was a Protestant by name, but he had a fixed aversion to priests of all persuasions. But finding that if he continued to call himself a Protestant he could expect no favour from King James, on a sudden he declared himself a Papist, and on his pension being restored, and all arrears paid up, he undertook to employ his servile pen in defending, both in verse and prose, his new religion.

If William had been a Mæcenas in literature, it could not have been expected that he would have extended his patronage to a poet who had thus engaged to employ his pen in the cause of a religion which he, by his coronation oath, was bound to discountenance, if not to uproot in his kingdom. At his accession, therefore, Dryden was again deprived of his pension and his butt of sack. But he now rendered better service to the cause of literature than he had done under the influence of court patronage. Compelled to write for bread, he produced his translation of Virgil, his "Fables," and his "Alexander's Feast:" works which have rendered his name illustrious in the annals of literature. Dryden was succeeded in his poet laureateship by a dramatic author, who owes his immortality to ridicule. He is the hero of Dryden's satire of Mac Flecknoe. In that satire he is represented as

> "Through all the realms of dulness, absolute."

The only other poet who shed any degree of lustre on the first reign after the Revolution was Lee, who during that period furnished his tragedies of "The Princess of Cleves" and the "Massacre of Paris." "Slow Wycherley" produced nothing in that reign, but in 1704 he published a volume of poems, to which he prefixed an engraving from his portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the prime of life. He subsequently wrote a few other trifles, which were published after his death. A more popular writer of plays was Thomas Southern, who in the reign of William produced his two best dramas—"The Fatal Marriage," and "Oroonoko." Southern, who survived till 1746, numbered among his friends during his long life Dryden and Pope, but he was no great poet. But the most notable examples of flourishing mediocrity are to be found in Nahum Tate and Dr. Nicholas Brady, who were among the most popular authors of the reign of King William. Tate succeeded Shadwell as poet laureate, and he and his friend Brady wrote that metrical version, or perversion, of the Psalms of David which is still commonly annexed to the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, but which is now rarely used in Church psalmody.

Among prose writers, one of the most eminent who had distinguished themselves before the Revolution, and continued to write after that event, was Sir William Temple. The early life and more mature years of Temple were more devoted to statesmanship than to literature. His Miscellanies, which were composed partly before, were not published till after the Revolution, when his political career being ended he retired into the country, and divided his time between learning and rural pursuits. As an author, Temple does not occupy a foremost place, but Dr. Johnson says that "he was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose." At the period of the Revolution no British statesman had so high a reputation as Sir William Temple throughout Europe, and there was no height of power, rank, or opulence to which he might not have risen if he would have consented to quit his retreat as the king desired, but he preferred his books, his tulips, and his pineapples in rural seclusion at Moor Park, where he died in 1699. John Evelyn, who entertained the Czar Peter at his house at Deptford, and who was the gossip of the reign of Charles II., published one or two books after the Revolution which are chiefly valued for the historical facts itemed down in their pages. Among the most eminent divines who resumed their pens were Cumberland, Bull, and Stillingfleet, all of whom were raised to bishoprics. A more voluminous writer of this period was John Norris, the chief of whose works first appeared in the reign of King William. Norris was the author of many theological works, as also a collection of Miscellanies, consisting of poems, essays, discourses, and letters. It has been justly said that in the "union of learning and logical argument with sublime piety few have equalled Norris of Bemerton." In his writings there are thoughts approaching the sublime. His principal work is an "Essay on the Ideal World," which was published in two parts in 1701 and 1702. Pre-eminent among the prose writers, however, who had acquired distinction in the reign of the Stuarts, and who resumed their pens after the Revolution, is Dr. Gilbert Burnet, a native of Edinburgh, who in 1689 was made bishop of Salisbury.

The eloquent historian, Macaulay, thus depicts Burnet's merits as a writer and a preacher:—"Burnet, though open in many respects to ridicule, and even to serious censure, was no contemptible man. His parts were quick, his industry unwearied, his reading various and most extensive. He was at once a historian, an antiquarian, a theologian, a preacher, a pamphleteer, a debater, and an active political leader; and in every one of these characters he made himself conspicuous among able competitors. In the pulpit the effects of his discourses, which were delivered without note, was heightened by a noble figure and by pathetic action. He was interrupted by the deep hum of his audience, and when after preaching out the hour-glass, which in those days was part of the furniture of the pulpit, he held it up in his hand, the congregation clamorously encouraged him to go on till the sand had run off once more." Burnet died in 1715.

In the same year, at a more advanced age, died Dr. Thomas Burnet, master of the Charter House, author of the "Sacred Theory of the Earth:" a work that has no scientific value as regards his views of geology, but which at the same time displays great genius and imagination as well as profound scholarship. Good old Richard Baxter just lived to see the Revolution, and to take the lead in the coalition of dissenters with the Church, but his work as a writer on divinity was done. He died in 1691. In the same year the Hon. Robert Boyle, a distinguished philosopher of the preceding period, died, after having rendered great service both to the cause of religion and science. Archbishop Tillotson, who had published many sermons from the year 1661, at which time he was a Presbyterian preacher, died in 1694 without contributing anything of importance to the press in the reign of King William. His sermons are remarkable for elegance and perspicuity, but as they are chiefly addressed to the peculiarities of the national mind and character of the period in which they were written, they are now—though some of them are still published—read only by the lovers of old divinity. The same may also be said of the sermons of Dr. South, who commenced authorship before Tillotson, and whose life was extended till the year 1716. Dr. South's sermons are alike excellent for the strength of his reason, the force of his style, and the brilliancy of his imagination. "They were," says Mr. Hallam, "much celebrated at the time, and retain a portion of their renown. This is by no means surprising. South had great qualifications for the popularity which attends the pulpit, and his manner was at that time original. Not diffuse, not learned, not formal in argument like Barrow; with a more natural structure of sentences, a more pointed, though by no means a more fair and satisfactory turn of reasoning; with a style clear and English, free from all pedantry, but abounding with those colloquial novelties which, though now become vulgar and offensive, the age of Charles II. affected; sparing no personal or temporary sarcasm, but if he seems for a moment to tread on the verge of buffoonery, recovering himself by some stroke of vigorous sense and language: such was the worthy Dr. South, whom the courtiers delighted to hear. His sermons want all that is called unction, and sometimes even earnestness; but there is a masculine spirit about them which, combined with their peculiar characteristics, would naturally fill the churches where he might be heard."

Having thus passed in brief review the principal writers of the age of the Stuarts who lived to witness the Revolution, and who made their exit from the stage of life after in most instances continuing their vocations as authors in the new period of history, which by that event dawned upon England, we turn to notice a race of authors by whom they were immediately succeeded. And of all the names in that page of historical literature none is more illustrious than the one author belonging exclusively to the reign of King William—the celebrated philosopher John Locke.

Locke, who is one of the brightest ornaments of English literature, was born in 1632, but he was unknown to fame as an author till the year 1690. In that year he published his "Essay concerning Human Understanding," and three years after his "Thoughts concerning Education:" works which have rendered his name immortal. His famous Letters on Toleration, also, have greatly added to his reputation as an author, as well as his "Reasonableness of Christianity," which was published in 1695, and various controversial tracts in reply to his assailants, of whom the most noted were Dr. Edwards and Bishop Stillingfleet, between that date and his death in 1704. His latter years were spent in composing his "Conduct of the Understanding," and several theological treatises which were published after his death. As a writer Locke has a happy facility in expressing his meaning with perspicuity in the simplest and most familiar language. Clearness is indeed the leading character of his composition, his illustrations and proofs of the philosophical doctrines he enunciates in his writings being all derived from the commonest facts. His style may be diffuse, his reasonings prolix, and his elucidations of a principle sometimes unnecessarily prolonged, but these are faults which have rather tended to make his writings, which will last as long as the English language, popular. As a man, Locke was all that his greatest admirers could wish that he should be, in order to harmonise with his writings. He was the earnest and consistent advocate of civil and religious liberty; and as a lover of liberty he was content to take his share of the sufferings it involved, and to grant to others all that he desired for himself. He was a teacher of toleration both in theory and practice. In his celebrated treatise he even laboured to show that the grossest forms of idolatry ought not to be prohibited under penal sanctions, but at the same time he contended that the Romish Church, which taught men not to keep faith with heretics, had no just claim to toleration. But nothing could have induced him to consent to the persecution of any man for the expression of a conscientious belief.

In 1691 Locke contributed a paper to the infant science of political economy, entitled "Considerations on the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money;" which was followed, in 1695, by his "Further Considerations" on the same subject. But in this department of literature he was eclipsed by his contemporary, Sir Dudley North, and by Dr. Charles Davenant, a still more voluminous writer on kindred subjects in the reigns both of William and Anne.

We now turn to the literature of the commencement of the eighteenth century. Conspicuous among authors of that period was the renowned Jonathan Swift, who was born in Ireland in 1667, and who with thousands of his countrymen took refuge in England from the violence of Tyrconnel. Swift, who was educated at Dublin, was fortunate enough to obtain shelter at Moor Park. He became secretary to Sir William Temple at a salary of twenty pounds a year and his board. Here he became known to King William, who sometimes visited Temple in his hermitage. When his host was confined to an easy-chair by gout, William was attended by the secretary about the grounds, and his majesty on one occasion condescended to teach his humble companion the Dutch mode of cutting and eating asparagus. William's notions were all military, and he offered Swift a commission in a cavalry regiment, which he declined. Having quarrelled with his patron, he entered into orders, and obtained the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, but a reconciliation was soon effected, and he returned to England and Moor Park. When Temple died, in 1700, he left Swift a legacy and his posthumous works. It was now that he first commenced authorship. He made himself known by two volumes of letters selected from the papers of his deceased patron, and by a political pamphlet in favour of the ministry of the day. His first essay in authorship, however, failed in attracting the notice of the public. It gave but little promise of his future eminence as a writer. At that time a great literary war was being waged in England, arising out of the publication of an edition of the Greek epistles attributed to Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily, by the Honourable Charles Boyle. It was published in the year 1695, and two years after, the learned Dr. Bentley, then keeper of the king's library, in an appendix to the second edition of William Walton's "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning," contended that the compositions printed by Boyle, and ranked by him with the most precious remains of antiquity, were a comparatively modern forgery. Thereupon, such a mighty stir arose among the classical scholars of Oxford as had never before been witnessed in that university. The cause of the old Sicilian tyrant was taken up by nearly the whole force and talent of that seat of learning. But Bentley stood his ground, and in a second and enlarged edition of his dissertation effectually put down the pretensions of his antagonists to cope with him in the field of learning and criticism. But the literary war continued for several years. The last blow appears to have been struck in 1704, when Swift published the first work by which he became known to fame: the "Battle of the Books." That work, with the "Tale of a Tub," which appeared in the same year, announced the greatest master of satire, at once comic and caustic, that had yet appeared in the English language. The "Tale of a Tub" is, especially, a masterpiece of literature. Its humour is profound, its irony keenly subtle, and yet it is so plain to the popular comprehension that any one can understand it without a key. Its scheme is to reduce the gravest questions which have agitated the world to something like burlesque; and yet in every page there are stern realities which set men thinking. Ludicrous as the tale is, every reader feels that it possesses a circumstantiality. His history of the three brothers, Peter, Martin, and Jack—the representatives of Popery, the Anglican Church, and Calvinism—although its introduction may mystify the reader, is made subservient to an illustration of the town life of that period. The passage well illustrates the author's peculiar talent:—"Being now arrived at the proper age for producing themselves, they came up to town, and fell in love with the ladies, but especially three who about that time were in chief reputation: the Duchess d'Argent, Madame de Grand Titres, and the Countess d'Orgueil. On their first appearance our three adventurers met with a very bad reception; and soon with great sagacity guessing out the reason, they quickly began to improve in the good qualities of the town. They wrote, and rallied, and rhymed, and sung, and said, and said nothing; they drank, and fought, and slept, and swore, and took snuff; they went to new plays on the first night, haunted the chocolate houses, beat the watch, and lay on bulks; they bilked hackney coachmen, and ran in debt with shopkeepers; they killed bailiffs, kicked fiddlers down-stairs, eat at Locket's, loitered at Wills'; they talked of the drawing-room, and never came there; dined with lords they never saw; whispered a duchess, and never spoke a word: exposed the scrawls of their laundress for billets-doux of quality; come over just from court, and were never seen in it; attended the levee *sub dio;* got a list of peers by heart in one company, and with great familiarity retailed them in another. Above all, they constantly attended those committees of senators who are silent in the house and loud in the coffee-house, where they nightly adjourn to chew the cud of politics, and are encompassed with a ring of disciples, who lie in wait to catch up their droppings. The three brothers had acquired forty other qualifications of the like stamp, too tedious to recount, and by consequence were justly reckoned the most accomplished persons in the town." Of a similar character were his productions of this period; namely, his ironical "Argument for the Abolition of Christianity," and a work of humour, entitled "Predictions." In this latter production Swift first assumed the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, which he afterwards rendered famous by other *jeux d'esprit*, and which was adopted by the wits of the "Tatler," the first number of which appeared on the 12th of April, 1709. As a political writer, Swift may be said to have commenced his career in 1708, when he published two High Church Tory tracts, which gained him great applause by that party. His other most notable performances in this period were his "Conduct of the Allies," published in 1712, and his "Public Spirit of the Whigs," in 1714. His later works belong to the age of the first two Georges, and will be noticed in a succeeding chapter.

Contemporary with Swift were two other great essayists — Addison and Steele. These writers were the boast of the Whig party, as Swift was of the Tories. But it is as essayists that they are known to posterity rather than politicians. Their works, in which they were associated for many years in unbroken friendship, form a broad and safe foundation for a general outline of the minuter characteristics of the national manners of the period in which they were written. These works were the "Tatler," the "Spectator," and the "Guardian," all of which were commenced and dropped in the reign of Queen Anne. Thus the "Tatler," which was commenced in April, 1709, ceased in January, 1711; the "Spectator," which was commenced in March, 1711, ceased in December, 1712; and "the Guardian," which was commenced in March, 1713, was dropped in October of the same year. Steele, who rejoiced in the renowned name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, was the greatest contributor to the "Tatler" and "Guardian," and Addison to the "Spectator." To the eighth volume of the "Spectator," which was not published till 1714, Steele appears not to have contributed any paper; nor does Addison appear to have written anything in Steele's "Englishman," the fifty-seven numbers of which were published in the year preceding. Other writers contributed to all these various periodical essays, but their celebrity is owing to the genius of Steele and Addison, neither of whom can be justly looked upon as superior in intellect and refinement to the other.

It is generally considered that Steele and Addison originated periodical essay publications. But that is not correct. John Dunton, an eccentric bookseller, had in 1691 commenced a publication, entitled "The Athenian Gazette," which was issued weekly till 1696, and which professed "to resolve all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious" without touching on politics. Defoe, also, who, as will be seen, became famous as a novel writer in the reign of George I., issued his "Review" in penny weekly numbers five years before the "Tatler." Defoe's "Review," however, while it contained light reading, was chiefly devoted to speculations on political affairs. It was addressed to men who were the stern advocates of civil liberty and religious toleration, and therefore found readers for the most part only among dissenters and Whig Churchmen. But if Dunton and Defoe preceded Steele and Addison in essay writing and publication, to these two great masters of their art belongs the honour of establishing that species of writing as an integral portion of English literature. Since their age they have had many followers, but it would be difficult to point out any among them by whom they have been surpassed or even equalled. "Whoever," writes Dr. Johnson, "wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison:" a remark which is equally applicable to the volumes of Steele.

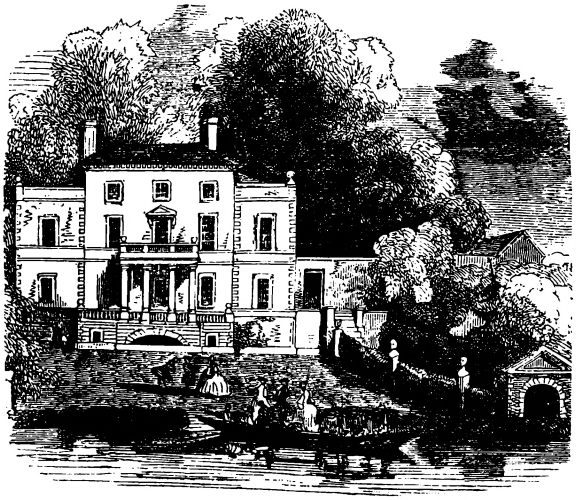
Such were the principal prose writers of the reign of William and Anne. Of mere writers and pamphleteers there was no scarcity. The real news-writer of that day was very differently situated from those of the present century. He was surrounded with difficulties and perils. He was shut out from the walls of parliament, and except on rare and exciting occasions he never troubled his head about the law courts, for the simple reason that he would not find any readers for his reports. He had but few correspondents in the distant parts of England, and it was rare indeed that the London journalist could furnish any news from the American colonies, or even from Scotland and Ireland. According to the "Tatler," however, the pamphleteer contrived to produce more exciting narratives for his readers.

Poetry.—The poets of this period are numerous, but of the body of English poetry published, much has been deservedly suffered to pass into the regions of oblivion. At William's accession, Dryden occupied the throne of poetry. "The Hind and the Panther," which was published in 1687, had made his name famous as a poet. But this poem, which was a biting satire on "the Panther"—the Church of England—and the whole race of sectaries, in order to exalt "the Hind"—the Church of Rome—was fatal to his pecuniary interests, when in the succeeding year "the Panther" triumphed over "the Hind." The papist laureate of James did not bid for popularity when he exalted the religion of the Church of Rome over that of the Church of England and of Presbyterianism. When William ascended the throne the poet, notwithstanding the beauty of his versification, lost, as before seen, his laureateship, and henceforth had to write for fame and bread, and not to flatter and please a papistical monarch. It was now, however, that he rendered his name immortal in verse. In 1695, he published his translation of Virgil, which was succeeded by his "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," and his "Fables" on which works his fame chiefly rests. Dryden was succeeded in the laureateship by Shadwell, who knew better how to please his royal master than by touching on matters of religion in his tuneful art. Shadwell, who died in 1692, is chiefly known by his dramas, in one of which he brought into ridicule the fops and epicures who accompanied William to Flanders as volunteers in 1691; and in the other exposed to public ridicule the knavery of stock-jobbers, or gamesters, which then abounded. A poet of greater pretensions in the reigns of William and Anne was Dr. Samuel Garth, an eminent physician and a zealous Whig. Garth is the author of various poetical pieces, of which perhaps "The Dispensary," published in 1699, and which is a mock epic on the quarrels of his professional brethren, may be considered the best. The wit of "The Dispensary," however, is of a very mild character. Contemporary with Garth was Sir Richard Blackmore, both as a physician and a Whig poet. Blackmore's attachment to the principles of the Revolution obtained for him the appointment of physician to William, and he was for some time one of the physicians in the court of Queen Anne. If quantity constitutes merit, then Blackmore was a prince among the poets of this so-called "Augustan age of literature." His first poem, "Prince Arthur," appeared in 1696. It was an epic in ten books, and this was followed by "King Arthur," another heroic poem in twelve books. Both these poems were published in folio. A succession of epics or long poems followed these productions, each in six, ten, or twelve books. Yet persecuted as Blackmore was by his contemporaries, his poetry is not without some merit. Dr. Johnson says that the first of his epic poems had such reputation as enraged the critics; and both Johnson, Addison, and Locke have praised the "Creation" in the warmest terms. A more popular poet was Matthew Prior, who was born in 1664. His first production was published in 1688, under the title of the "City Mouse and Country Mouse." It was written in concert with Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, in ridicule of Dryden's "Hind and Panther;" and it gained considerable attention. At that time Prior was a Whig, and so he continued to the end of the reign of William, when he became a Tory and an associate of Swift and Pope. Few among the minor wits and poets of the age have continued to enjoy greater popularity than Prior. One, however, at least shares in the general favour of posterity. This is Thomas Parnell, who was born in Dublin in 1679, in the university of which city he was educated. Parnell became archdeacon of Clogher in early life, but Clogher seems to have had but few charms for him. Like his countryman Swift, he came to London, where, dropping his Whig mantle, when the Whig fashion in politics went out, he was welcomed by the Tory party with delight. Parnell led a gay and brilliant life in London. "Statesmen and poets flattered and feasted him. The prime-minister sought him out among the crowd in the ante-chamber. The eloquent Bolingbroke corrected his rhymes. The hearty Gay embraced him like a brother. Pope loved him. And the dark and stormy Dean—Swift—beguiled by his grace, exulted in making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, not Parnell with the ministry." Parnell's life was brief. He was returning to Ireland in 1718, when he was taken ill at Chester, where he died. But he has left his mark behind him. Parnell's poems, of which "The Hermit" is one of the most charming, are distinguished by ease, sprightliness, and melodious versification, but still more so for their elegant sentiments and pure morality. The "hearty Gay," who embraced Parnell "like a brother," commenced his career in the field of literature in the reign of Queen Anne, but as he lived till the year 1732, he rather belongs to the reigns of the two first Georges. He was one of those wits who with Pope, Bishop Berkeley, Arbuthnot, and others, frequented the Rose, kept by Wills, in Covent Garden.

Conspicuous in that club when they met at the Rose after the death of Swift, was Pope, the poet who before Dryden died had his foot on the threshold of the throne of poetry, and who when he did die took his seat on it without a competitor. Pope was the one great poet who immediately succeeded the translator of Virgil and author of the "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," and the celebrated "Fables." The mantle of John Dryden may be said to have fallen on Alexander Pope. Born but a few months before the Revolution of 1688, Pope appeared as a poet in 1709. In his twenty-first year he then published his pastorals in Tonson's Miscellany, which however had been written five years before. Nor were his pastorals his earliest compositions. Pope lisped in numbers. His earliest performances were an "Ode on Solitude;" some verses on silence; a translation of the first book of Thebais, and of Ovid's epistles from Sappho to Phaon; and paraphrases of Chaucer's "January and May," and the prologue to the "Wife of Bath's Tale." Pope published "An Essay on Criticism" in 1711, and in the "Spectator" of the same year his "Messiah" appeared. But it was in the year 1712 that Pope first confirmed his title to the throne of poetry. It was in that year he published "The Rape of the Lock" and "The Temple of Fame."

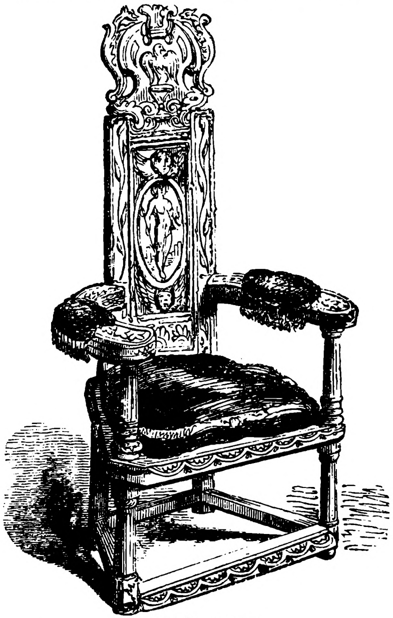
"The Rape of the Lock" is one of the most exquisite poems in the English language. One hardly knows how to read it: whether as a gentle satire upon the ladies of the court of Queen Anne, or as a picture to the life of their manners, habits, and conversation. Ridicule was a weapon which this poet was very fond of using against others, but he was peculiarly sensitive when that weapon was turned against himself. The critic Dennis was like a perpetual blister on his side; and Cibber's attacks upon him in self defence often made his features writhe with anguish. How he winced under the lash of Dennis is seen in his essay on the "Art of Criticism," published in 1711, in which he thus takes his revenge.

> "Appius reddens at each word you speak,
> And stares tremendous with a threatening eye,
> Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry."



POPE'S VILLA.

Cibber was one of the comic dramatists of this period. His first play, the comedy of "Love's Last Shift," was produced in 1696, but he was a writer for the stage after the commencement of the reign of George II. He died in 1757. Other comic dramatists who wrote in the reigns of William and Anne, and whose lives extended to the period of the House of Hanover, were Congreve and Vanbrugh. Congreve's first play, "The Old Bachelor," of which Dryden said that "he never saw such a first play in his life," was brought out in 1693, and within the next seven years he produced "Love for Love," the tragedy of "The Mourning Bride," and the comedy of "The Way of the World." His productions procured for him the patronage of Lord Halifax, who gave him some lucrative employment under government, after which he treated the Muses with ingratitude by desiring to appear as a man of fashion rather than of wit. His conduct strangely contrasted with that of his contemporary Pope. When Pope's translation of the first four books of the Iliad appeared in 1715, Halifax offered him a pension, saying that nothing should be demanded of him for it; but he declined the gift, and rejoiced in having "his liberty without a coach." Sir John Vanbrugh, architect and poet, is the author of ten or twelve comedies, of which the first, "The Relapse," was produced in 1697, but the best are, "The Provoked Wife," "The Confederacy," and "The Journey to London." The only comic dramatist belonging exclusively to the reigns of William and Anne was George Farquhar, who died in 1707, at the age of twenty-nine. His first play was brought out in 1698, and his last, the "Beau's Stratagem," was being performed at Drury Lane with great success when the illness during which it was written terminated in his death. Nicholas Rowe was the chief tragic writer of this age. Rowe, who upon the accession of George I. was made poet laureate, and who died in 1718, was bred to the law, but paid more attention to the Muses. His first production was "The Ambitious Stepmother," which was followed by "Tamerlane," "The Fair Penitent," "The Royal Convert," and "Jane Shore." Rowe was also the translator of Lucan's "Pharsalia" into English verse. One of the most ingenious and humorous political satires extant in our language was written at this period by Dr. Arbuthnot, who was a celebrated wit and physician in the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. Arbuthnot was the son of a Scottish clergyman, and was educated in the university of Aberdeen, after which he came to London in pursuit of fame and fortune, both of which he obtained. He had the good fortune to be at Epsom when Prince George of Denmark was taken ill, and being called in to attend him, his treatment was so successful that the prince employed him as his regular physician, and in 1709 he was appointed physician in ordinary to Queen Anne. But long before that he was known to fame as a writer. His celebrated satire on the Partition Treaty, entitled "Law is a Bottomless Pit, or The History of John Bull," gained for him the highest reputation as a wit and a humorist. In that satire England and Holland are typified by a clothier and a linendraper, who take upon themselves to settle the estate of a bedridden old gentleman in the neighbourhood. They meet at the corner of his park with paper and pencils, a pole, a chain, and a semicircle; measure his fields and calculate the value of his mines, and this being done, they proceed to his mansion and take an inventory of his plate and furniture. Arbuthnot was associated with Swift, Pope, Gay, Parnell, and others in the Scriblerus club. In 1714 he engaged with Swift and Pope in a design to write a satire on the abuse of human learning in every branch, under the title of "Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus." A fragment of their design only was written, and that is characterized by a brilliancy and exuberance of wit and humour unsurpassed in the English or any other language. Arbuthnot was one of the brightest stars in the constellation of wits which adorned the reign of Queen Anne.



POPE'S CHAIR.

Music.—At the close of the period of the rule of the Stuarts, the science of music was in the lowest possible condition. The great body of the people had no taste for harmony. Yet the old love of music was not entirely extinct even among the lower classes. Of this there is a memorable example in Thomas Britton, "the small coal man." Britton did all a man could do in humble life for the revival of that love of music which had for half a century lain dormant. While carrying his sack he assembled the best amateurs and professional musicians in his concert-loft over his coal-shed to delight his audience. The great Handel, a young Saxon who came to London in 1710, and who soon obtained the notice of Queen Anne, was one of his performers for a season. Britton, who played the viol de gamba, exulted to have Handel accompanying him on the harpsichord. Hughes, one of the "small poets" of the day, has these lines under a print of "Tom Britton, the musical small coal man:"—

> "Let useless pomp behold, and blush to find,
> So low a station, such a liberal mind."

In the metropolis a taste for music had made considerable progress before the close of the seventeenth century. The court of William and Mary, however, gave it but little encouragement; the agitated state of the public mind probably preventing them from giving that attention to the peaceful arts which they otherwise might have bestowed upon them. Martial music—the drum and the fife—was William the Third's chief harmony. Notwithstanding, it was while the House of Orange swayed the sceptre that Henry Purcell, the pride and boast of the English school of music, created his chief dramatic and other secular compositions. His first work for the public stage, the music in Lee's "Theodosius, or the Force of Love," was performed at the Duke's Theatre in 1690; and in the same year he set new music to the "Tempest," as altered by Dryden, which is still heard with delight, and to the "Prophetess," or "Diocletian," altered by Dryden and Betterton from Beaumont and Fletcher. From that time till the day of his death, which happened in 1695, when he was only thirty-seven years of age, Purcell produced many compositions which are still popular. Thus his duet and chorus, "To Arms," and the air, "Britons Strike Home," in Dryden's alteration of "Boadicea," are national property, and his war songs are always received with acclamation when England is threatened by foreign foes, and are frequently performed during peace for their exquisite harmony. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, according to Evelyn and Pepys, public concerts, both vocal and instrumental—English and Italian—were given in London, and obtained considerable patronage. At this time there was a growing disposition in the upper ranks to patronise foreign in preference to native musicians, and this predilection grew stronger and stronger, till about the year 1710, the Italian opera, in which foreign singers only perform, and in their native language, was firmly established on English ground. In that year "Almahide" was brought out with great success at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, a circumstance which induced Handel, who was then in his twenty-sixth year, to come over to England, which he made the country of his adoption, an event of the highest importance to the art of music.

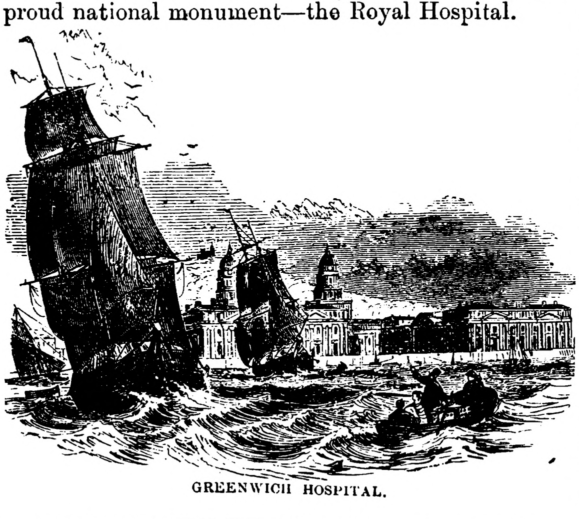
Church music was still of native cultivation exclusively. Among those who distinguished themselves by their compositions for the church at this period may be mentioned Jeremiah Clarke, organist to Queen Anne and of St. Paul's cathedral; the Rev. Henry Aldrich, D.D., dean of Christ Church; John Welton, organist and composer to Queen Anne and her two immediate successors; the Rev. Robert Creighton, D.D., a canon of Salisbury; and William Croft, doctor of music, and organist, composer, and master of the children to Queen Anne and afterwards to George I. That sacred music was encouraged and even cultivated by some of the hierarchy of this period there can be no question. The learned and pious William Beveridge, who became chaplain to William and Mary, and who in 1704 accepted the see of St. Asaph, bears this testimony to its sweet and holy influence: "That which I have found the best recreation both to my mind and body, whensoever either of them stands in need of it, is music, which exercises at once both my body and soul, especially when I play myself; for then methinks the same motion that my hand makes upon the instrument, the instrument makes upon my heart." The good bishop had been "accustomed to harmony" as a prebend of Canterbury cathedral, and in his later years as living in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, where he died in 1708.

Architecture.—Walpole says of King William: "This prince, like most of those in our annals, contributed nothing to the advancement of the arts;" and of Queen Mary, that she "seems to have had little more propensity to the arts than the king." However William may have neglected other arts, it is certain that he did not neglect architecture. During the preceding period the arts had been in a very depressed condition, but when William ascended the throne, he found an architect, Christopher Wren, to whom he ever showed favours, and who by his genius was destined to raise architecture to the pinnacle of perfection.

Wren, the recreator of English architecture, was the son of Dean Wren, and nephew of the well-known bishop of that name. He was educated at Oxford, where, at the age of twenty-three, he became Gresham professor, and where, two or three years later, he was called to the Savilian chair. His education, therefore, was not such as to prepare him for the profession of an architect. It seems clear, however, that in his early days he must have paid some attention to architecture; but at what date he commenced its study is unknown. For several years he seems to have devoted himself principally to the duties of his Savilian professorship and to the proceedings of the Royal Society, at that time newly founded. Wren organised that institution. He prepared papers and projects, constructed machines, and devised experiments which would give *éclat* to its meetings. But while thus variously employed, it is evident that he had not only studied but had given some proofs of his knowledge of architecture, for he was called upon by Charles II. to assist Sir John Denham in his office as surveyor-general. Denham was a poet, and the author of "Cooper's Hill," and therefore knew better how to construct verses than churches or palaces. A knowledge of architecture was no part of his qualification for such an office, and Wren was chosen to assist him that he might become his successor. The great works which Charles had in contemplation when restored to his throne demanded great skill in, and knowledge of architecture. Since its desecration by Cromwell's Ironsides, the old church of St. Paul's had been left in a ruinous condition. At the West End, Inigo Jones had erected a great Corinthian portico, but in doing so he had destroyed the Gothic character of the fabric. But that proved to be of little consequence. Since that partial repair, old St. Paul's was found to be in a state of dilapidation and ruin. The gradual effect of time had put its seal upon the work which the hand of violence had ruthlessly commenced. It was one of the cherished objects of Charles II., when restored to the throne, to repair this ruin and to restore it to its pristine beauty. Accordingly, in 1663, Wren received a commission to make a survey of the cathedral church of St. Paul, and furnish plans for its restoration. Wren entered upon his work with enthusiastic zeal, and with consummate judgment. He designed remodelling the fabric by erecting a grand cupola, which he conceived would be of present use for the auditory, and become an ornament to "his majesty's most excellent reign, to the church, and to this great city." This scheme, however, was set aside by the prejudices of the majority who were associated with him in the commission. Other plans were proposed by Wren, but the majority overruled them. Church restoration was slow in the reign of King Charles, as was church building in the reigns of William and Anne. At every step Wren was opposed by his fellow-commissioners, except by his friend John Evelyn, by whom he was warmly supported. Wren's design was for an essentially Protestant cathedral, but the duke of York, afterwards James II., was bent on one in which the ceremonies of the Romish Church might be performed in all their wonted splendour, as at St. Peter's church, at Rome. Wren was obliged to give way, but he did his best in the course of its erection to make it worthy of the service of Almighty God. Wren's original plan was compact and simple, but in deference to James he was compelled to add the oratories, the long aisles, which the future monarch hoped to fill with processions, and the recesses, which he, on a future day, desired to fill with altars. It was not until the year 1675 that Wren was enabled to lay the foundation of this "second temple of the Christian world." At its commencement he writes in the "Parentalia:" "An incident was taken notice by some people as a favourable omen. When the surveyor in person had set out upon the place the dimensions of the great dome, and fixed upon the centre, a common labourer was ordered to bring a flat stone from the heap of rubbish, such as should first come to hand, to be laid for a mark and direction to the masons: the stone, which was immediately brought and laid down for that purpose, happened to be a piece of gravestone, with nothing remaining of the inscription but this single word in capital letters, *Resurgam*, 'I shall rise again.' This favourable omen was fully realised." The second rising of St. Paul's can scarcely be deemed inferior to the first, notwithstanding the superiority of the Gothic over the Italian Roman style, which Wren adopted. The work which was thus auspiciously commenced was not completed till the year 1710, when Wren had the rare happiness of seeing the last stone laid by his eldest son, Christopher. Throughout the reign of King William the architect received the warmest favours from him, and Anne on ascending the throne took the deepest interest in the noble work in which he was engaged. As a whole, St. Paul's cathedral is by common consent placed in the first rank of ecclesiastical architecture of modern times. Its most magnificent feature is its cupola, which rises from the body of the church in almost unrivalled majesty. Gwilt, in "Britton's Public Buildings of London," says it may be safely affirmed, "that for dignity and elegance, no church in Europe affords an example worthy of comparison with this cupola." Wren died in 1723, at the age of ninety years, and was buried under the choir of his own St. Paul's, over the entrance of which are these words in Latin: "If you would behold his monument, look around."

St. Paul's Cathedral was not the only church in which Wren displayed his genius. He was the great church builder of the age. Out of eighty-five churches destroyed within the city walls by the great Fire of London, fifty-one were replaced from his designs. He also rescued from the general ruin that of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. He was, moreover, the architect of St. James's, Westminster. All his churches are remarkable for their beautiful towers and steeples. Wren, however, did not confine his attention to the exterior appearances of his churches. The most admired of Wren's church interiors is that of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, of which it has been said that, had its materials and volume been as durable and extensive as those of St. Paul's cathedral, he would have consummated a much more efficient monument to his well-earned fame than that fabric affords. Bow church, Cheapside, the style of which is adopted from Wren's favourite classical authority, the Temple of Peace, at Rome, is also a composition much appreciated by architectural authorities.

Although the genius of Wren shines most conspicuously in his churches, other works attest that he was a great architect. His most commonplace structures are the Monument, which, however, has not much of the originality in it of his first design; and Hampton Court, in the erection of which he was compelled to comply with the Dutch taste of King William. He was more successful in his other public buildings, among which may be enumerated Chelsea Hospital, the Royal Exchange and Custom House—both long since demolished—Temple Bar, in London; the Sheldonian Theatre, Ashmolean Museum, Queen's College Chapel and Gateway at Christ Church College, Oxford; the Library of Trinity, and the Chapel of Emmanuel Colleges at Cambridge; and the Observatory, Greenwich. One of Wren's earliest finished works was a palace at Greenwich for the court of Charles II., which was afterwards, by the munificence of Queen Mary, converted into that proud national monument—the Royal Hospital.



GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Wren was succeeded in church architecture by James Gibbs, a native of Aberdeen, and by Nicholas Hawksmoor, who was a pupil of Wren's, and who succeeded him in several of his public appointments. A favourable opportunity was afforded by the Act of Anne which provided for the erection of fifty new churches in London—though the intention of the legislature was not fully carried out—for the exercise of the talents of Gibbs and Hawksmoor. Gibbs, who had studied in Italy, built the church of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, the portico of which has acquired much fame. But Gibbs does not seem to have known where to place a tower and spire. Wren's steeples always rise directly from the ground, but in St. Martin's church Gibbs has placed the spire behind the portico, giving it the appearance of rising out of the roof. Gibbs built several other churches in town and country, and was the architect of the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, and Marylebone chapel, which during the last century was deemed a model for economical ecclesiastical structures. Hawksmoor was associated with Vanbrugh in the erection of the palatial residences of Blenheim and Castle Howard, which half spoilt him for church architecture; but his best work is generally acknowledged to be the church of St. Mary's Woolnoth, Lombard Street, the interior of which it has been said may challenge comparison with any work of modern times for the classical simplicity of its plan and harmony of its proportions.

For a long period of his life Wren had no rival in architecture. In 1702, however, Vanbrugh made his appearance as an architect, and if he did not eclipse Wren's fame he soon divided the honours with him. Vanbrugh, like his great contemporary, was not bred to the profession. On the contrary, when he made his appearance as an architect he was in the zenith of his reputation as a dramatic writer. He must, however, have studied architecture anterior to 1702, for it cannot be supposed that a writer of licentious comedies at thirty-five or thirty-six years of age could suddenly acquire fame for palatial architecture. Indeed his previous acquaintance with mathematics and mechanics is indicated by the fact that in 1695 he became secretary to the commission for converting the palace of Greenwich into the hospital. Vanbrugh's first, and perhaps his finest work, was the mansion of Castle Howard, erected for the earl of Carlisle, which at once established his reputation as an architect of the first order. From that time his genius had no lack of employment in palatial architecture. Commissions for works of a similar character poured in upon him from all parts of England. His chief work is Blenheim, that tribute of a nation's gratitude to the duke of Marlborough. Price, in his "Treatise on the Picturesque," has thus described the characteristics of the style of the palace of Blenheim:—"It appears to me that Vanbrugh conceived and executed a very bold and difficult design; that of uniting in one building the beauty and magnificence of the Grecian architecture, the picturesqueness of the Gothic, and the massive grandeur of a castle; and that in spite of many faults for which he was very justly reproached, he has formed, in a style truly his own, and a well-combined whole, a mansion worthy of a great prince and warrior." The palace of Blenheim has established the fame of Vanbrugh as an architect more than any other edifice he erected —Castle Howard excepted—but in the execution of it he met with a long succession of vexations. Parliament voted the palace, but neglected to vote the funds necessary for its completion. As long as Queen Anne lived she supplied money in the course of its erection, but when she died parliament refused to fulfil its engagement. Blenheim House, though voted to the duke of Marlborough as a token of the nation's gratitude for his great victory at Blenheim, was not paid for out of the national treasury. Anne paid for what was built during her life, the duke paid a part for what was built afterwards, and Vanbrugh and his workmen did the rest at their own cost and charges after the death of Marlborough, for the duchess would not pay his salary, or suffer him to enter the grounds to see the structure he had designed.

Lower in the scale of merit as architects of this period were Thomas Archer, a pupil of Vanbrugh, who built the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster; John James, the architect of the churches of Greenwich, St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. Luke's, Middlesex; and Philcroft, the architect of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Olave's of Southwark, and Woburn Abbey. This latter erection, with Chatsworth Palace, which was planned by Talman, comptroller of the works to William III., and Montague House—the old British Museum—for the erection of which M. Pouget came from France, are among the best works of that age in secular architecture.

Sculpture and Painting.—Macaulay remarks:—"At the close of the reign of Charles II. there was not a single English painter or statuary whose name is now remembered. This sterility is somewhat mysterious; for painters and statuaries were by no means a despised or an ill-paid class. Their social position was at least as high as at present. Their gains, when compared with the wealth of the nation, and with the remuneration of other descriptions of intellectual labour, were even larger than at present. Indeed, the munificent patronage which was extended to artists drew them to our shores in multitudes." It is a singular fact that our country could not boast of a great painter as a native till the reign of George II., or of a great sculptor before the reign of George III. In the reign of William III., however, sculpture was the handmaid of architecture. The two most noted sculptors of his reign were Grinling Gibbons, who was a Dutchman, and Cibber, who was a Dane. Gibbon was first brought into notice by the estimable Evelyn. The generous appreciation of Evelyn was quickly followed by that of the king and the nation. Gibbons was employed by Wren in the architectural decorations of St. Paul's; his exquisite carving in the screen-work of the choir being the only decorations in the cathedral worthy of the fabric. His great skill lay in carving on wood, especially in delineating the figures of birds, flowers, plants, and other objects of nature. His marvellous skill in this line of art is attested by his carvings, besides the choir of St. Paul's, in the works which he executed at Chatsworth and Petworth. But Gibbons was in no sense an original artist; he could copy what he saw with matchless ability, but he was no creator of figures from imagination. In this respect he was outshone by his contemporary Cibber. Having studied at Rome, Cibber came to England to seek his fortune. The work on which his fame rests as an artist are the statues of Melancholy and Raving Madness, which adorned the gateway of old Bedlam, and which are now in the South Kensington Museum. The only other sculptors of this period worthy of mention are Francis Bird, who assisted Wren in the sculptures of St. Paul's—his principal works being the relievo of the Conversion of St. Paul within the cathedral, and the statue of Queen Anne in the churchyard—and John Bushnell, whose chisel was employed on the statues of Temple Bar.

When William ascended the throne, Sir Godfrey Kneller had risen into distinction as a portrait painter. Like his predecessor, Sir Peter Lely, he was a Westphalian by birth. He came to England while Lely was at the height of his celebrity, but he was patronized by the duke of Monmouth, who obtained a commission for him to paint the portrait of Charles II., and he soon found that England was a profitable field for the talents of a painter. His talent was of the highest order, but his love of money threw a veil over it. Kneller degraded his art to a mere manufacture to obtain gold. His demand for faces became so numerous that he painted them hurriedly, and then left the work of filling in the accessories to his assistants, three of whom were Flemings, and two Englishmen. His draperies and backgrounds were painted in a slovenly style, in order to enhance the value of his heads; but not one of his sitters "discovered that he was fit for more than preserving their likeness." Few painters, however, can boast of reckoning among his sitters such an array of names illustrious in the annals of England. When he had to paint the heads of men of intellect, he then produced works inferior to none achieved by any of his predecessors. His famous head of Dryden, and his portraits of the members of the Kit-Cat Club—forty in number—which were painted by him when his hand was growing feeble by age, testify that when he chose to exert his skill he could paint "the human face divine" with the hand of a master. By his general mode of turning out portraits from his easel, however, Kneller did more to degrade his art than to exalt it. Kneller died in 1723, and though he had kept a sumptuous establishment, and had lost much money by speculations, he was still able to leave a large fortune to his family.

In other branches of painting there was the same process of decline as in that of portraits. When William ascended the throne, Verrio, a Neapolitan, was the successor of Rubens in the adornment of the ceilings of the saloons, staircases, and chapels of the nobility with allegories. He covered them "with gorgons and muses, nymphs and satyrs, virtues and vices, gods quaffing nectar, and laurelled princes riding in triumph." Verrio's master-piece is to be found in the chapel at Chatsworth.

At this time the two Vanderveldes, natives of Holland, flourished in England as sea-painters. They were the founders of a school which has produced men more eminent in the art than themselves, though their productions are of high order. Another Dutchman, Dirk Maas, was a painter of battles; and Hernskerk was patronized by William for his Dutch drinking pieces. Besides these there were painters of flowers, of birds, of animals, &c., which proves that though the art of painting was but little understood by the public, the professors of that art received considerable encouragement. For his glorious sunflowers and tulips depicted on his canvas, Simon Vareest, another Dutchman, is said to have received prices such as never had been known before. But notwithstanding the lavish patronage of painters by the court and nobility, painting as an art was not duly appreciated at this period. There were no schools for painting, no galleries of pictures, and no writers to inculcate the importance and the beauty of the art on the public mind.

CHAPTER V.

History of Industry, Commerce, &c., from A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

Agriculture.—ALTHOUGH at the period of the Revolution the value of the produce of the soil greatly exceeded in value the produce of all the other fruits of human industry, agriculture was in what would now be deemed a rude and imperfect state. It has been computed that not much more than half the area of the kingdom was then under cultivation, either as pasture or arable land. The quantity of land, indeed, under cultivation in England and Wales, was very little more than in the reign of James I., for only one inclosure Act had since then been passed; that one being enacted in the reign of Charles II. The great seats of tillage were the south-eastern, the eastern, and south-midland districts. The waste lands consisted of moor, forest, and fen. And that they were extensive is proved from the road books and maps of the seventeenth century, from which it is clear that many routes ran though nothing but heath, swamp, and warren. Describing this state of the country, Macaulay writes: "At Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five and twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses and scarcely any enclosed fields. Deer, free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands. Wild animals of large size were then far more numerous than at present. The last wild boars, indeed, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, and had been allowed to ravage the cultivated land with their tusks, had been slaughtered by the exasperated rustics during the license of the civil war. The last wolf that had roamed our island had been slain in Scotland a short time before the close of the reign of Charles II. But many breeds, now extinct or rare, both of quadrupeds and birds, were still common. The fox, whose life is now, in many counties, held almost as sacred as that of a human being, was then considered as a mere nuisance. Oliver St. John told the Long Parliament that Strafford was not to be regarded as a stag or a hare, to whom some law was to be given, but as a fox, who was to be snared by any means and knocked on the head without pity. This illustration would be by no means a happy one, if addressed to a country gentleman of our time; but in St. John's days there were not seldom great massacres of foxes, to which the peasantry thronged with all the dogs that could be mustered. Traps were set; nets were spread; no quarter was given; and to shoot a female with cub was considered as a feat which merited the warmest gratitude of the neighbourhood. The red deer was then as common in Gloucestershire and Hampshire as they now are among the Grampian Hills. On one occasion Queen Anne, travelling to Portsmouth, saw a herd of no less than five hundred. The wild bull with his white mane was still to be found wandering in a few of the southern forests. The badger made his dark and tortuous hole on the side of every hill where the copsewood grew thick. The wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of the rangers of Whittlebury and Needwood. The yellow-breasted marten was still pursued in Cranbourne Chase for his fur, reputed inferior only to that of the sable. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs from the British Channel to Yorkshire huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes. Some of these races the progress of cultivation has extirpated; of others the numbers are so much diminished that men crowd to gaze at a specimen as at a Bengal tiger or a polar bear."

In some of the maps of the latter end of the seventeenth century, as those of John Ogilby, cosmographer royal, the roads through enclosed land are marked by lines, and the roads through unenclosed country by dots. The proportion of unenclosed country from those maps appears to have been very great. Thus, from Abingdon to Gloucester, a distance of nearly fifty miles, there was not a single enclosure. It is probable that some of the unenclosed country may have been cultivated, but if so, it must have been very imperfectly cultivated. And even in the three great seats of tillage the state of cultivation must have been anything but perfection. This may be gathered from the thinness of the population, the aggregate number of inhabitants, men, women, and children, being only about six hundred and twenty thousand in each district: that of the south-eastern being the most populous. But the imperfect state of cultivation is more clearly proved by the quantity of corn produced annually. At the present time a wheat crop alone would be considered to be below the average if it did not exceed twelve millions of quarters; but according to the computations made by Gregory King, in 1696, it did not exceed two millions, and the whole quantity of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, was less than ten millions of quarters. In this estimation King was borne out by Charles Davenant, an acute and able writer on the subject, although he differs from King as to some of the items in his computation. At this time the rotation of crops was but imperfectly understood. The alternate system of husbandry—that of growing turnips or clover after a corn crop—had been recommended in the middle of the seventeenth century, but the old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated lands lay idle, was still followed. Green crops were but little valued. In the reign of King William, field turnips were cultivated, and clover began to be sown, but neither were extensively grown till the time of George II. The Revolution, however, of 1688 proved favourable to the development of agricultural industry, although at first it was but slowly developed. The first enclosure Act was not passed till the year 1710; but it was, as will be seen, followed by others in the reigns of the first two Georges, by which much fresh land was brought into cultivation. The value of manure was but little understood by the farmers of the period, but a new method of husbandry was at least commenced, for Defoe mentions in his tour that he saw sheep folded upon ploughed lands. In 1710 the winnowing machine was introduced from Holland, and about the same time the threshing machine was first employed in the northern parts of our island. As regards improvement in cattle, no attempt was made till the middle of the eighteenth century. It was not yet the practice to feed and fatten cattle upon the nutritious turnip. Hence the sheep and the ox of that time were diminutive when compared with the sheep and oxen now driven to our markets. Davenant, in 1710, estimated the average net weight of cattle sold at Smithfield at three hundred and seventy pounds, and of sheep, twenty-eight pounds; the former being less than one half, and the latter about one third of the average net weight of sheep and oxen at the present time. Without alternate husbandry neither the ox nor the sheep could be fattened for the shambles, or even supported through the winter, except in low meadows and marshes. Hence we find that at the beginning of the cold weather it was customary to kill and salt them in great numbers; and that consequently during several months scarcely any fresh animal food was placed on the tables even of the wealthy, except game and river fish, which then were more important articles in housekeeping than at present. The Londoners, however, appear to have been abundantly supplied in the autumn with turkeys and geese. Defoe, in his tour, speaks of droves of turkeys crowding the roads from Ipswich, and making their way to London over the heaths and commons; and of geese from the farthest parts of Norfolk and the fen countries. These latter, he says, were sometimes one to two thousand in a drove: adding that they moved on to their fate from the beginning of August, and held on, feeding on the stubbles after harvest, till the end of October, "when the roads began to be too stiff and deep for their broad feet and short legs to march in."

At the period of the Revolution native horses, whether used for agricultural or other purposes, were highly esteemed. They were valued one with another by the ablest computers of the national wealth, taking the average, at fifty shillings each. Horses of foreign breed—Spanish jennets, Flemish mares &c.,—were greatly preferred to the native English horse. The modern dray-horse and the modern race-horse were then unknown. It was during this period that the ancestors of the former were brought from the marshes of Walcheren, and of the latter from the deserts of Arabia. As regards the race-horse, its improvement sprung from the passion which existed among the nobility and gentry for the amusements of the turf. It was felt that new blood infused into the English race-horse would improve its fleetness. Two men especially—the duke of Newcastle and Sir John Fenwick—authorities on the subject, maintained that the meanest hack imported from Tangier would produce a finer progeny than the best sire of our native breed. Their opinion was adopted, and the result has demonstrated that their opinion was correct, the English race-horse having become the wonder of the world.

Commerce, Manufactures, &c.—The Revolution was for a period adverse to the progress of foreign commerce. When the prohibitory Act of 1677 was repealed on the accession of James II., a system of mutual commerce between France and England commenced, which as long as he sat upon the throne continued and flourished. That was a natural sequence of the strong friendship which subsisted between the courts of St. James and Versailles. But when James was driven to the stern necessity of taking refuge with his "good brother" of France, and William III. was advanced to his throne by the voice of the people of England, commerce, which had previously flourished to the mutual advantage of both countries, immediately began to languish. In the eight years of war with France which followed the Revolution the value of the merchandise exported, as officially estimated, fell off about one third, and it may be presumed that the imports were reduced in a similar proportion. Nor was it the trade with France alone that was thus affected. War between two great countries in Europe inevitably disturbs the commercial relations of the belligerents with other countries. At the close of the war Davenant writes:—"By the unlucky conduct of our naval affairs the trade to and from this kingdom was chiefly done by princes and states in neutrality; such as Denmark and Sweden to the northward, Portugal and the state of Genoa, who have hereby not only increased in their shipping but in the knowledge of our trade. . . . The Norway and the Baltic trade has been lately carried on in a more disadvantageous way than ever: they always drained us of our money, but this in some measure was compensated by giving employment to near a hundred ships; but now they do not employ five ships, and for a great while have exported between three and four thousand per annum. As to the Guinea trade, this war has brought it to a very low ebb, the French having disturbed our colonies, and destroyed our fortresses and places of strength upon the coast of Africa. The neglect in settling the African trade has forced the plantations for their support to deal with foreigners for negroes, and consequently to traffic with them in return for those negroes. Some of our West India plantations have been likewise very much dispeopled lately by plagues and earthquakes; and in some parts during the late war, the natives have grown upon us; and in other places we have been harassed and ruined by the French. Our East India trade is also in a very bad condition; losses abroad and discouragements at home have very much diminished the capital stock. The late piratical attempts on the Mogul's subjects and allies in the Red Sea have brought difficulties upon the company's affairs in India not easily to be overcome; and these piracies are partly the effect of that loose administration with which war is accompanied, for the ships which have committed these depredations have been chiefly fitted out from the West India ports. If the governors there had kept a jealous eye over these freebooters and buccaneers; if they had narrowly watched their goings out and comings in; if instead of sharing in the spoil, which perhaps has been practised, they had compelled suspected persons to give good security for their behaviour, or laid an embargo on their ships; and if they had been vigorous in seizing and prosecuting these pirates at their return, the contrary of which is but too notorious, such wicked actions and breaches of the laws of God and nations could never have been committed." In this extract, however, Davenant only paints the dark side of the picture. He was a rancorous politician, but his bias was not so rabid as to make him wholly unjust. He admits that there was still health and vigour in the body politic. In proof of this he instances that there was no visible fall in the rents of land and houses; that buildings and farmhouses were not suffered to go to ruin by reason of poverty; and that though the interest of money had risen, it proceeded solely from the advantage which men had found by dealing with the exchequer. It was to be feared, he said, that our shipping trade had decreased, but he admits that our fleet and naval strength was more powerful than ever. But the truest sign of remaining health and vigour in the body politic was, he continues, "that our manufactures and all our home produce generally speaking hold up to their former rates." Nay, Davenant finally comes to the conclusion that though the importations were diminished the exportations had largely increased; that during the whole war there was a great call from abroad for our products and manufactures, and that they had sold well at home and abroad. He even asserts that the war had been productive of some advantages to domestic industry. He remarks:—"As it hindered our trade and was expensive to us, so it interrupted the tillage, labour, and manufactures of other countries, and created there a necessity for our commodities; to which must be attributed in some measure the great call that has been during nine years for our corn, barrelled beef and pork, tallow, leather, cheese and butter, and the coarser sorts of drapery. The returns of these commodities," he adds, "have helped us to maintain our foreign expenses, and have kept the radical moisture within the kingdom, which otherwise must have been quite exhausted by drawing out those sums that were necessary to subsist our troops in Flanders." On the whole, therefore, it is clear that though the war in Flanders interrupted the mutual intercourse of nations which is necessary for the proper supply of mutual wants, England was the least sufferer by that interruption. "At the end of the business," says Davenant, "our condition is very far from being desperate." This is manifest from what followed on the return of peace. When the channels of industry and commerce were reopened, within five years the exports had more than doubled, and the mercantile marine had increased fourfold. And as it was in the reign of King William, so it was in the reign of Queen Anne. As seen in the civil and military history of her reign, a great portion of it was spent in war. During that war, from the extent of the military operations, commerce was again in part broken up; but though the old cry was renewed that the national resources were on the eve of ruin, yet during the course of that war there was considerable commercial and general prosperity, and when the war was over and the spirit of enterprise thereby became free, commerce was carried forward at a rate which had rarely before been known.

A few figures will suffice to show the actual state of commerce during this period. At the Revolution the English shipping annually cleared outward was 190,533 tons, and the foreign, 95,267 tons. At the close of the eight years' war the English shipping had declined to 91,767 tons, and the foreign to 83,024 tons. The value of the merchandise exported was officially estimated before the war at 4,086,087*l.*, and at its close, 2,729,520*l.*, being a reduction of nearly one third. From this low point it gradually rose on the return of peace, until in the last year of the reign of King William the English shipping was 337,328 tons, the foreign only 43,625 tons; and the entire official value of the exports was 6,709,881*l.* During the war which followed the accession of Queen Anne the amount of tonnage and the annual value of the exports considerably varied, but in no year did they exhibit any formidable reduction. Their lowest point was in 1705, and they again gradually rose till the end of the war, when they rose with such rapidity, that in 1714-15, the close of this period, English shipping amounted to 421,431 tons, and the foreign to only 43,625; and the average amount of the value of exports on the three preceding years was 7,696,573*l.*, nearly one million sterling above the amount during the preceding peace. These figures are insignificant compared with those of the tonnage of British shipping and British exports of the present day; but they are significant as showing that the nation was imbued with that spirit of commercial enterprise which promised to raise England to the high position she has now attained—that of the greatest commercial country in the world.

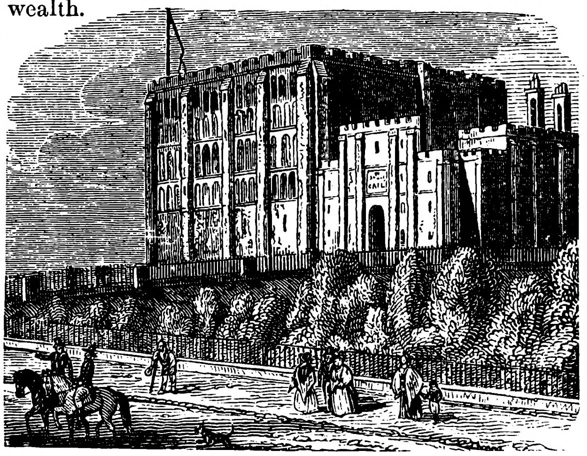
It would be tedious to enumerate all the articles of export at this period. As of old, the chief article was woollens. This important manufacture was the subject of several legislative regulations in the reign of William. Immediately after the Revolution an Act was passed which renewed and strengthened the former laws against the exportation of the raw material. Parliament ever had a watchful eye over that valuable commodity, in order to prevent foreign competition. Means, however, were found to evade the enactments prohibiting its exportation. The preamble of the Act of 1689-90 set forth that the former laws had been violated "through the remissness and negligence of officers;" but however stringent the Act may have been, that too failed to accomplish its object. The raw material still found its way into foreign markets, especially from Ireland and the English plantations in America. Great complaint was made of this in the parliament of 1698, and in the next year an Act was passed strictly prohibiting the export of wool and woollen goods from Ireland and the plantations of America to any part of the world except England. The woollen manufacture was considered of such high import to the wealth of this country, that in the year 1769 all duties upon the exportation of home woollen manufactures were abrogated.

According to the economical writers at the end of the seventeenth century, the whole annual income of England was forty-three millions, and the rental ten millions. The annual value of wool was estimated at two millions, and the woollen manufacture at eight millions. The manufacture of woollen cloths was chiefly in the western counties, but Leeds, the great seat of its manufacture in the present day, was fast rising into importance. The clothing trade of the west sprung from the adaptation of its pasture grounds for the breeding of sheep. Innumerable flocks of sheep roamed over the grassy downs and wide plains of Wiltshire; the Cotswold Hills were famed for the long-woolled sheep which roamed over them by thousands; and the Mendip Hills for sheep with short wool as fine as that of Spain, and which was largely used in our woollen manufacture. The dwellers, therefore, in the valley of the Lower Avon had a bountiful supply of material at hand for their craft. The waters of that river, also, were of great advantage to the trade, as they were by their purity well adapted for fulling, dressing, and dyeing cloth. It was here, therefore, that the finest cloths were fabricated. Among the towns where this "prodigy of a trade" was carried on at that period were Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, and Devizes: towns which still hold a place in some of the branches of woollen manufacture. At that time Whitney had not taught how the raw material might be furnished in quantities almost fabulous, nor Arkwright how it might be worked up with a speed and precision almost magical. The work of spinning was performed chiefly by women and children living in the villages and hamlets around the towns.

The clothiers of Stroud and its neighbourhood were the most famous for their scarlet cloth, as well as cloth of gaudy hues, to which the purity of their streams contributed as much as the skill of the dyer. The Persian and the Turk set a higher value upon the English broadcloth for its fineness and brilliancy than upon their own silks and brocades, "even for their habits of ceremony; but it was prized by other nations, as the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Venetians and Italians, the Greeks of the Levant and the Moors of Africa, more for its intrinsic goodness than for its fineness of texture and brilliancy of colour." The woollen manufacture extended itself still further westward than the banks of the Avon. Common stuffs were woven at Taunton, and serge at Honiton. Exeter was the great market for serges, a hundred thousand pounds' worth, according to Defoe, being sold there sometimes within a week.

Nor was the manufacture of woollen stuffs confined to the west of England. There were already signs of the great staple of the trade falling into the hands of the northern population. Leicestershire was a manufacturing county. It had the reputation of producing the largest sheep and horses in England. Its sheep were noted for their long wool, which gave rise to the worsted stocking trade. Leicester and other neighbouring towns were as famous for stocking weaving as the towns of the west were for their broadcloths. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was a very flourishing trade. Defoe, in his "Tour," says, "One would scarce think it possible that so small an article of trade could employ such multitudes of people as it does." But stocking weaving was not confined to Leicestershire. It afforded general employment in combination with machinery at Nottingham and Derby. Towards the close of the reign of Queen Anne there were nine thousand looms engaged in "that small article of trade." The stocking-loom had been invented by William Lea, in 1589, but it was long before it came into general favour among stocking weavers. In the north, indeed, stockings long continued to be made by hand. Defoe says, that at Richmond, where was a market for coarse and ordinary woollen and yarn stockings, "you see great and small a knitting." At the present time the great seat of the lace trade is at Nottingham, but in the early part of the eighteenth century the bone lace manufacture was chiefly carried on in the western and southern counties. That, too, was made by the hand, and not by any sort of machinery. Berkeley says, that in the summer's evening common labourers might be seen sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door with a cushion before him, making bone lace, so that it was not exclusively a feminine industry. Turning still further northward, we come to seats of industry, some of which have become the wonder of the world. At this period Manchester, according to Defoe, was an open village, but more populous than most cities in England. Its population was estimated at fifty thousand. Its social condition was very primitive. Its manufactures were those of fustian, girth, web, ticking, tapes, &c., which were carried on by small masters, who had apprentices in their houses. During half a century cotton had been brought to Manchester, but its manufacture was in its infancy. Its present mill-owners furnish a remarkable contrast to its travelling tradesmen of the reigns of William and Anne. The small things called "Manchester ware" were then borne by horse-packs, the Manchester men being "a kind of pedlars, who carried their goods themselves to the country shopkeepers everywhere;" whereas now the mill-owners are merchant princes, whose transactions are represented by millions annually. Yet Manchester was considered a place of importance. It possessed warping mills, and looms which worked "twenty-four laces at a time," with which its rival neighbouring towns did not presume to compete. Among these rival towns were Bolton and Bury, where manufactures still flourish, though not to such an extent as Manchester. At Warrington there was a considerable linen trade, of that kind called huckaback, for the table especially, but the English linen manufacture received but little encouragement. Defoe says that Divine providence had appointed the especial employment of manufacturing England, which "especial employment" was that of the woollen manufacture. That had at this time reached the north. Bury, in Lancashire, produced some coarse sorts of woollen manufacture, but its chief seat was in Yorkshire. There were five clothing towns in Yorkshire, Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, and Leeds. These were the centres chiefly of the manufacture of stuffs called Yorkshire kerseys. They were small towns, but they contained industrious populations. Defoe says, when he visited Halifax, not an idle person was to be seen. At every house there was a tenter, and almost every tenter had a piece of white cloth sparkling in the sun; and in every house the women were seen carding and spinning, while the men were employed some at the loom, and some at the dyeing vat. But this was the day of small things with these Yorkshire towns compared with what they are now, for they contain a fifth part of the whole population of the county. Leeds was at that time, as it is now, the chief seat of the woollen manufacture of Yorkshire. But there is as striking a contrast between the Leeds of the reign of Queen Anne and of Queen Victoria, as of the Manchester of the two eras. It had even then become of some importance to what it had been. Old men could remember when the first brick house, called the Red House, was built there; and yet there were great boastings of increasing wealth, and of the immense sales of cloth upon the bridge over the Aire. The bridge, indeed, during this period became too confined a space for the cloth market of Leeds. It was removed to the High Street—tressels and a temporary counter being placed along it from the bridge to the market-house. The clothiers came in from the country, each bringing one or more pieces of cloth, which were placed lengthwise upon the counter, for sale to the factors. Nor was this primitive kind of market long continued, for in 1711 the Cloth Hall of Leeds was erected, from which time Leeds became the great emporium for cloth, to which linen was eventually added, in the north of England.

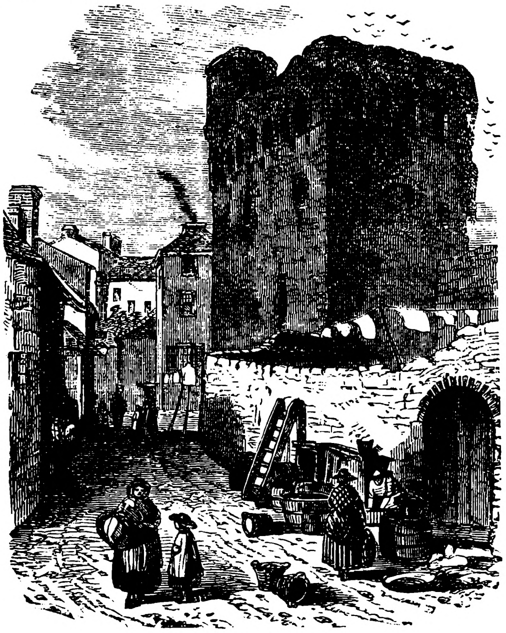
At this period, however, the most important manufacturing town in England was Norwich. For four centuries the stuff-weaving trade had been carried on in Norwich and the villages round, till it had become rich and prosperous. In the year 1693 the population of the city was found, by actual enumeration, to be between twenty-eight and twenty-nine thousand souls. The villages round it were wholly employed in spinning yarn for the weaver, and almost every inhabitant of Norwich worked at his loom, his combing-shop, or his twisting-mill. Norwich was one of the proudest as well as the most industrious and prosperous cities in England. No place except the universities and London itself had greater attractions for the traveller or the curious. It had a library, a museum, an aviary, and a botanical garden. Norwich, also, had a court in miniature. In the very heart of the city stood the noble palace of the Howards, who kept a state resembling that of petty sovereigns. When the duke of Norfolk came from time to time to his palace he was greeted like a monarch returning to his capital. Bells sounded forth a welcome; the guns of the castle were fired; and the mayor and aldermen waited on his grace with addresses of congratulation. The county of Norfolk appears to have been the most thriving in all England: it was full of business activity, either in manufactures or seafaring occupation, the fishery of Yarmouth greatly adding to its industry and wealth.



NORWICH CASTLE

"About a day's journey," writes Macaulay, "from Leeds, on the verge of a wild moorland tract, lay an ancient manor, now rich with cultivation, then barren and unenclosed, which was known by the name of Hallamshire. Iron abounded there; and from a very early period the rude whittles fabricated there had been sold all over the kingdom. They had, indeed, been mentioned by Geoffrey Chaucer in one of his Canterbury Tales. But the manufacture appears to have made little progress during the three centuries which followed his time. This languor may perhaps be explained by the fact that the trade was, during almost the whole of this long period, subject to such regulations as the lord and his court leet thought fit to impose. The more delicate kinds of cutlery were either made in the capital or brought from the continent. Indeed, it was not till the reign of George I. that the English surgeons ceased to import from France those exquisitely fine blades which are required for operations on the human frame. Most of the Hallamshire forges were collected in a market town which had sprung up near the castle of the proprietor, and which in the reign of James I. had been a singularly miserable place, containing about two thousand inhabitants, of whom a third were half-starved and half-naked beggars." This is that Sheffield which supplied the whittle which Chaucer's Miller of Trumpington wore in his hose, and which now supplies its celebrated knives, razors, and lancets to the farthest ends of the world. At the commencement of the eighteenth century it was rising into importance. It could at least boast of one mill for turning grindstones, and of six iron furnaces, supplied with fuel from the neighbouring woods; but the grindstones and the furnaces have increased a hundred-fold, for the products of this great metropolis of steel gives employment to a population of a hundred and fifty thousand. Equally marvellous has been the growth of the trade and wealth of Birmingham. Down to the period of the Revolution the people of Birmingham were known chiefly as the manufacturers of iron tools and husbandry implements. And even these were but very imperfect. Their forges were insufficient so to temper the iron as to produce the commonest articles to perfection. The iron was chiefly smelted by wood, for the great coal-field by which Birmingham is surrounded was then scarcely penetrated. Yet the manufacturers of Birmingham were a busy and a thriving race. Encouraged by King William during his reign, they began to manufacture fire-arms. But it was not solely in fire-arms or articles of common life that the people of Birmingham employed their skill. Their brass buttons were beginning to be known, but they were more renowned as coiners of bad money. It was in allusion to their spurious groats that the Tory wits nicknamed the Whig leaders Birminghams. Their chief employment, however, at this period was, as in the reign of Charles II., the manufacture of iron tools and implements of husbandry. Other towns in the north were also somewhat celebrated for their iron manufacture; as Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsall, Bilston, and Wednesbury. In that district of North Staffordshire, now known as the Potteries, another manufacture, which has since risen into great importance, gave employment to its population. At Burslem there was a manufacture of common cooking ware, which, by a recent discovery, was glazed with salt instead of with pulverized lead-ore. In the year 1700 Burslem had twenty-two glazing ovens. About the same time an improved ware from superior clays began to be manufactured; but many years passed before science and taste were brought to bear upon the manufacture of earthenware in England. The manufacture of glass also was still in its infancy, and of a humble character. It principally consisted of green and the commonest window glass. In the manufacture of glass the spirit of enterprise had been checked by the legislature, which had subjected it to excise duties. These duties were removed by a statute of 1698, as vexatious and of small advantage to the crown; but they were reimposed in 1747, and for another century the glass trade was insignificant when compared with what it suddenly became in later years, when the duties on its manufacture were abolished. Glass was made at this period in London and Bristol. Defoe says that when he was at Bristol there were fifteen glass-houses, which exceeded the number of those in London. These glass-houses, however, do not appear to have been of any great magnitude. Defoe makes Colonel Jack, the hero of one of his fictions, with his thieving companions, take refuge at night in the winter in a glass-house in Rosemary Lane, or at another in Ratcliff Highway, which sufficiently indicates that they were not then, as they now are, important factories. London itself was not celebrated for its manufactures. Its chief article was that of silk, produced by the weavers of Spitalfields, but the trade was not very flourishing; the silks of France and Flanders, and especially of India manufacture, being preferred by the wearer to the home manufacture.

Such were the principal manufactures in England at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Another source of wealth and employment was the mines. But the working of mines was still very imperfectly performed. Machinery had not yet asserted its superiority to manual labour. The lead mines of the High Peak in Derbyshire were worked in a very rude fashion, the miner descending into the pit and ascending from it with his load of ore by a narrow square called a groove, in the angles of which groove, pieces of wood were inserted. Some of the miners, however, had a way in and out of the mine at the side of a hill. According to Defoe, a miner whom he saw ascending from the pit brought up with him, besides his basket of tools, about three quarters of a hundredweight of ore only, with which he worked his way upwards with difficulty. It was known that silver lay hidden in the ore, but by a statute of Henry IV. the attempt to extract gold and silver by refining metals was rendered a penal offence. This statute, however, was in 1699 repealed, and the privilege of extracting silver from the ore, combined with the quantities produced by the power of steam machinery, have rendered the lead mines of Derbyshire a thousand-fold more valuable than in the days of William and Anne. The black-lead mine of Borrowdale, which had been worked in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was still worked in this period; but the copper mines of the Derwent Fells, which had then been wrought in search of gold, had for some time been abandoned. England, which now supplies nearly the whole world with iron, was at this period chiefly dependent on foreign countries for that article. The Forest of Dean was the principal seat of the iron manufacture, but there were iron-works in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire. Yaranton says: "The forest of Dean is, as to the iron, to be compared to the sheep's back as to the woollen; nothing being of more advantage to England than these two are." But the manufacture of iron was unpopular, partly because for the smelting of it the woods disappeared, and partly because it was thought the iron brought from Spain was superior. A patent for smelting iron ore by pit coal had been obtained in 1619 by Edward Lord Dudley, but his iron-works had been destroyed by the popular ignorance, and the attempt had not been renewed. If it had there can be but little doubt but it would at that time have been attended with the same result. Coal was abundant. Mountains of coal, says Defoe, might be seen lying at the mouth of numerous pits from Durham to Newcastle. The people of London, when they saw the fleets of ships which were continually coming into the Thames laden with coals, wondered whether they were not bringing the whole country away. But the coal-fields of the north are not yet exhausted, though the quantity of sea-borne coal taken to London is now ten times more annually than it was in the reigns of William and Anne. The demand for "sea-coal fire" in London made the Newcastle trade of great importance. In South Wales there was a coal-field of immense extent, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was scarcely opened. There was an export trade from Swansea and Neath to Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Ireland, but it was of small importance. All that was obtained was from pits drained by hand labour. There was no adequate machinery to extract the valuable mineral from the bowels of the earth. But this perhaps arose from the small demand for the coal of the west of England. For there were other coal districts in the west—at Bristol and the Mendip Hills—which have only been made available for domestic comfort in recent times. The great demand for sea coal in the metropolis had the effect of improving the method of procuring it from its hidden depths, even at this unscientific period. As early as the reign of Charles II. the coal-workers of Newcastle had laid rails of timber from the colliery to the river in a straight line, and bulky carts were made with four rowlets to fit the rails, whereby the carriage was made so easy that one horse could draw four or five chaldrons, to the "immense benefit of the coal merchant." This was no unimportant advance made in the medium of the supply for the demand of the mineral at that period, but as population increased the demand increased, and as "necessity is the mother of invention," one Thomas Savery invented machinery "for raising water and occasioning motion for all sorts of mill-work by the impellent force of fire," which received encouragement by the legislature in the reign of King William, and was adopted in the Newcastle collieries. May we not see in the rude tramways of the coal workers of Newcastle and the invention of Thomas Savery, the origin of the railway, and that marvellous fire-king, the modern steam-engine?



SWANSEA CASTLE.

The ancient seat of the mining riches of England was in her western borders. The tin of Cornwall had attracted the Tyrian sails beyond the pillars of Hercules. Thither came the merchants of Tyre, to purchase the mineral of the Ancient Britons. During the Roman domination the mineral had greatly contributed to the wealth of Rome. In later ages, during the reign of that unhappy monarch of England, King John, the tin mines of Cornwall were worked by the money-getting Jews of that period. But since that time its mines had contributed very little to the prosperity of the county. In the reign of William III. it was proverbially poor. It had only a population of a hundred and twenty-six thousand, which is a proof of the non-existence of mining activity. Great privileges had been bestowed upon it by kings and ministers, but they had not conduced to its wealth. The beginning of the eighteenth century, however, gave rise to a new era in the history of the mines of Cornwall. Some Bristol adventurers had conceived that copper ore lay hidden in them, and in 1713, an engineer named Newcomen employed the first steam-engine to drain a tin-mine near Helstone, which conferred more benefits on the duchy than all the privileges which had been bestowed upon it by the crown and the legislature. From that time the Cornish mines have unfolded wealth in rich abundance. In 1758, Borlase, in his "Natural History of Cornwall," says that Cornwall and Wales yielded annually near fifteen thousand tons of copper, which he estimated to be worth a million and a half sterling, or twice as much as the annual produce of all English mines of all descriptions in the preceding century. There was no portion of our mineral wealth at this period duly prized. Rock salt had been discovered in Cheshire, in 1670, but its bed, at Nantwich, was not worked till much later. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, indeed, the manufacture was so imperfect that it was scarcely fit to be used for food. The only salt put on the tables of the rich was imported from France; and yet before the end of the eighteenth century the supply was not only equal to the immense demand for home consumption, but seven hundred millions of pounds of excellent salt were annually exported to foreign countries. At a later date—1839—it was estimated that every individual of the population of Great Britain, which amounted to about twenty-one millions, consumes twenty-two pounds of salt, which would give a consumption of four hundred and sixty-two million pounds, or eight million two hundred and fifty thousand bushels, and that in addition thirty million bushels were exported.

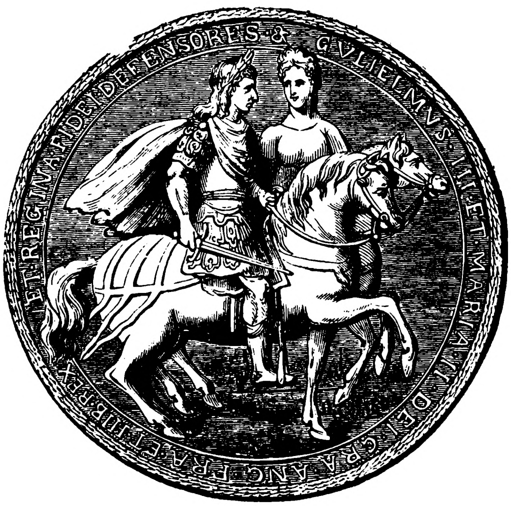
Such is a brief view of the state of our manufactures and trade, and of the mineral wealth of England during the period from the Revolution to the accession of the House of Brunswick. It was a period when the industry of England was in its infancy; a period when it was thought that it was only safe under high protective duties. And yet we see in that industry the germ of the great things which it has accomplished in later times. There were signs of a great revolution in the industry of England; of a time coming when the plough should give place to the loom, the spinning-wheel to the factory, and hand-tools to wonder-working machinery. In a word, it was a period when England was developing itself, slowly but surely, into that great manufacturing and commercial country which is now the wonder of the world.

A brief view of some of our great seaports as they were at this period will further illustrate the growing industry of England. The rapid progress of Liverpool may be dated from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was described as a rising town in the days of Charles II., and as maintaining a profitable intercourse with Ireland and the sugar colonies; but at the date of the Revolution its population scarcely exceeded four thousand, its shipping was fourteen hundred tons—less than the tonnage of a single first-class Indiaman. Liverpool had then no proper harbour and no quay, and the whole number of seamen belonging to the port did not exceed two hundred. Its trading ships then lay in the offing, boats going to and fro from the shore with their cargoes. In 1700, however, Liverpool had built a dock, the like of which was "not to be seen in any place of England, London excepted;" and in 1709 it had eighty-four ships and nine hundred sailors. In a brief period the warehouses of Liverpool became filled with tobacco and sugar from the American plantations, and its customs second only to those of Bristol, and third of those of London. Thus Liverpool went on increasing, till now its docks and quays and warehouses are barely sufficient for the gigantic trade of the Mersey. Bristol, the famous port of the west, was the birthplace of Sebastian Cabot, who went forth in 1497 to set his foot upon Newfoundland. When Pepys visited Bristol, eight years after the Restoration, he was struck by the splendour of the city; but its splendour chiefly consisted in the circumstance that he "could look around and see nothing but houses." Pepys must have had but a very low idea of what is beautiful in architecture. Macaulay writes:—"Large as Bristol might then appear, it occupied but a small portion of the area on which it now stands. A few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes, built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered these alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks, drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer." Such was the Bristol which Pepys so much admired in the days of Charles II. and at the date of the Revolution. But since the days of Sebastian Cabot, it had grown into a flourishing seaport and a luxurious city. It was renowned for its hospitality, and especially for the collations dressed in the furnace with which the Bristol sugar-refiners regaled their visitors. The luxury of the people of Bristol was supported by a thriving trade with the North American plantations, and with the West Indies. The Bristol shopkeepers aspired to the dignity of merchants. There was scarcely a small shopkeeper who had not a venture on board of some ship bound for Virginia or the Antilles. Stockings and stuffs were their chief ventures, but the passion for colonial traffic was so strong among the Bristolians, that rather than fail, they were not backward in trading in the bones and sinews of men. In the plantations there was a great demand for labour, and this demand was in part supplied by a system of crimping and kidnapping at most of the seaports, but in none so glaringly as at Bristol. Even the first magistrates of the city were not ashamed to share in this odious traffic. Many "small rogues" to escape the penalties of the law with which they were threatened by the Bristol justices, were induced to pray for transportation, and were exchanged for rum, sugar, and tobacco. Bristol, however, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, was the great emporium for the produce of America. It had flourished before the Revolution, but within a quarter of a century from that date its commerce had greatly increased. That a great impetus was given to their trade in the reign of William III. is evident, as the citizens in token of their prosperity under his rule raised a statue to his memory in Queen Square. At that period Bristol was the seat of the commerce of wool and woollen manufacturers. That commerce is now monopolized by the North, but at the present day the Avon is too narrow for the mighty vessels that steam to her quays from almost all parts of the world. There was a great contrast between the Bristol of Sebastian Cabot and the Bristol of King William, but a still greater between the Bristol of William and the Bristol of Queen Victoria. As regards London, the days had long since passed away when the ports of Boston, Lynn, and Southampton could vie with it for the extent of its commerce. It was the great mart for the trade—home, colonial, and foreign. It had but one dock, but in the days of William and Anne the pool was crowded with colliers and coal-barges, waiting to deliver their cargoes at numerous private wharves. Soon after the Revolution, it began to be a general subject of complaint that London monopolized traffic by sea and land. After the Revolution its commerce increased still more than before. The introduction of tea by the East India Company greatly contributed to the increase of its commerce. London had the lion's share of the trade of that new and important article of consumption. London also possessed the larger portion of the trade of the American plantations and the West India Islands. And so commerce and trade have gone on increasing from that time to the present, when it is impossible to form any reasonable estimate of the quantity of merchandise which is continually pouring into its magnificent docks, and the streets and lanes of the city from foreign lands, and from every part of Britain by sea and by river, canal and road. In other towns, however, besides London, Liverpool, and Bristol, there were signs of prosperity. Portsmouth was in a prosperous condition through the French war; and Dover flourished as the principal packet station from France. Plymouth erected its lighthouse in 1700, to guide the constantly increasing concourse of ships from the dangers of the approach to the Sound. At the end of the seventeenth century Plymouth was not a great naval station. It had long been the chief port for the merchandise of South Devon, as Bideford and Barnstaple had been for the merchandise of North Devon. But Plymouth had no docks and victualling yards before the reign of King William. It was that monarch who imparted the first impulse to the creation of the arsenal which was destined to rival Portsmouth by building two docks, which were commenced in the second year of his reign. It was the larger towns, however, which principally flourished on the seaboard of our island. Many of the smaller ports fell into decay. Among these were Weymouth and Lynn, which before the Revolution had carried on a flourishing trade with France, in woollen goods, and French wines and linens. This was chiefly owing to the increased tonnage of the shipping engaged in foreign trade, which was ill-fitted for small ports. The two great ports of the eastern coast, Ipswich and Harwich, fell into decay from the same cause. Rye and Winchelsea owe their decay as seaports to the receding of the sea from their coasts, and Brighthelmston to the advance of its waves, which swept away many of its buildings. Southampton, which had been fortified in the reign of Edward III., and from whence Henry V. spread his sails for the conquest of France, had been a flourishing commercial port, but it was noted at this period chiefly for its noble quay. Yet Southampton has, as it were, risen from its ashes and become a port of great importance, while other towns on the sea-coast, as Ramsgate and Margate, Folkestone and Hastings, have since the age of William and Anne sprung almost solely into existence and fame as ports or watering-places.

On a review of the whole it is clear that, notwithstanding the wars with France which followed the Revolution, there was a considerable advance made in trade and commerce from 1698 to 1714. This advance was not the result of individual enterprise solely. It was the age of companies, to which the legislature lent its potent aid. In 1708 the two East India Companies, the old and the new, were finally amalgamated, and four years later its charter was renewed. "To the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies is chiefly owing the profitable trade in tea which had now fairly commenced. In a few years it was said that all the people were anxious for, was 'wine and tea.' The American plantations had been steadily increasing in wealth and population, and by the end of the seventeenth century the trade with these dependencies and the West India Islands gave employment to five hundred ships. But some of these ships were employed in the iniquitous trade of bringing negroes from the opposite coast of Africa to work as slaves in these colonies. That trade had been till the year 1698 exclusively in the possession of the African Company, but in that year an Act was passed which practically threw the trade open to individual enterprise. All the king's subjects, whether of England or America, were permitted by that Act to trade to Africa on payment of certain dues to the company on all goods exported or imported, negroes excepted, the trade in whose bones and sinews became profitable to the separate traders although they undersold the company. During the war with the French in the first years after the Revolution our arms captured Nova Scotia; and measures were then taken by the legislature for the better security of the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had greatly interfered with for several preceding years. An Act was passed in 1698 for the encouragement of trade to Newfoundland, the preamble of which declared it to be a beneficial trade to the kingdom not only in the employment of more seamen and ships, and exporting great quantities of provisions and manufactures of the country, but in bringing into it great quantities of wine, oil, plate, iron, wool, and other commodities, to the increase of his majesty's revenue, and the encouragement of trade and navigation." Six years previously measures were taken to revive the Greenland fishery, which had fallen into decay. A company was incorporated to that end under the name of "The Company of merchants trading to Greenland," and a charter was conferred upon them giving them the exclusive possession of the trade for fourteen years. But this company failed in re-establishing the Greenland fishery, and spent their capital of nearly a hundred thousand pounds to very little purpose. Their speculation was abandoned, and in 1702 the trade was thrown open to individual enterprise by Act of Parliament; but it was many years before adventurers could be found to fit out vessels for "the catching of whales" on the coasts of Greenland. Another trade of greater importance, that with Russia, was also practically thrown open in the reign of King William. The Russian Company had been formed in 1579, since which it had been exclusive, but in 1699 an Act was passed entitling any person to admission into it on payment of a fee of five pounds. The Turkey Company, which had been formed in 1579, was at this date in a flourishing condition, as attested by a memorial drawn up in 1701 by the French council of commerce, which admitted that the English trade in the Levant was much more advantageous than their own, chiefly in consequence of the English woollen cloths being superior in quality and lower in price. Another company at this time in a flourishing condition was the Hudson's Bay Company, which was chartered in 1670 for the purpose of opening a trade for furs and minerals. This company was subsequently amalgamated with the North West Company, and thus united they carried on the trade in furs till by the discovery of gold in recent times the Hudson's Bay Company was dissolved. But perhaps the most important event affecting our foreign trade occurred in the reign of Queen Anne, when in 1703 the famous commercial arrangement with Portugal, commonly called the Methuen treaty, was signed, sealed, and delivered, by which, on condition of her majesty of

England admitting the wines of the growth of Portugal, his majesty of Portugal agreed to admit our woollen cloths on the same terms as when, about twenty years before, they were prohibited from being imported into his kingdom. It is open, however, to more than a doubt whether this treaty was based on a wise policy. It gained for England the market of Portugal for our woollens, but it excluded her from the more wealthy and extensive, and therefore more profitable market of France. It brought into England port wine, but it excluded the lighter wines of France. It made a firm and faithful ally in Portugal, but it made or perpetuated for many years an enemy in France. It bound England politically and commercially with Portugal, to the great entanglement of her political and commercial relations with France, which far outweighed all the advantages which Englishmen could derive from the juice of the grapes of Portugal, and as it created ill-blood, also, between the courts of Lisbon and Versailles, it also outweighed all the advantages which the Portuguese derived from the looms of England. The Methuen treaty was, therefore, not based upon sound commercial principles, although it was thought at the period it was entered into to have been the production of the most profound statesmanship.

Coinage.—During this period the coinage, which had become greatly debased, during the rule of the Stuarts, by clipping, was greatly improved. Attention was called to the importance of a pure coinage by several writers on this new science of political economy. Among these were Sir Dudley North, who wrote "Discourses upon Trade, principally directed to the Cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Increase of Money;" John Locke, who wrote "Considerations on the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money," and "Further Considerations on Raising the Value of Money;" and Nicholas Barbon, who wrote "A Discourse concerning Coining the New Money lighter." These several works, together with an anonymous pamphlet of some importance, were all published within the period of ten years—1691-1701, and had the effect of exciting the public attention to this important subject. In 1696, indeed, all the old silver money was called in, and there was a new coinage. Those of the reign of William and Mary, on which were the heads of their majesties in profile, were, in gold, five-pound pieces, forty-shilling pieces, guineas, and half guineas; and in silver, the usual pieces from crowns down to pennies. Similar coins were struck for Scotland, the only difference being that whereas the profiles of the king and queen in the English coins are turned to the left, in those of Scotland their profiles are turned to the right. The Irish coins of William and Mary were insignificant: merely half-pence and farthings, of copper, brass, and pewter. The gold and silver money of Anne was similar to that of her predecessors, with the exception that she coined a few half-pence and farthings, and that the coins of Scotland after the Union had the arms of the two countries "impaled in the first and second shields, France in the sinister, and Ireland in the dexter, according to the rotation." For some time after the Union, silver money was coined at Edinburgh, which was distinguished only by that issued from the mint in London by having an E for Edinburgh under the head of the queen.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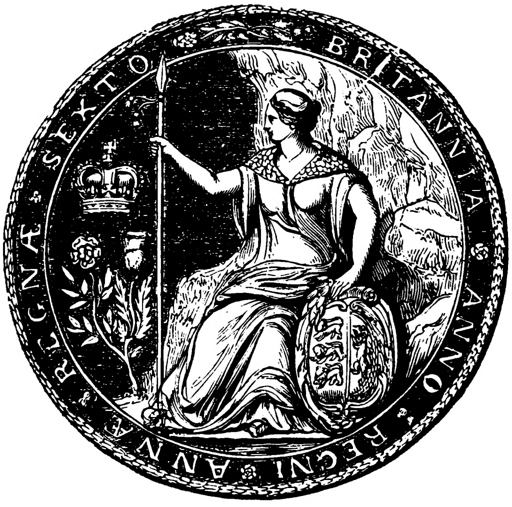
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CHAPTER VI.

History of Manners and Customs, etc., from A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

Social life, and general features of society.— THE manners and customs of English life are among the most interesting portions of our national history. At this period they underwent many remarkable changes. The political spirit which now pervaded all ranks of society gave rise to various new habits of life, and extensively influenced the domestic usages of the times. To what extent that spirit was displayed may be seen in a passage from the "Freeholder," written by Addison. He remarks:—"Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the people of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal as the late constant application of the press to the publishing of state matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For it seems that the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London and Westminster, and deal out such news of their own printing as is best suited to the genius of the market people and the taste of the county." State affairs were the all-absorbing topics of the day. They were not only discussed in parliament, and descanted upon by the press, but they formed themes for the pulpit, the theatre, the coffee-house, the domestic hearth, and the very street merriments of the people. Even Punch abandoned his domestic brawls and became a politician; at one time acting the Tory, and at another the Whig, according to the good pleasure of his employer and the tastes of the audience. This "political humour" of the people will be further illustrated in a general description of society as it existed at this period.

The French ambassador, Tallart, while at the court of King William, thus refers to metropolitan social life. "Nothing is so different from the manners of former times as is the present style of living among the noblemen. They have no intercourse one with another after they quit the House; most of them go to dine at some tavern, and afterwards they repair to places called coffee-houses, where everybody goes without distinction. Of these there is an infinite number in London, and there they remain till they return home." Places for public resort and discussion on political matters abounded in the shape of club-houses, chocolate-houses, and coffee-houses. London was now become the great resort of the nobility and many of the country squires. Hampden, a descendant of the patriot of that name, writes in 1692:—"Heretofore the gentry and nobility of England lived altogether in the country, where they continually spent the product of the land. Now they all flock to London, where their way of living is quite different from that used heretofore; and they do not expend in proportion the third part of things of our product to what they did when they lived among our neighbours." According to Hampden, only yeomen and the smaller country gentlemen were, generally speaking, the constant residents in the country; and that even some of them, painful and tedious as travelling was in those days, frequently craved for a journey to London. Arrived in the metropolis, the country gentlemen freely mixed in its pleasures and yielded to its temptations. The pages of the dramatists and essayists present many pictures of the country gentlemen in London, which, though they may be somewhat overwrought, are nevertheless copies from the life. From their pages we learn that the squire was too often in the tavern drinking punch, discussing politics, and, what was still worse, playing at hazard with sharpers, who rarely failed in sending him home penniless. The wits and the quality and the sharper were ever ready to give a hearty welcome to the country stranger in London.

It would appear, however, that these country esquires were chiefly those who had just become possessed of their estates; many of them being attracted to London by gallants from the metropolis, who carried their follies and fopperies into the quiet haunts of the country, to "astonish the natives." The old squires of the day were not so easily betrayed to their ruin. The fine portrait of Sir Roger De Coverley in the "Spectator" is not wholly imaginary. If it was painted partly to the life as "Mr. Spectator" desired to exist, there was undoubtedly a real sitter to the portrait. A brief description will well illustrate the manners of a sober country gentleman of this period in rural and town life.

Sir Roger, we are told, was a gentleman of Worcestershire of ancient descent. He was a gentleman very singular in his behaviour, but his singularities proceeded from his good sense, and were contradictions to the manners of the world only as he thought they were wrong. His town house was in Soho Square, then the most genteel part of London, and he kept a good house both in town and country. In his younger days he had been a fine gentleman, and had "often supped with Lord Rochester and others of the nobility." He was a bachelor, and at the time the Spectator portrays him he was fifty-six years of age; a great lover of mankind, with a mirthful cast in his behaviour that made him beloved by all around him. A good landlord, his tenants grew rich under him; a good master, his servants were ever ready to obey him. The Spectator visited him in Worcestershire, where he discovered many noble traits in his character. His valet-de-chambre was treated as a brother; his butler was grey-headed; his groom one of the gravest men the Spectator had ever seen; and his coachman had the look of a privy-councillor. His chaplain had been with him for thirty years, and Sir Roger had chosen him for his good sense rather than his learning, and for his clear voice, amiable temper, and skill at backgammon. Mr. Spectator went with Sir Roger to church; the interior of which was adorned with texts in various parts chosen by the baronet, and where he found that he had provided the congregation with hassocks and prayer-books, to induce them to kneel and join in the responses. As to his hospitality, the good old customs were kept by him in their fullest integrity. He often thought, he said, that it was well Christmas fell in mid-winter. It was a time when the poor would suffer much from poverty and cold, if they had not good cheer, warm fires, and Christmas gambols to support them. He loved to rejoice their hearts at that season, and to see the whole village merry in his hall. He allowed a double quantity of malt to his small beer, and set it a running for twelve days; and he had always cold beef and mince pies on his table, and was pleased to see his tenants pass whole evenings in playing their innocent tricks and amusing one another.

Such was the country life of this fine old English gentleman. Now let us see how he acts in London. In his younger days, when he first appeared in town, he fought a duel, and kicked "bully Dawson," who was a sharper, in a public coffee-house, for calling him a youngster; but he is no longer disposed to fight a duel or kick a sharper. Still he was no misanthrope. He loved to mingle in society, and to see what could be seen in London. Sir Roger had a wish to go to the theatre. He had not been there for twenty long years. The last time he went he saw a good Church of England comedy, called "The Committee," and he now wanted to witness the tragedy of "The Distressed Mother." But there was danger in the way. The Mohawks—of whom we shall presently give an account—were abroad at night in the streets of London. Dangerous fellows were these Mohawks, and Sir Roger took the precaution to provide himself with a body-guard before he ventured on his perilous night journey through the streets of London. A friend, Captain Senfry, armed with a sword he had used in the battle of Steinkirk, was his chief protector; but all his servants, who rode before and behind him, provided themselves with good oaken flails for his protection. He next visits Vauxhall, then called Spring Garden. He is rowed thither up the Thames from Temple Stairs. A crowd of watermen offered him their services, but having looked about him attentively, he spied one with a wooden leg, to whom he immediately gave orders to get his boat ready. He never made use of anybody to row him, he said, that had not either lost a leg or an arm. He would rather bate him a few strokes of his oar than not employ an honest man that had been wounded in the king's service. Like every true Englishman, the knight had many honest prejudices. On his way to Vauxhall, "in the triumph of his heart he made several reflections on the greatness of the British nation; such as, that one Englishman could beat three Frenchmen; that we could never be in danger of popery so long as we took care of our fleet; that the Thames was the noblest river in Europe; and that London Bridge was a greater piece of work than any of the seven wonders of the world."

As a rule, rivals in politics, as at the present day, had their respective places of resort. The Whigs frequented St. James's, and the Tories the Cocoa Tree. These were among the most noted places of resort, but there were others of the same character. The club life of London forms the leading features of the celebrated papers of the "Spectator" and the "Tatler." It is from club-houses—imaginary or real—that most of these papers are dated. If they were imaginary they had a broad foundation in reality. The great object of the essayist was to delineate the manners of the times, and from no other source can we gather such valuable information as from their pages. No doubt their delineations are highly coloured, but there can also be no doubt that they are true pictures of society; we transfer, therefore, a few of these pictures to our columns.

In one of the papers of the "Tatler" a certain potentate is represented as sitting in a coffee-house near the Exchange, without a canopy, from twelve to two daily. He was a character of the day. He gave audiences, "concerning commerce, politics, tare and tret, usury and abatement, with all things necessary for helping the distressed who are willing to give one limb for the better maintenance of the rest; or such joyous youths whose philosophy is confined to the present hour, and were desirous to call in the revenue of the next half year to double the amount of this." There is humour in this description of Aurengzebe, but he had an existence. Zealots fell "universally into his politics, and paid homage to his superior genius, in forfeiting their coffers to his treasury." He was a fellow who lived on his wits, and by trading in politics. Politics were the chief topic of the coffee and club-houses. To enable their customers to settle the affairs of state, the keepers of these favourite places of resort provided them with the newspapers of the day, both English and foreign, as well as the newest political pamphlets. It was for such places that tradesmen forsook their shops, and merchants their warehouses, to take care of the state, and to harangue upon the mismanagement of statesmen while their own affairs went to ruin. The club-houses were often literally besieged with bailiffs, who, after these politicians had satisfactorily disposed of the debts of the nation, walked them off to a sponging-house for want of cash to pay their own!

The ruin which the love of the club-house and politics often brought upon tradesmen is humorously illustrated by Mr. Bickerstaff in the "Tatler," in the case of an upholsterer, the original of whom is said to have been a Mr. Arne, in Covent Garden, and the father of Dr. Thomas Arne, an eminent musician and dramatic writer, who died in the reign of George III. This man, says Mr. Bickerstaff, was a very grave person, and seemed to be of more than ordinary application to business. He was an early riser, and was often abroad two or three hours before any of his neighbours. There was a knitting of the brows, and a kind of impatience in his motions, indicating that he was always intent upon matters of importance. Upon inquiry, however, Mr. Bickerstaff found that the business he was intent upon was not his own. He was the greatest newsmonger in that quarter of London. He rose early to read the "Postman," and to go to the other end of the town to see if any Dutch mails had arrived. He had a wife and several children, but was more desirous of knowing what passed in Poland than in his own family, and was more anxious for the welfare of King Augustus than that of his nearest relations.

This poor and shabby upholsterer was a type of a large class who "deposed princes, settled the bounds of kingdoms, and balanced the powers of Europe." The haberdasher of the "Spectator" is of the same genus. He is represented as holding a levee at the coffee-house of more undissembled friends and admirers than most of the courtiers and generals of Great Britain. Every man about him had a newspaper in his hand, but not one could pretend to guess what step would be taken in any court of Europe till Mr. Beaver had laid down his pipe and unfolded the measures "which the allies must enter into upon this new posture of affairs." These were the club oracles of the humbler assemblies of the people. Steele has given us an insight into the manners and characters of those who frequented the clubs for the people of quality. He describes the conversation of the club at the Trumpet in Shire Lane as a kind of preparation for sleep. He passed many hours there with "heavy honest men," with more indolence than pleasure. The Trumpet club originally consisted of fifteen members, but partly by the severity of the law in abitrary times, and partly by the natural effects of old age, it had been reduced to a third part of that number. Sir Geoffrey Notch was the oldest member of the club, and had been in possession of the right-hand chair time out of mind. He was the only man that had the liberty of stirring the fire. He was a gentleman of an ancient family, and had come into possession of a great estate before he had discretion. He had lost it, but he still talked of his hounds and horses, and cock-fighting. He looked upon himself as a worthy, honest man, who had met with misfortunes in the world, and called every thriving man a pitiful upstart. Major Matchlock had served in the last civil wars, and had all the battles by heart. It was his opinion that there was no action in Europe worth talking about since the fight of Marston Moor. "Honest old Dick Reptile" was a good-natured indolent man, who talked but little, but laughed heartily at jokes. He brought his nephew with him to show him good company, and to give him a taste of the world. Such were some of the representatives of social life in the reign of Queen Anne.

Among the more fashionable classes the spirit of gallantry prevailed over that of politics. "The Augustan age of literature," as it is called, was also the "age of gallantry." The "ladies' man" of this period was a sort of *lusus naturæ*. His class, now happily extinct, was very numerous. He was a shallow-pated being, who, "not professing learning, was not ashamed of ignorance." The "temporal lords" of the day did not train their children to discharge the high functions to which they were born. Dancing, fencing, and riding were their chief accomplishments. There were a few "literary beaux," as they were called, but even they possessed little more knowledge than what they derived from "miscellany poems," a few comedies, and Ovid's epistles translated into English. But what the fashionable beaux of the day lacked in the interior, they endeavoured to make up in a ridiculously showy exterior, and an appearance of state. They received visits in bed from ten to twelve o'clock, their periwigs, superbly powdered, lying beside them, and their dressing-tables sprinkled with a few volumes of love poetry, a canister or two of Lisbon or Spanish snuff, a smelling-bottle, and sundry trinkets. Having at length risen from his bed, the beau had to perform the weighty business of the toilet. He perfumed his clothes, soaked his hands in washes to make them white and delicate; tinged his cheeks with carminative; powdered his linen, to banish the smell of soap; and dipped his handkerchief in rosewater. The tying of his cravat, and the proper cock of his hat, were matters of the highest importance. This done, he surveyed himself in the glass, studied attitude, practised smiles so as best to show his white teeth, and then dined. His dinner was served at three o'clock, and at four his chair was brought, and he repaired to some coffee or chocolate-house to display his wit and his gallantry. Having displayed himself at the coffee or chocolate-house, he was conveyed in his chair to the theatre. But the theatres were not to his taste. It was vulgar to attend the play. He only went to show what a superior being he was to the rest of mankind, and then retired to the parks. Here was the beau's proper sphere. He buzzed and fluttered about among the ladies like a gay butterfly as he was; chattering to this one and that one his impertinences, for which he was rewarded with a rap on his shoulders from their fans, and an intimation that he was a "dear tormenting devil," or "mad fellow," or some other such choice epithets with which the vocabulary of the ladies abounded. Such were the fashionable beaux of the period. There were others of a lower grade; such as he who wore "a cane dangling at his button, his breast open, no gloves, one eye tucked under his hat, and a toothpick;" and he whom Congreve describes as "a pretender wearing the habit of a soldier," and whose class is had in remembrance as "bully beaux." These latter, who had their admirers among the more masculine ladies, were men who frequented the Tiltyard coffee-house, that they might be considered as belonging to the military class; men who pulled the noses of citizens who wore no swords at the theatres with impunity, and who sometimes courageously broke the heads of "tavern-drawers" and "box-keepers." Many of these had lost their estates, and lived by gaming and swindling, and some of them were not nice about taking a purse on the road.

Now let us turn to the fair sex of this age. And what an unlovely picture do they present! They were the keenest and noisiest of politicians. It was the custom of ladies to receive visitors in their bedrooms, and that custom was very frequently made available for party political purposes. The second daughter of the duke of Marlborough was called "the little Whig;" and when it was desired to secure the votes of certain gentlemen of the Tory party, she received them at her toilet, and conversed with them whilst sporting with her fair tresses, under pretence of dressing them, until the visitor was caught in their magic snares, and paid the price of his vote to escape from them. Many a politician could justly adopt the words of Pope in the "Rape of the Lock:"—

> "And beauty draws us with a single hair."

Addison, in one of his papers in the "Spectator," gives a pretty picture descriptive of ladies receiving visitors in bed. "It is a very odd sight that beautiful creature makes when she is talking politics, with her tresses flowing about her shoulders, and examining that face in the glass which does such execution upon all the rude standers-by. How prettily does she divide her discourse between her women and her visitants. What sprightly transitions does she make from an opera or a sermon to an ivory comb or a pincushion. How have we been pleased to see her interrupted in an account of her travels by a message to her footman, and holding her tongue, in the midst of a moral reflection, by applying the tip of it to a patch." These politicians in hooped petticoats filled many a household with the strife of party. They were so earnest in contending for hereditary rights that they wholly neglected the education of their own sons and heirs; and were so taken up with their zeal for the church, that they could not find time to teach their children the catechism. Such is the testimony of Addison, who in another paper says,—"As our English ladies are at present the greatest stateswomen in Europe, they will be in danger of making themselves the most unamiable part of their sex, if they continue to give a loose to intemperate language, and to a low kind of ribaldry which is not used among the women of fashion in any other country." So zealous were the ladies in politics, that they set a mark upon their faces to proclaim to what party they belonged—the fair Tories being "obliged by their principles to stick a patch on the most unbecoming side of their foreheads."

Much of this disposition to engage in party conflicts must be ascribed to the lack of intellectual occupations. The education of a lady of fashion at this period was of the most superficial character. It was chiefly confined to those flimsy external accomplishments that were best calculated to attract the notice of unintellectual coxcombs. And even those accomplishments were of small amount, being simply a little music, some skill in dancing, and just sufficient arithmetic to enable them to play at cards. "Most of the misfortunes in families," writes Steele, "arises from the trifling way the women have in spending their time, and gratifying only their eyes and their ears, instead of their reason and understanding." This doubtless arose from their meagre education. It was thought sufficient if a lady of fashion could barely read and write, and if it did so happen that she could write a letter without violating the laws of orthography, she passed for a wit. The great business of her young life was to show off her personal attractions so as to obtain a good marriage. Swift finely illustrates the subject of the education of this period. In a paper on "The Education of Ladies," he says :—"There is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with in mixed and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men—whether it be prudent to choose a wife who has good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, able to read and relish history, books of travels, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties of poetry? This question is generally determined in the negative by women themselves, but almost universally by we men." It was the age of runaway matches; and despite the canons, the reverend divines incarcerated in the Fleet for debt united numbers within its liberties for "better or worse, for richer or poorer," and very frequently for the sadder alternatives. But even when these young ladies married—either with or without their parents' or guardians' approval—without a blight on their future lives as regards position and wealth, the effects of their education bore bitter fruits. As a rule, domestic accomplishments were unknown. Scarcely one house in a thousand contained a harpsichord—that cumbrous box of wires which was the musical instrument of the age—and of the arts of design the English ladies had no conception. Hence it was that the greater number of them spent their hours in an indolent state of mind and body, without either recreations or reflections. Hence it was that, as the "Tatler" testifies, they often resorted to stimulants. How a lady of fashion spent the day in the reign of Queen Anne is thus graphically described by Colley Cibber. "A married woman," he says, "may have men at her toilet; invite them to dinner; appoint them a party in a stage box at the play; engross the conversation there; call them by their Christian names; talk louder than the players; from thence jaunt into the city; take a frolicsome supper at an Indian house; perhaps, in her *gaieté de cœur*, toast a pretty fellow. Then clatter again to the west end of the town; break with the morning into an assembly; crowd to the hazard table; throw a familiar levant upon some sharp lurching man of quality, and if he demands his money, turn it off with a loud laugh, and cry you'll owe it him." Gambling was the female vice of the age, and a bankrupt female gamester not unfrequently compounded with her creditor at the expense of her honour and domestic happiness. The newspapers of the day abound with advertisements of faithless wives, who having fled from their homes, shopkeepers are warned against giving them credit; and if we are to believe the dramatists of the day, mothers were careless of their children, sisters plotted against each other, daughters were undutiful, and wives adulteresses.

It was the aim of the essayists in their gentle satire to correct the manners of the times. They laughed at the prevailing follies, and censured the vices of both sexes only to improve their morals. But they were engaged in a task not easy of accomplishment. Folly and vice were not to be banished by flourishes of the pen. The heart of society was corrupt to the core. At the same time there is reason to believe that their mild censorship had some effect even in this age, and it is certain that it bore good fruit in an after period. But the moralists themselves, according to their own showing, were not immaculate. They denounced drunkenness, which was the common vice of young gentlemen, especially of those who were not of the first breeding, and yet they themselves sometimes indulged in too copious libations. Swift says: "I dined with Mr. Addison and Dick Stuart, Lord Mountjoy's brother. They were half fuddled, but not I, for I mixed water with my wine, and left them together between nine and ten." The dinner hour at this period was three o'clock, so that Addison, who gave the treat, did not spare his wine if

Swift sat till between nine and ten, and he and Dick Stuart prolonged the hours over the wine-cup. On another occasion Swift says that he dined with Lord Montrath and others, and sat looking over them at ombre, till eleven o'clock, like a fool. Steele's account of sitting down to a dinner at a friend's who was an admirer of French cookery is both amusing and instructive. He did not know of what dish to partake. He saw something which he took to be a roasted porcupine, but found it was only a larded turkey; his eye passed over several hashes, but finding they were delicacies he did not meddle with them; he saw something like a pheasant, and desired a wing of it, but was told it was a rabbit, a sort of meat he did not care for; and he begged to be helped to a slice of a pig at the lower end of the table, but finding that it had been whipped to death, he could not eat of an animal that had died so tragical a death. At last he saw a sirloin of beef on a side table, smoking in a delicious manner, and dined off it sumptuously. He had recourse to it more than once, and felt indignant that "the roast beef of old England" should be banished in so ignominious a manner to make way for French kickshaws.

The manners of servants of the period were counterparts of those of their masters. While gentlemen were gambling in the gaming-houses, they played cards on the stairs; and while their masters were sipping their wine in the dining-room of the tavern, their lackeys were tippling at the bar. According to the "Spectator," the whole tribe of servants were great scandal-mongers. Whenever and wherever they met, it was their custom to relate all that was said or done in their respective establishments, by which means the privacy and peace of every family were given to the winds. Sometimes there was "high life below stairs" among them, in which they assumed the names and titles of their masters, and made free with their choicest viands and wines; and some of the more upstart lackeys would at every favourable opportunity deck themselves out in their masters' finery, and betake themselves to the theatre or ball-room in quest of lordly intrigues. The essayists attribute the origin of these, with other excesses of a still more flagrant nature, to the practice of keeping servants on board wages. Their excesses were a marked feature of the times. At the theatres they were most unruly and arrogant. They were the favoured auditory of places of amusement. While waiting for their masters or mistresses, they had seats in the gallery free; and as they were a numerous body, they frequently assumed to themselves the right of becoming censors of both the play and the actors. The "Spectator" represents one of these dramatic censors as thus boasting of his assumed prerogative:—"I am he that keeps time with beating my cudgel against the boards in the gallery at an opera; I am he that am touched so properly at a tragedy, when the people of quality are staring at one another during the most important incidents. When you hear in a crowd a cry in the right place, a hum when a point is touched in a speech, or a huzza set up where it is the voice of the people, you may conclude it is begun or joined by Thomas Trusty." The license which these lackey critics assumed to themselves at the opera became so intolerably overbearing, that, as will be shown in a future chapter, their gallery was closed.

In a previous page mention has been made of a dangerous body of men existing in London called the Mohawks. These may be placed at the head of the various eccentric characters which the unsettled state and loose manners of society had at this time let loose to disturb its peace. Turbulent fellows were these Mohawks. It is no wonder that Sir Roger de Coverley engaged a body-guard when he wanted to go to the theatre, to protect him from their outrages. Three lusty black men had followed him half way up Fleet Street the night before, and to be forewarned is to be forearmed. The Mohawks were a class to be dreaded and avoided. They had a president over them, whom they called "emperor." Their one object was mischief. Every species of detestable outrage they could think of was committed by them on the persons of those who fell into their hands during the night in the streets of London. Having first drank themselves into a kind of frenzy, they sallied out, sword in hand, in search of victims. Watchmen were the especial objects of their wanton attacks—exploits which involved but little risk, as the guardians of the night, though armed with heavy poles, were generally weak, broken-down old men, who could offer but a feeble resistance. But they were not at all particular as to who they attacked, provided they were satisfied they could do so with impunity. In their operations they aimed at mingling originality and wit with their mischief. Some indulged in the sport of putting women into a barrel, and then rolling them down a steep part of Snow Hill. Some of them, still more cruel, "tipped the lion;" that is, they squeezed the noses of their victims flat and gouged out their eyes with their fingers. Other Mohawks were called dancing-masters. These were fellows who would give chase to some person before them, raising a regular view halloo and shouting "a sweat, a sweat." When they had overtaken their victim they formed a circle about him, with their swords drawn, points upwards. It was now their sport commenced. Some one behind pricked him in the legs or elsewhere, and when he turned round to avert the attack, others in the circle repeated the attack in the same fashion; and so he was kept wheeling round and round until they chose to have compassion on him, and he was dismissed as being sufficiently "sweated." What was sport to them was torment to their victims. Swift says that when he was in London he was frequently in danger of being maimed or even murdered by these villanous Mohawks.

Life at this period seems to have been held cheaply. There was a rage for duelling in society. Political rivals often settled their disputes at the point of the sword. Affairs of love formed a still more frequent ground of quarrel. Rivals in love slew one another to obtain the object of their affections. It was considered as the highest proof of a lady's charms if two gentlemen fought to obtain her hand. Very frequently gentlemen would quarrel over their wine-cups, or at the places of amusement, and would repair to some quiet part of the metropolis, and cross swords under the glimmering of a lamp. Sometimes the seconds joined battle as well as the principals.

The law was very mild on the subject of duelling. Hence it was that trifles light as air would sometimes lead to a fatal quarrel. An instance of this occurred in 1699. Conway Seymour, the son of Sir Edward Seymour, had lately come of age, and to the possession of an independent fortune of seven thousand pounds a year. Conway was one of the most noted fops of the day. The town had nicknamed him "Beau Seymour." One evening in the summer he was displaying his curls and embroidery in St. James's Park, after having indulged too freely in wine, when a young officer of the Blues, named Kirke, who was also flushed with wine, remarked in his hearing, "There goes Beau Seymour." This was an offence Seymour could not pass over. There was a quarrel, and then a duel between them in the precincts of the court of Westminster, in which Seymour was wounded in the neck. The wound was not in itself mortal, but before his cure was half completed the foolish youth so revelled in fruit, ice, and Burgundy, that he was thrown into a violent fever, of which he died. On his death-bed he saw his antagonist, and coxcomb and voluptuary as he was, he declared that he forgave Kirke, as he hoped to be forgiven. But Sir Edward Seymour, his father, was not so forgiving. He declared that he would have life for life. There can be no doubt that according to law Kirke was guilty of the sin of murder, but the law had never been enforced against duellists. Aware of this, Sir Edward magnified the affair, which was of common occurrence, into an attack on the liberties of the nation, and an attempt to introduce military tyranny. Kirke was tried, and found guilty only of manslaughter. An attempt was made to obtain a writ of appeal—the appeal of murder, which was an absurd and odious proceeding known to our old law—but it failed. Sir Edward was disappointed of his revenge, but he made political capital out of the death of his son, by constant invectives in public and private against military tyranny.

There was another class of brawlers at this period more cowardly than the duellist; men whose aim was to provoke broils under cover of the night, that they might indulge their thirst for blood.

In this age of loose morality and deadly quarrels among "gentlemen," there was one class which Bishop Burnet, writing in 1708, says were the best body in the nation; a body which he describes as "generous, sober, and charitable." And who were the men who belonged to that class? It was the men of trade and business. The bishop describes the inhabitants of cities as possessing more knowledge, more zeal, more charity, and more devotion than the people in the country. But Burnet qualifies his praise of this class by acknowledging that in London they exhibited "too much vanity" and "too pompous an exterior." Of this there is abundant evidence. There were merchants and traders at this period who could from their great wealth vie with the noblest of the land in splendour and magnificence, but they were not numerous. The general income of this class of society was two hundred, or at the most four hundred a year; and yet we find that Carshalton and other parts of Surrey were crowded with fine houses, built at a great expense, in which "traders lived deliciously all the summer, retiring within themselves in the winter to lay up for the next summer's expense." So says Defoe; but it does not appear that every one practised frugality in the winter in order to have their fill of pleasure in the summer. According to the "Tatler," many of the tradesmen of the city "put off the smooth, even, and ancient decorum of thriving citizens, for a fantastical dress and figure improper for their persons and characters." Some of them kept footmen as well as gentlemen, dressing them in "cloth of blue," which was called the tradesman's livery; and kept three or four maid-servants, when formerly two were thought sufficient. Their tables, also, are described as "emblems not of plenty, but of luxury." But while tradesmen and shopkeepers thus lived in style, it does not follow that their expenditure always exceeded their incomes. While their mode of living might be attributed to vanity and pomposity, it might also arise from prosperity and an improved condition in society. "The best body in the nation," who were "generous, sober, and charitable," had a right to enjoy the fruits of their labours. But, as Burnet admits, they were only generally speaking "the best body," and especially in London. There, while some displayed "too much vanity, with too pompous an exterior," there was a numerous class of traders who were not over nice in the means they adopted to obtain wealth.

The age of companies commenced very soon after the Revolution. Many were the schemes projected for making men suddenly rich, or rather for picking their pockets. The management of these companies is thus indicated: "We are so fond of companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the very expense of our blackguards." The public were willing victims to those who trafficked on human credulity. The spirit of gaming prevailed among all classes. By a statute of 1698, lotteries, by which money had for "divers years last past" been obtained "from unwary persons" by men evil disposed, were declared public nuisances, but they still went on increasing in numbers. The newspapers of 1710 abound in advertisements of lotteries under the more legitimate name of "sales." But at length lotteries were suppressed by Act of Parliament, much to the chagrin of the fraudulent dealers. The tradesmen of London had become so numerous that there was great competition among them. To dispose of their goods, or, in other words, to "draw custom," many of them resorted to the trickeries of puffing advertisements. Others, scorning a direct advertisement of their commodities, would draw attention to their shops by advertising that they were not going to leave off business, as had been reported, but still sold their articles at the lowest prices; or by a still more ingenious plan, of making it publicly known that purses containing gold or bank notes had been dropped in their shops, and would be returned to the proper owners on a description of their contents. The chief attraction and best advertisements of shops, however, were their painted and gilded sign-boards, projecting from their doors far into the street, on which were emblazoned either some strange animals, such as blue boars, and hogs in armour, or some other strange devices; or, as they have been termed, "skimble skamble stuff."

Tradesmen were not the only class who puffed their wares at this period. Medical quacks were still more unblushing in their advertisements, and in the means they adopted to dispose of their nostrums. And they succeeded to a marvel. Some of them enjoyed such extensive practice, that they were enabled to parade about the country in a style of almost unequalled grandeur. One fellow named Smith, who "cured every human disease," and sold his packets for sixpence, made his circuits in the country in a coach drawn by six horses, followed by a calash and a *chasse-marée*, each drawn by four horses, and attended by four footmen in blue and four in yellow liveries, and a lady who danced on the tight-rope for the amusement of his dupes. His footmen, also, were employed more for use than show; those dressed in yellow being his tumblers and trumpeters, and those in blue his merry-andrew, apothecaries, and speech-maker. The "Tatler" records that the foot of these charlatans' stages was often covered with medals, patents, and certificates, purporting to have been received from all the potentates in the world in testimony of the virtue of their medicines. Quack advertisements might be seen in almost every street and lane of London, in which every trick was adopted to dispose of healing specifics. There was no disease incident to the human frame which these empirics did not profess to cure as by magic. Nor were even respectable chemists and druggists a whit behind the strolling quacks in imposing upon the credulity of the people. They advertised angelic snuff, which cured all diseases of the head, together with deafness, meagrim, palsy, apoplexy, and gout; royal snuff, possessing the same virtues; medicines which cured "the vapour of ladies" by one application, never to return; other medicines, which renovated weak memories and banished hypochondria; and lotions to be applied outwardly, which would remove all blemishes from the skin, transform the homeliest face into the likeness of an angel; and even restore "scandalous old wigs," and wigs dishevelled by the wind, by one night's application, to the crisp and curled condition in which they came from the dainty fingers of the perruquier.

The national character of this period was a fruitful soil for credulity and superstition. These flourished as vigorously as in the Middle Ages. It is commonly imagined that the belief in witchcraft at this time was confined to the lower classes of the community. But this is not correct. The half-educated gentry were as superstitious as the ignorant peasantry. It would seem that it only required a woman to be old and ugly to be reputed a witch, for every parish was supposed to contain such a torment. There was, also, a general belief in ghosts; almost every old mansion in England being held to be haunted. As for fortune-telling, that was a most thriving occupation, especially in London. Rich and poor were customers of the seer and the sibyl. Matters of the heart were the chief stock-in-trade of the fortune-tellers; but when goods were lost the cunning man was often resorted to, in the hope that he would by his magic arts point out the robbers. There was no class of men, not even the wise and the learned, who were wholly free from this unintellectual thraldom. Addison, though somewhat sceptical, confessed that when he considered the question as to whether there were witches in the world, his mind was divided between two opposite opinions; Steele busied himself in seeking after the grand magisterium; and the learned Whiston gave way to the prevailing credulity.

While witches tormented their neighbours, and seers and sibyls thrived on the credulity of the people, there were others in town and country who lived upon plunder. London had no effective police; and pickpockets and ring-droppers carried on a lucrative trade with impunity. Robberies were common in every great thoroughfare. It was dangerous to walk abroad at night, for the few lamps there were, only served to make darkness visible. The year 1792 was especially a season of alarm and outrage. The failure of the harvest that year, from an unusually wet summer, produced great distress. No fruit ripened, and the price of a quarter of wheat doubled. The labourer had to husband his coarse barley bread, and families of rank had to retrench. Punch took the place of claret on hospitable tables. The distress which prevailed was the fruitful parent of crime. In several counties mobs attacked the granaries, to supply themselves with food. During the autumn and winter London was kept in constant terror by housebreakers. There was scarcely a parish from Bow to Hyde Park, and from Thames Street to Bloomsbury, in which some mansion or quiet dwelling was not sacked by burglars. The cunning man had plenty of work on his hands to find out the thieves, if he sought after them. Meanwhile the great roads leading to the metropolis were rendered almost impassable by freebooters. Troops of them scoured the country. There was one sworn fraternity of twenty footpads which sallied forth nightly from an alehouse at Southwark; and another of twenty-two horsemen well mounted, which carried on their business in more distant parts, chiefly among travellers. Travelling was then a wearisome task. A journey of fifty miles through the wealthiest and most populous counties was as dangerous as a pilgrimage across the deserts of Arabia. The roads were wretched. They were passable in summer, but in winter almost impassable. In the reign of Queen Anne, although some attention was given to road-making, persons travelling from the remote parts of Sussex to London had to make a detour of thirty or forty miles, to secure a road over which vehicles could travel. In such a state of things the mounted freebooters above mentioned ran no risk of being captured. Great prizes were often made by them. The Oxford stage-coach was pillaged in broad day; and the Portsmouth mail was robbed twice in one week. A waggon, also, with fifteen thousand pounds of public money was ransacked of its treasure; and the duke of Marlborough was waylaid near Saint Albans, and compelled to hand over five thousand guineas to his assailants. Scarcely any part of the country was free from mounted banditti. Fifteen butchers, going to market to buy beasts at Thame in Oxfordshire, had to deliver up their money-bags; and some Essex squires, while hunting a hare, on a sudden found themselves chased, and being overtaken, had to empty their pockets to save their lives.

Having been thus led into the country, it may be interesting to take a brief glance at country life and manners. The peasantry of this period were divided into two classes; squatters, who lived upon the edges of commons in hovels of their own erection; and the more respectable agricultural labourer, who earned his living by the sweat of his brow. The squatters were a class whom no man regarded. The farmer regarded them as vagrants, and the parson as outcasts. They were too lazy to work and too ragged to go to church. The real peasant of the reigns of William and Anne was in a better condition. It is true he worked hard and fared badly, but he was a man and a recognized member of the community. He never ate wheaten bread, tasted fresh meat but rarely, wore woollen clothing, and lived in a thatched cottage with one chimney, having no glazed windows; but still he was a man. His furniture consisted only of a bench, a plank on trussels, an iron pot, and a few brown basins; but still he was a man. He was ignorant, and had no prospect of bettering his condition through education; his children were ragged about him, and growing up as ignorant as himself; and he sometimes indulged in the habit of poaching, which he did not think was a very great crime; but still he was emphatically a man. The pauperism of a century had not lowered him in his own estimation. He was a faithful servant to his master, working early and late with cheerfulness, for five shillings a week, which was the price of his labours. And that he was happy in that state of life in which it had pleased God to call him, and from which he does not appear to have been desirous of emancipating himself, is evident.

But there was another class of countrymen far more independent than the agricultural labourer. These were the farmers and smaller freeholders: men sprung from the loins of those who by their dauntless courage obtained their emancipation from serfdom in olden times, and whose love of independence had been transmitted from age to age to their sturdy descendants. It was this race of men who rallied round Hampden in his resistance to ship-money, and who formed the main body of Cromwell's famous Ironsides. Among the farmers and smaller freeholders there was a never-dying hatred of popery and arbitrary power. There was a stern patriotism among them, which neither artifice nor power could root out. They held opinions of their own, and maintained them. They curled the lip of scorn at the doctrine of divine right, and were ever ready to stand up for liberty of conscience. And yet they were scarcely raised above the level of husbandmen who worked for wages. They possessed greater comforts of life, but they were not wealthy. They tilled the soil as their forefathers had done, and attended markets and fairs to dispose of their produce. In their households they displayed great hospitality; even their house servants took their meals at the same table in their great kitchens. Rising above these were those whom the "Spectator" describes as "freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes amounted to about ninety pounds a year for each family; and over him in the scale of society was the yeoman, who possessed a clear hundred a year, and who was "just within the Game Act," being privileged to shoot over his own land, and kill a hare or a pheasant. The "Spectator" describes the yeoman of the day as a "sensible man," who could "shoot flying," and who was sometimes "foreman of a petty jury." In all these we see a distinct separation of classes—not so marked as in the feudal times, but still sufficiently marked as to exhibit different grades in society. But it was in their worships the squires that this is more distinctly seen. They were shadows of the Norman barons. Their pride in their genealogy kept them at an immeasurable distance from all below them. Even the most impoverished among them held his head high above the richest yeoman. As a body, however, they had nothing to be proud of beyond their birth and their wealth. They were not all Roger de Coverleys. The profligacy which had existed among them during the later reigns of the Stuarts still sadly marred their manners and their characters. Burnet describes them as for the most part the worst instructed and the least intellectual of any of their rank he had ever met with; as ill-taught and ill-bred, haughty and insolent; and as having no love for their country or of public liberty. But Burnet's picture of them may be exaggerated, as he was a Whig, and the country squires were Tories. They still clung to the exploded doctrine of divine right; and although they had aided in setting up a constitutional sovereign, many of them had a desire for the return of the times when confiscation and imprisonment were adopted to root out nonconformity. The political and religious bigotry of the country gentleman of this period was the most repulsive feature in his character, as it made him avoid the company of his neighbours, and live at enmity with them if they did not think as he thought. His habits in society were also repulsive and degrading. He was hospitable, but he held it to be essential to the honour of his house that not one of his guests should leave his roof sober. Macaulay's picture of a country gentleman who witnessed the Revolution, was, as a rule, his picture throughout the days of William and Anne. In those few years the manners of society could not have materially differed, and therefore we transfer his picture to our pages. He writes:—"A country gentleman who witnessed the Revolution was probably in receipt of about a fourth part of the rent which his acres now yield to posterity. He was, therefore, compared with his posterity, a poor man, and was generally under the necessity of residing, with little interruption, on his estate. To travel on the Continent, to maintain an establishment in London, or even to visit London frequently, were pleasures in which only the great proprietors could indulge. It may be confidently affirmed, that of the squires whose names were then in the commission of peace and lieutenancy, not one in twenty went to town once in five years, or had ever in his life wandered so far as Paris. Many lords of manors had received an education differing little from that of their menial servants. The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family, with no better tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce obtained learning enough to sign his name to a mittimus. If he went to school and to college, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall; and there, unless his mind was very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and on market days made bargains with drovers and hop-merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports, and from unrefined sensuality. His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty, and guests were cordially welcomed to it. But as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was enormous. For beer was then to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table." But this is only one side of Macaulay's picture of the country gentleman of this period. While from this description it might be concluded he did not greatly "differ from a rustic miller" or "alehouse keeper of the present day," unlettered and unpolished as he was, in some important points he was a gentleman. "He was a member of a proud and powerful aristocracy, and was distinguished by many both of the good and the bad qualities which belong to aristocrats. His family pride was beyond that of a Talbot or a Howard. He knew the genealogies and coats of arms of all his neighbours, and could tell which of them had assumed supporters without any right, and which of them were so unfortunate as to be great-grandsons of aldermen. He was a magistrate, and as such, administered gratuitously to those who dwelt around him a rude patriarchal justice, which, in spite of innumerable blunders and of occasional acts of tyranny, was yet better than no justice at all. . . . He was essentially a patrician, and had, in large measure, both the virtues and the vices which flourish among men set from their birth in high places, and used to respect themselves and to be respected by others."

Furniture.—The furniture of this period was at once refined and elegant. Every article of convenience or luxury which the wealthy now possess adorned the mansions of the reign of William and Anne. The furnishing of mansions might be said to have been completed in those reigns. The furniture then manufactured was both elegant in form and durable in material. Much of it is still in existence, and highly prized by its owners. In a work on furniture and ornamental architecture, published in 1703 by the Sieur de Marot, architect to William III., there are most elegant designs for fauteuils, canapés, beds, tables, mirrors, chairs, girandoles, mantelpieces, and other articles. But this taste for rich furniture in England was not original. It was derived from France, from whence our countrymen drew largely for designs, both architectural and artistical. Among the female subjects of Queen Anne there was an all-absorbing passion for china-ware. The plays of that date make continual allusions to the purchase of china-ware teacups, jars, monsters, and mandarins, by ladies of quality. In addition to the china porcelain both for use and ornament, candlesticks, inkstands, hand-bells, and a variety of articles for the toilet and writing-table, composed of that beautiful material, were brought into England in 1712 from Holland, Germany, and France. In the reign of William III., the making of flint glass had arrived at such perfection in England that there was no longer any necessity to obtain decanters, drinking glasses, etc., from foreign countries. But the greatest novelty, and one which had a permanently valuable character, was the introduction of mahogany. The first block was brought into England at the close of the seventeenth century, by a brother of Dr. Gibbon, a physician of London, and when manufactured into articles of ornament, it excited universal admiration. As it required no embellishment from painting and gilding, it rapidly superseded all other woods for cabinet making. The japanned cabinets, which on the appearance of mahogany in this country were much in fashion, eclipsed by its natural beauty, went out of date.

Costume.—Evelyn in his diary says that Charles II. put on "solemnly a long close vest of dark cloth, with a determination never to alter it." Courts set the fashions of the day. From that time the ribbons, lace, feathers, and finery of the beaux who came over with Charles at his restoration gradually vanished from the human frame. William was too wise a monarch to encourage glitter and gaiety at his court. He held no cabinet councils on lace and embroidery, and never once thought of altering the cut of his coat. Nor did his queen display any disposition to encourage extravagance in dress. She was equally cold and unfashionable as her husband. Hence the gentlemen and ladies who formed their court formed a striking contrast to those who had fluttered about the courts of their predecessors. The former, wrapped up in broadcloth, were stiff and solemn, and the latter, laced up in buckram, stiff and stately.

It must not be supposed, however, that the costume of the nobility and gentry of this period was puritanical. If the gentlemen wore a square-cut coat with a natural fit, it was not altogether without ornament.

The favourite tint of the coat was claret colour, and it was generally decorated with lace and embroidery down the edges and seams and around the pockets, and had enormous cuffs ornamented with stripes. The waistcoat was peculiar: it was of equal length with the coat, reaching to the knee. Of the breeches little could be seen. They were fastened beneath the knee, but hidden by long stockings, which were drawn over them. The shoes of a gentleman had upper leathers reaching above the instep, and were fastened by a small strap over it passing through a buckle placed on one side. His neckcloth was very long, and had pendent ends of Flanders or Spanish point lace. The most remarkable feature of his costume was his head-gear. His hat was edged with gold lace, and its low crown was concealed by feathers which surrounded it. Underneath his hat was an enormous peruke, which flowed over his shoulders. Ten years before, also, Misson, in his travels in England, described the beaux who frequented public places as "creatures compounded of a periwig, and a coat laden with powder as white as a miller's, a face besmeared with snuff, and a few affected airs." Brown, in his "Letters from the Dead to the Living," speaks of one whose periwig "was large enough to have loaded a camel," and on which a bushel of powder had been bestowed. But the wig was not peculiar to the dandies. King William's most famous soldiers wore bushels of hair, which flowed over their steel breast-plates in the same manner as it did over the laced coats of the civilians. Young and old, military and civil, cropped their natural hair as close as they could, to make way for their distinguished ornament the wig.

The ladies of the reign of William III. appear to have adopted some of the Dutch fashions. They wore stiff stays tightly laced over the stomacher, very long in the waist. Thus laced, a lady's body from the hip to the shoulder resembled the letter V. And this thinness of the waist appeared more striking when compared with the fulness of the gown round that part of the body where it was gathered in folds, and from whence it trailed on the ground, "a yard too long for their legs." The sleeves of the gown were straight and tight, terminating in a cuff resembling those of the male sex. At the waist there was a central opening in the gown, so as to display the rich petticoat beneath, which opening was sometimes secured by jewelled brooches. The head-dress of the ladies was as conspicuous a feature of their costume as was the wig of a gentleman. The hair was combed upward from the forehead in wavy curls, one above the other, on which was worn a cap, the lace of which rose three or more tiers high, and over all a kerchief or lace scarf was thrown, which hung nearly down to the waist. This head-dress was sometimes designated the "tower," but its real name was *fontange*, which it obtained at the court of Louis XIV., where it was first introduced by Mademoiselle Fontange. The ordinary walking dress of ladies was enriched by furbelows. The scarf and petticoat were covered with them, and the gown was drawn up in a heap behind, that the petticoat might be seen. Sometimes portions of male costume were adopted by ladies both in walking and riding. These portions were a jacket, cravat, and laced hat, so that when—as was sometimes the case—ladies hung a light rapier at the girdle, they might have been addressed in the words of the poet:—

> "Sir, or Madam, choose you whether
> You are one, or both together."

The costume of the commonalty underwent no alteration. From the prints of the day we gather that the commonalty wore broad-brimmed hats, coats with capacious pockets wrapping them to the knees, having a plain collar or falling band; cloaks equally as commodious as their coats, and high-heeled and long-toed shoes. Fairholt thus describes a female from a print of 1697, in Misson's travels, which represents a milkmaid dressed in her best on May day:—"She wears a black hat, the brim slightly turned upward, a hood, a laced bodice, small sleeves with cuffs, beneath which the linen under-sleeve with its narrow frill appears; a gay bunch of ribbons at her waist secures her apron, and smart bows her high-heeled sharp-pointed shoes."

Such are the general features of the costume of the reign of William III. It may be mentioned, however, that muffs were carried by both sexes of the upper classes in winter. Gentlemen had these muffs hung round their necks by a ribbon. They were very small, and were sometimes ornamented with large bows of ribbons. A ballad describing the fair on the Thames, during the great frost of 1683–4, mentions,

> "A spark of the bar, with his cane and his muff;"

and that effeminate article of fashion did not vanish with the Stuart dynasty.

The accession of Queen Anne brought no material change in the male costume. During the whole of her reign the full-bottomed wig was still in fashion. Anne herself seemed to be an admirer of the wig. On one occasion, when Lord Bolingbroke appeared before her in a ramilie or tie, not having had time to adjust his wig, from the haste with which he was summoned, her majesty was offended, and remarked that she supposed his lordship would "come to court the next time in his nightcap." The "Spectator" declared that he thought seriously of establishing an officer to be called the "censor of small wares." And he gives his reason thus:—"Because, to speak truly, the young people of both sexes are so wonderfully apt to shoot out into long swords or sweeping trains, bushy head-dresses or full-bottomed periwigs, with several other encumbrances of dress, that they stand in need of being pruned very frequently, lest they should be oppressed with ornaments, and overrun with the luxuriancy of their habits."

For several years after Anne had ascended the throne the ladies dressed precisely as in the previous reign. Minor decorations might be added to or abstracted from their dresses, but their *tout ensemble* was not affected. In the year 1711, however, there was a wonderful change in the costume and appearance of the ladies. They underwent a complete metamorphosis. In June of that year Mr. Spectator devoted an entire paper to the subject of ladies' head-dresses. "There was not," he said, "so variable a thing in nature;" for within his own memory he had known it rise and fall "above thirty degrees." Ten years ago the head-dress had shot up to such a height that "the female part of our species were much taller than the men." He remembered ladies that "were once very near seven feet high, that at present want some inches of five." The "tower" had now disappeared from the heads of the ladies, and a natural and elegant coiffure, such as is observed in the best-known portraits of Queen Anne, had taken its place: whence the difference thus humorously shown by Addison in their altitude. But what they took from the top of their persons, they compensated for at the bottom. The hoop petticoat was now in fashion, the absurdities of which raised an unceasing laugh among the satirists. This new-fashioned petticoat widened gradually from the waist to the ground; the gown being looped up round the body in front, and falling in loose folds behind. Mr. Bickerstaff has a broad cut at this absurd fashion in "The humble petition of William Single," which showed "that whereas the petticoats of ladies being too wide to enter into any coach in use before their invention," he had contrived "a coach for the reception of one lady only, who is to be let in at the top;" and also "a chair, for the service of ladies, in the form of a lantern six yards in circumference." Mr. Bickerstaff did not consider the shoes of ladies beneath his notice. As "censor of Great Britain," in March, 1709, he issued this amusing mandate:—"The censor having observed that there are fine wrought ladies' shoes and slippers put out to view at a great shoemaker's shop towards St. James's end of Pall Mall, which create irregular thoughts and desires in the youth of this realm; the said shopkeeper is desired to take in these eyesores, or show cause the next court day why he continues to expose the same; and he is required to be prepared particularly to answer to the slippers with green lace and blue heels."

That the dress of ladies was costly, may be seen by the price of Brussels heads, which were advertised by the lace chamber on Ludgate Hill at from thirty to forty pounds each, according to quality. A lady's riding dress was advertised in the "Spectator," 1711: "Of blue camlet well laced with silver, being a coat, waistcoat, petticoat, hat, and feather." Sir Roger de Coverley is represented as being about to call such a sporting young lady, sir, but happening to cast his eyes lower down, on seeing the petticoat he addressed her as madam.

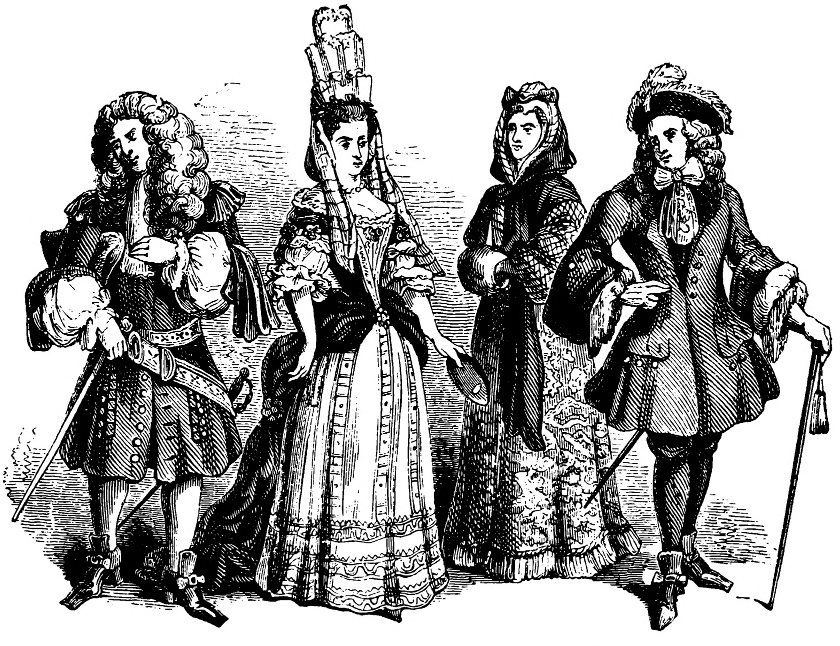
The habit of the noblemen and gentlemen of the reign of Queen Anne is thus described by Planché in his "British Costume:" "Square-cut coats and long-flapped waistcoats, with pockets in them, the latter meeting the stockings, still drawn up over the knee, so high as entirely to conceal the breeches, but gartered below it; large hanging cuffs and lace ruffles; the skirts of the coat stiffened out with wire or buckram, from between which peeped the hilt of the sword, deprived of the broad and splendid belt in which it swung in the preceding reigns; blue or scarlet silk stockings, with gold or silver clocks; lace neckcloths; square-toed, short-quartered shoes, with high red heels and small buckles; very long and formally-curled perukes, black riding wigs, bag-wigs, and nightcap wigs; small three-cornered hats, laced with gold or silver galloon, and sometimes trimmed with feathers."

Sports and Pastimes.—Prominent among the amusements of the Londoners were the theatres, operas, masques, and public promenades. Watering-places, as resorts for health and amusement, were now coming into fashion. But as these amusements were more universal and more fully developed in the succeeding reigns—the first two Georges—we shall reserve a general description of them for a future page. But there are some few places of amusement belonging to this period which require brief notice. One of the most distinguished of these was the puppet-show of Mr. Powel, which was established in the piazza of Covent Garden. Very popular was this puppet-show which Powel's genius brought before the world. If the "Spectator's" representations of the "diversions and characters of the English nation" are to be taken in their literal meaning, women of the first quality used to pass whole mornings in witnessing his puppet plays; and that "a promiscuous assembly of men and women were allowed to meet at midnight in masks within the verge of its court." "Punch's Theatre," as it was called, from the fact that Punch—who seems to have made himself immortal—was always the principal figure, was more attractive than the church. St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, was close by, but when the bells tolled for week-day prayers, the sexton found that the congregation only took the warning of the bell both morning and evening to see Powel's puppet plays. Powel's little theatre was popular. The jests of Punch were more attractive than the prayers and sermons of St. Paul's Church, on "the other side of the garden." Powel's exhibitions were of an incongruous character. They were both sacred and profane. All his subjects were acted by puppets. Punch danced a minuet with a pig; and in a sacred interlude representing the Deluge, Punch danced merrily with his wife in Noah's ark. Another of the minor places of amusement was Wynstanley's Water Theatre, at the lower end of Piccadilly; the exhibitions of which chiefly consisted of representations of sea-deities, nymphs, mermaids, tritons, and other aquatic personages, playing and spouting out water, and sometimes the two opposing elements of fire and water. Sadler's Wells Theatre was of a different description. It combined the tavern with the theatre, so that while the audience were amused with songs, recitations, and spectacles, they might regale themselves with ale, wine, and tobacco. The town was divided between the attractions of these places of amusement and the Italian Opera. Addison argued that if the Italians had a genius for music above the English, the English had a genius for performances capable of giving the mind a much nobler entertainment; but the ear carried the day. English tragedy failed because the music was dull and spiritless.

Of street amusements there was a great variety. The raree showman had his numerous patrons. Crowds flocked to see his calf with five legs; his huge lobster with six claws; his tame hedgehogs and wonderful snakes; and his fleas "that run a tilt upon a table." The Italian's dancing dolls, also, had their admirers and patrons. One of the most favoured exhibitions was posturising. It is said of one Joseph Clark, who figured in the streets about the period of the Revolution, that no motion, however unnatural or preposterous, was impossible to him; that he had such an absolute command over his muscles and joints that he could almost disjoint his whole body. Street fairs were very popular. Bartholomew Fair was now a complete carnival. Every parish in the metropolis discharged its population into Smithfield, to see the wonders it displayed. Old and young, rich and poor, joined in the merriment; and too frequently the uproar and license of that high holiday, the idleness and tumult, the immorality and excesses of Bartholomew Fair, was a civic pestilence, which the authorities endeavoured to banish. The chief outdoor sports were bowls, skittles, football, and cricket.

The amusements of the country gentry differed from those of London. Their chief domestic amusements were the anniversary festivals, as in former ages. Other amusements out of doors were hunting, shooting, and fishing. From the numerous pictures representing ladies seated on the margin of rivers, with rods in their hands, it would appear that they too went a fishing. The indoor amusements of the gentry were cards, dancing, and music. County and subscription balls were common throughout the country. Some of the country fairs were also very much resorted to by ladies and gentlemen. Bury Fair was in high repute in the reign of Queen Anne. It lasted a fortnight, and was in great favour with the nobility and gentry, who resorted thither, not only for amusement, but for the frequent marriages it occasioned. Bury Fair was considered one of the best matrimonial markets in England. As regards the amusements of the peasantry, they differed but little from those of former periods. The old sports were dying out, but they were not extinct. The peasantry still had their wakes and their fairs, in which the puppet-show, the pedlar's stall, the raffling table, and the drinking booth were the chief attractions. The peasants themselves contended with each other in wrestling, grinning through a horse's collar, cudgel-playing, and foot-racing. In this latter sport the female peasantry sometimes joined, in which case the prize contended for was generally a smock. There were also trials in whistling, where the person who could whistle through a whole tune, without being put out by the drolleries of the merry-andrew who played off his tricks before him, won the prize. At Christmas, according to the "Spectator," a trial of yawning for a cheese was accustomed to take place at midnight. He who gave the widest and most natural yawn, so as to set the whole company gaping in sympathy, was adjudged the victor. These low pleasures were the natural results of the general ignorance that still prevailed among the English peasantry. The education of the lower classes was neglected upon principle. It was believed, even by some of the greatest writers of the day, that to educate the bulk of the people was to destroy the distinctions of rank. Swift says that their business was "only to till and cultivate the earth," and that therefore "their education was of little consequence to the public." Hence, unable to instruct or divert themselves with reading, we still find the English peasantry the same in character and pursuits as in the darkest ages of our national history.

For a brief notice of the manners and customs of the people of Scotland, we refer our readers to the corresponding chapter at the close of the reign of George II., when the two nations of the north and south had become "one people."



COSTUME (NOBILITY), WILLIAM AND MARY.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

CHAPTER I.

The Civil and Military History of Great Britain from the Accession of George I., A.D. 1714, to the Death of George II., A.D. 1760.

THE succession of the crown of England had been settled in the reign of William III. It was resolved in parliament that the Princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession in the Protestant line, after his majesty, and the Princess Anne and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and that the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. According to this settlement, therefore, the crown devolved on George, the elector of Hanover, great-grandson of James I., by his daughter Elizabeth and the elector Palatine. By the statute of Anne, 1705, the course of proceeding in case of her demise was made clear. A regency, consisting of the seven great officers of the state—the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord president, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord high admiral, and the lord chief justice—were immediately to meet and to open three sealed packets, which contained the names of persons nominated by the Protestant successor to the throne who were to assist them in the regency as lords justices. Eighteen peers were found to be thus nominated: most of whom were determined Whigs. Schemes had been recently devised for the restoration of the exiled family. Anne herself desired it, and her ministers had been seeking to bring about that consummation. Bolingbroke, indeed, assured the French agent that if the queen had lived six weeks longer it would have been effected. That may be doubted, for the quarrels which were constantly taking place among the ministers went far to render all their efforts to set aside the succession of the elector of Hanover nugatory. In her dying hours, also, the queen, by appointing Shrewsbury lord high treasurer, gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the Jacobites. But if any hopes existed among them at her death, of restoring the exiled Stuarts to the throne, when the contents of the three sealed packets were made known they were utterly crushed. When the lords justices issued a proclamation, declaring that the high and mighty Prince George, elector of Brunswick Luneburg, had by the death of Queen Anne become our rightful and liege lord, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, no voice among all the multitudes that crowded round the herald was lifted up against him, but all hailed him as their monarch. The general cry throughout the nation was "Long live King George." The same unanimity prevailed in Scotland; and although it was feared that there might be some opposition in Ireland, news soon arrived that King George had there also been proclaimed without any commotion. As a body, the Jacobites were not in favour of his rule, but they were powerless; for the ambassador of France declared that his master, who had supported and fought for the Pretender, was determined to observe the treaty of Utrecht, which recognised the succession of the elector of Hanover. Every European power, indeed, whether Protestant or Catholic, recognized George as king of Great Britain.

Parliament met on the evening of the day when Queen Anne died—the 1st of August, 1714. Both Houses took oaths to the new sovereign, and loyal addresses were voted unanimously. In the same breath and with the same drop of ink they expressed their grief at the death of their queen "of blessed memory," and their lively pleasure at the accession of King George: a king "whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely." Both Lords and Commons sent congratulations to the new sovereign upon his happy and peaceable accession to the throne, and besought him to come and take possession of it as soon as possible. The earl of Dorset was sent by the regency to conduct him to England. But King George was in no great haste to quit his quiet electorate, where he was much respected, for a kingdom where the contests of Whig and Tory would be certain to disturb his peace. He had some foretaste of what awaited him before he left Hanover; for many a solicitation went over to him for place and preferment in church and state. That they might obtain his favours, both parties in parliament sought to display their loyalty. In the matter of the civil list, the Tories sought to outbid the Whigs. Queen Anne had received 700,000*l.*, which the Whigs proposed should be settled on the new sovereign, but the Tories proposed that the sum should be raised to a round million, which was wisely rejected. At the same time a clause was introduced into the bill for the payment of 65,000*l.*, due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great Britain, and which had for good reasons been withheld by the court; and a reward of 100,000*l.* was offered to be paid by the treasury to any one who should apprehend the Pretender in landing or attempting to land in any part of the British dominions. Having thus shown their loyalty, and passed some other money bills, on the 25th of August parliament was prorogued.

There had been some fears that the Pretender—Prince James Edward, son of James II.—would make some efforts to recover the English throne. On hearing of the death of Anne, he had repaired to Paris *incognito*, to consult with the queen, his mother and their partisans "being fully resolved to go over afterwards into Great Britain to claim his right." The French court, however, refused to encourage him, for the aged Louis XIV. wished now to live in peace, and refused to abet him in his designs. The French court, indeed, sent M. de Torcy to persuade him to return to Bar-le-duc, where he had been residing, and to assure him, if he did not comply, the French court would be compelled to send him back against his will. James Edward complied, but he was still restless under his disappointment.

Meanwhile, King George had arrived in England. Accompanied by his eldest son, George, he landed at Greenwich on the 18th of September, nearly seven weeks after the death of Queen Anne. Of course he was received with acclamations. His subjects in Hanover had parted with him with regret and tears: his new subjects in England received him with joy. Whigs and Tories pressed forward to greet him, and to have the honour of kissing his hand; but it was remarked, that while he paid particular attention to the former, he looked coldly on the latter. In which way the current of his favours would flow had been indicated before he left Hanover; for orders had been given that Bolingbroke should be removed from his office of secretary of state, and that his post should be given to Lord Townshend. Bolingbroke did not go to Gravesend to meet King George, but the chancellor, Harcourt, did, and got an instant dismissal, while the lord treasurer, Oxford, fared but little better. Bolingbroke was right when, in the bitterness of his soul, he exclaimed that the Tory party was gone. With the exception of the earl of Nottingham, who was made president of the council, there was not a Tory who was included in the ministerial arrangements; and his Toryism was not of a genuine character. All the rest were decided Whigs. Marlborough supplanted the duke of Ormond as commander-in-chief, and was likewise appointed master-general of the ordnance; the great seal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy seal was handed over to Wharton, who was made marquis; the duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; the earl of Sunderland was entrusted with the government of Ireland; Lord Towshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; and Robert Walpole, who was already leader in the House of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea Hospital. Changes of the same political character occurred both in Scotland and Ireland. All the governments, in truth, were changed, and the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. In Scotland the duke of Montrose was made secretary, in place of the Jacobite earl of Mar, and the duke of Argyll was entrusted with the command of the Scottish forces; while in Ireland Sir Constantine Phipps was deprived of the seals, and Allan Broderick was appointed chancellor. These arrangements, as a matter of course, gave general satisfaction to the Whig party. Their pæans of triumph rang through the land, for the reign of George promised to be to them a golden harvest of place and power. It was to their firmness and decision he was indebted for his quiet accession to the throne, and it was but natural he should cling to them; but at the same time he would have acted wisely if, like William III., he had formed a union of party leaders, for it would have saved him from much disquiet. But the new sovereign was a different character to the astute William. He had neither the ability nor the ambition of that monarch, and hence he placed his whole reliance on the party who upheld his parliamentary title to the crown in opposition to that party who, notwithstanding their professions of loyalty to his person, still as a body clung to the hereditary title as that by which alone the kings of England should reign.

The throne of England has seldom been ascended under greater personal disadvantages than in the present instance. Although he had been received with acclamations, there was nothing in his personal appearance and demeanour at all calculated to excite any fervid enthusiasm. He certainly was unostentatious, for he came over to England dressed in brown clothes, even to his very stockings. His person also was mean, for he was below the middle stature; while in manners he was awkward and shy. But what was chiefly objected to by the friends of the old dynasty was his utter ignorance of the English language. William III. had been popularly objected to as a foreigner, but he could speak the language of his subjects with fluency and correctness, whereas George was not even acquainted with its simplest rudiments. The people were constantly reminded of this fact, and they were as constantly reminded that the exiled son of James II. was as well acquainted with the native language as if he had been brought up in the country. Nor were these all the disadvantages under which the new sovereign laboured. His domestic virtues were more than suspected. He brought no queen with him, but he came accompanied by two female favourites, one of whom was created duchess of Kendal. He had been divorced from his wife, the Princess Dorothea of Zell, twenty years before, since which time she had been confined in the castle of Aldhen.

Notwithstanding, for a season, King George had no reason to complain of his people's loyalty. He was crowned on the 20th of October at Westminster with the usual solemnities. The peers of both parties attended the ceremony: even Bolingbroke was present and assisted in it. There were great rejoicings everywhere; in the midst of which, however, the peace was broken. In some places the Jacobites were insulted; in others they were riotous.

The year 1715, however, was not destined to be so peaceable. Parliament was dissolved in January, and writs were issued for a new election. The result of the election was favourable to the Whigs. At the preceding election five-sixths of the successful candidates were Tories; in this the Whigs were returned in a triumphant majority. The two Houses met on the 17th of March. Parliament was opened by the king in person, but the speech was read by the Lord Chancellor Cowper. In that speech the king took no care to conceal his partiality for the Whigs. He thanked his faithful and loving subjects for the zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the Protestant religion, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He warned them that the Pretender still boasted of assistance which he expected from England to repair his former disappointment. He lamented that many conditions of the late peace had not been performed, and showed the necessity of defensive alliances to insure their due execution. He expressed his surprise at finding that the public debt had been increased since the treaty of Utrecht; but in the same breath he gave the House of Commons to understand that the branches of the revenue appointed for the support of the civil government were not adequate for that purpose. As it was his and their happiness, he said, to see a prince of Wales, who might in time succeed him on the throne and be blessed with many children, these circumstances would occasion an expense to which the nation had not been accustomed; but he did not doubt that their affection for him would provide all that he had reason to hope from them. In return for their favours and support, he said that he would on his part maintain intact the constitution of both church and state, and make it the chief study of his life to promote the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his subjects. In conclusion he called upon them to assist him in punishing those who would deprive him of the blessing he most valued, his people's affection. In the course of the speech he had enjoined them not to let any unhappy divisions of parties at home divert them from pursuing the common interests of their country. But, unhappily, most of its other parts were calculated to increase the divisions thus deprecated. It breathed a spirit of vindictiveness against the late ministry, which could not fail to produce bitter fruits. Measures were portended by it which it was the interest of the crown to avoid. Already the Houses were disposed to violent measures, and it only served to give them encouragement. It suited their temper, and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of this most vindictive ministry. In both Houses the addresses were in unison with the speech. They were directly pointed against the late ministers of Queen Anne. The words, "To recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts," caused a warm debate. They were held to be injurious to the memory of the late queen by several peers, both secular and ecclesiastical. It was maintained also, and that truly, that the address would serve only to increase the unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. But it was in the address of the Commons that the first public intimation of the intention of the present cabinet to call the late ministry to account was given. That intimation reads thus:—"It is with just resentment we observe that the Pretender still lives in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption to declare from thence to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

This warning was not unheeded by Bolingbroke. He had taken part in the debate in the Lords, and on the 26th of March he appeared publicly at Drury Lane Theatre, bespoke a play for the ensuing night, according to the custom of the time, and then, disguised as a servant to a French cabinet minister, fled with him to France. The duke of Ormond was more brave. He openly associated with the most suspected Jacobites, whom he entertained magnificently at Richmond. Oxford too, whom Bolingbroke had always charged with irresolution and timidity, remained to weather the storm. It was on the 9th of April that proceedings against the late cabinet commenced. The interval had been employed in collecting papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms. The poet Prior, also, who had assisted in the negotiations, was recalled from France and placed under surveillance. The papers seized were laid on the table of the Commons by Stanhope, the secretary of state, who moved, as they were too voluminous to be read by the whole House, that they might be referred to a committee of twenty-one members. This motion was adopted; and as the committee appointed were all Whigs, the result was such as might have been expected. It was not till the 9th of June that their report was ready. On that day Walpole, who had been appointed chairman, produced it, and after the reading of it, which occupied five hours, boldly impeached the Lord Bolingbroke of high crimes and misdemeanors. But it does not appear that anything contained in the report relating to Bolingbroke amounted to the crime of high treason, although there was sufficient in it to justify the gravest suspicion. Notwithstanding, the vote for his impeachment passed without a division; two members only impugning the decision. This was followed by the impeachment of the earl of Oxford by Lord Coningsby. The worthy chairman, he said, had impeached the hand, but he impeached the head. In his case, also, doubts were expressed as to whether the report justified such a charge, and the earl's brother, Harley, affirmed that he had done nothing but by the command of his sovereign; that the peace was a great peace, and as such had been approved by two parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report only amounted to misdemeanors. The House, however, resolved to impeach him without a division, and when he appeared to take his seat the next day he found himself avoided as though he had been a viper, and retired with some confusion. A similar impeachment of the duke of Ormond was subsequently decided by a majority of forty-seven; but it would appear that this decision was more the result of his recent bravados than his conduct in the negotiations for peace, as his correspondence was less susceptible of proof that he was more treacherous than even that of Oxford. But Ormond did not await his trial, for, following the example of Bolingbroke, he fled to France. Oxford was impeached at the bar of the Lords, and was sent to the Tower. He was accompanied thither by a large concourse of people, who exclaimed as they passed through the streets of the city, "High Church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever." As neither Bolingbroke nor Ormond surrendered themselves within the time limited, their names and armorial bearings were erased from the list of the peers, and inventories were taken of their personal estates. The earl of Strafford, one of the two plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, was also impeached, but the charge was reduced to high crimes and misdemeanors without the treason. It was supposed that the poet Prior, in order to secure himself, would make revelations which would convict Bolingbroke and Oxford of treason, but on being examined before the committee, if he knew anything he refused to tell, and to punish his contumacy he was impeached by Walpole, and ordered to be kept in close custody, no one being allowed to speak to him without an order from the Speaker. Prior, however, was eventually released without being brought to trial, and he quietly retired into the country, where in 1621 he died. Oxford was left in the Tower, Ormond died in exile, but Bolingbroke openly joined the Pretender.

These vindictive prosecutions were unfavourable to the peace of the country. And in following the vindictive humour of his Whiggish ministry, George I. converted many who would have been his friends, if a contrary policy had been pursued, into bitter enemies. Before his first parliament was prorogued he had to announce to its members that a rebellion was begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with invasion from abroad. He prayed the Commons therefore not to leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. The Commons made a warm response to his prayer. As they had by their vindictive measures aided in raising the storm, they could do no less than take steps to allay its fury. A bill was forthwith passed empowering the king to secure all suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. A reward also was offered to any person who should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Both the army and navy were set in motion. Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet; the guards were encamped in Hyde Park; orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons and eight of infantry; and the train bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

Such preparations were necessary, for efforts were really being made to overthrow the new throne. The impeachments of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond were followed by riots of a serious character. The High Church party was at work in town and country. Sermons and pamphlets cried down King George and exalted the Pretender. The populace was irritated by their representations of the new sovereign. In some places the disciples of orthodoxy not only cried, "Down with the Dissenters," but actually did pull down their places of worship. Such was the case at Manchester; and in the Midland counties, and especially in Staffordshire, where the Dissenters were held in scorn, the tumults were of such an alarming nature that the powers of the justices of the peace and the constables were defied. The disturbances which prevailed gave occasion to the Riot Act, which with some modifications continues to be the law of the land. Disaffection prevailed even in the precincts of the court. And as the Pretender was growing more and more into favour, some of the prominent Jacobites who had been disappointed in their expectations, reopened a correspondence with the Chevalier, by which he was encouraged to strike for his lost throne.

It was in Scotland that the rebellion commenced, the Pretender fancying that he had the best chance of success in that country. And circumstances favoured his designs. His previous attempt to invade Scotland in 1708 had proved abortive; but the people of Scotland were more favourable to the reign of King William than they were to that of King George. The majority of the Highland chiefs especially detested the Hanoverian succession, and it was known that the clans would follow them in any enterprise, however desperate. And it was not only the Highland chiefs that were dissatisfied with the Hanoverian king: the Lowlanders were discontented. Some there were in the country—especially the sober and industrious inhabitants of towns—who had a natural horror of political convulsions; but the number of those who longed for the restoration of the old dynasty in Scotland preponderated. Besides the Union was an offence and a stumbling-block to the Scottish people. It was held that the national independence was imperilled by that Act. There were, also, serious differences existing between the Presbyterians and the tolerated Episcopalians.

The Scottish Jacobites, however, could do little or nothing without the aid of the English Jacobites. And many of these were ready to aid in the enterprise. Driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, they willingly entered into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused. Accordingly they maintained a correspondence with each other; and combined they conveyed their sentiments to the Pretender. Bolingbroke was the medium by which that intercourse was maintained. On his arrival in France he had assured Lord Stair, who was residing at Paris as a diplomatic agent for King George, that he would never enter into any engagement with the Jacobites; while at the same time he had pledged his word to the duke of Berwick that he would assist the Pretender. In July he was in active correspondence with the Jacobites, and with the Pretender himself. He also visited James Edward at Commercy, where he was then residing, and took office under him as principal secretary of state. In that capacity he visited Paris to obtain the support of the French government. At first Louis XIV. showed no inclination to espouse the Pretender's cause, although he was told by de Torcy, the French minister for foreign affairs, that the views of James Edward would be forwarded "as much as the policy of his court would permit." But a memorial soon came, drawn up by some of the great Jacobite lords both of England and Scotland, which induced him to renew his application for support from the French government. That memorial set forth that although the assistance of an armed force from the French king would be of the greatest service in the enterprise, yet it was thought that if the Pretender brought with him only a train of artillery, arms for twenty thousand men, five hundred officers, and a good sum of money, he might venture. At the instigation of Louis, his grandson the king of Spain had promised a loan of four hundred thousand crowns, and he had been enabled to borrow privately one hundred thousand more, and to purchase ten thousand stand of arms. The duke of Marlborough, that illustrious commander, although he was at the head of the British army, had, to his shame be it recorded, sent him a sum of money as a loan, although it does not appear quite clear that he then knew he was about to kindle the flames of civil war. What therefore was now chiefly desired of the French court was the means of transporting a small armament from France to Scotland. Bolingbroke still urged the necessity of the support of a French army, but de Torcy told him that it was a thing not to be named to his master. He was assured, however, that his court would grant secret supplies, and would allow a small armament for the expedition to be fitted out at Havre. But all this time the eye of the earl of Stair was upon Bolingbroke. He knew his man, and had, chiefly through a lady who had more Jacobitism than virtue, wormed out his intrigues and machinations, and had communicated them to the court at London. Effectual measures, therefore, had been taken for defeating the design. Bolingbroke had discovered that some of his secrets had become known, and that the alarm had been raised in England, but he was still confident of success. Two events, however, occurred which deranged everything. Ormond had engaged to brave the Whig government in their prosecutions to the last moment, and then to raise the standard of rebellion in the west, but instead of this he arrived in France a helpless fugitive glad to escape with his life. But this event was slight compared with that by which it was followed—the death of Louis XIV. As he declined Bolingbroke says that his hopes sunk, but when he died they expired. Upon his decease the dissolute duke of Orleans, who had friends among the Whig ministry, and who perhaps was bribed to act the part he did, entered into engagements with Great Britain, and instead of assisting the Pretender amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions calculated to frustrate the designs of the expedition. He finally, indeed, at the request of Lord Stair, laid an embargo on the ships fitting out for the Pretender at Havre, and seized all the arms on board; but, writes Bolingbroke to the Pretender, "there is one ship undiscovered, having on board thirteen hundred arms, and four thousand pounds weight of powder, which I intend sending to Lord Mar."

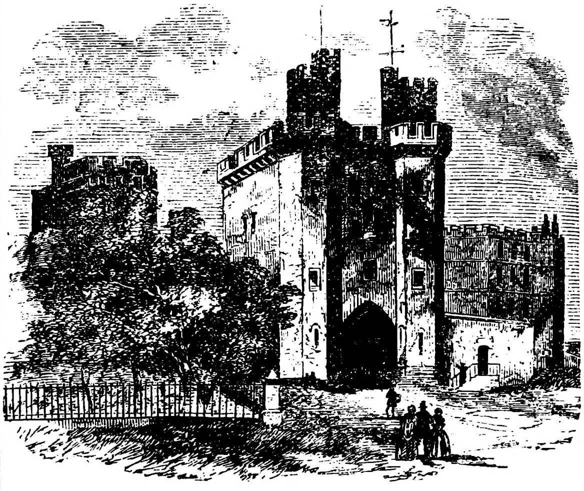
John Erskine, earl of Mar, had been in the reign of Queen Anne one of her secretaries of state. He had been appointed to that office in 1706, and had continued in it from that time till the accession of George I., first under the Whigs and then under the Tories. As he had been one of the most zealous advocates of the Union, and had served the queen faithfully, he still hoped to retain his position. Before King George arrived in England, he had addressed a letter to his new sovereign, congratulating him upon his happy succession; reminding him of the part he had taken in bringing about the Union, when the crown of Scotland was settled in his majesty's family; and promising that he would serve him as faithfully and dutifully as he had his late mistress the queen. But Lord Mar was known to be a Jacobite at heart, and hence, when King George made his ministerial arrangements, he was superseded as secretary of state at Edinburgh by the duke of Montrose. He still, however, professed loyalty to the new sovereign. He came to London, married a daughter of the duke of Kingston, one of the great Whig party, and on the 1st of August attended the royal levee, as became a loyal subject. But here his show of loyalty ended. Scarcely had he kissed the royal hand of George, than he stole back secretly into Scotland to organize an insurrection. On the 26th of August there was a great gathering of noblemen and gentlemen with their followers assembled round his castle of Kildrumie. Subsequently there was another meeting of a select character at Aboyne, one of the castles of the Gordon family, at which Mar unfolded his design, and exhibited the portrait of the Pretender, which he repeatedly kissed. Then, on the 6th of September, the earl of Mar, having previously issued a manifesto announcing his appointment to command the forces, raised the standard of the Pretender at Braemar, as James VIII. of Scotland and James III. of England: and the chiefs separated, to summon their vassals by the fiery cross to follow them to the field of battle.

In the Highlands that summons was obeyed with alacrity. Soon around the standard raised at Braemar there were assembled the vassals of the marquises of Tullibardine and Huntly, the earls of Marischal, Panmure, and Southesk, and other lesser chieftains; all wearing the white cockade. About the same time two vessels arrived at Arbroath from Havre with arms, ammunition, and a considerable number of officers. Mar was assured by these officers that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. In a short time Mar, who assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the forces, found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed, and eager to do battle for King James. But the rising of 1715 was not universal in Scotland. The people, properly so called, had no participation in it. South of the Forth and the Clyde, and wherever there was wealth —the fruit of industrial labour—there were but few Jacobites. Moreover, the general body of the Presbyterians, although they were adverse to the Union and the Hanoverian succession, were not inclined to unite with the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians to fight for King James. Although, therefore, the rising was to a certain degree formidable, it was but sectional. It was not a people in arms, but a clique: stanch Jacobite chieftains, who could command each a certain number of vassals to aid in the enterprise. Nor was it all the chiefs of clans who took up arms for the Pretender. The earl of Sutherland raised his clans for the service of the House of Hanover, as did also that great soldier and statesmen, John, duke of Argyle, whose clans, firmly united, were a match for all the rest of the clans put together. Argyle was sent into Scotland as commander-in-chief of the forces assembled to oppose the Pretender. But, meanwhile, a heavy blow had been struck at the rebellion. Through Lord Stair, government had been informed of the coming storm, and had taken some steps to avert its fury. A recent Act of Parliament had empowered King George to summon all the chiefs of clans to Edinburgh on a certain day; and although those who joined Mar disobeyed the order when it was sent down, others repaired to the capital. Some of these were suspected, and hence when the government received intelligence that Mar was up in the Highlands, they were placed under arrest, and made fast in Edinburgh Castle. At the same time, Major-General Whetham received orders to march with certain troops to Stirling, and to occupy positions, and secure the bridge and passages of the Forth till the duke of Argyle should arrive.

Similar precautions were taken in England. It was known that the duke of Ormond was contemplating a landing on the coast of Devonshire to head an insurrection. Ormond never came, for he was betrayed by one of his most active agents; and measures were taken to secure all those who were suspected of acting in complicity with his intended movement. The titular duke of Powis, a Roman Catholic, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Duplin, were arrested. A warrant was also issued for the apprehension of the earl of Jersey; and at the desire of the king the Commons consented to the arrest of Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Austis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favouring the invasion. Harvey and Austis were immediately secured; Forster escaped, and raised a rebellion in Northumberland; Kynaston absconded; and Packington was taken, examined, and discharged for want of evidence. Wyndham was apprehended in bed at his house in Somersetshire, not far from the place where Ormond was appointed to land, but on asking permission to return and take leave of his lady, he managed to make his escape. Some important papers were secured, and finding that it was impossible for him to leave the country, he afterwards surrendered himself. His father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance, and his bail being rejected, he expressed himself so warmly that he was deprived of his office of master of the horse. The west of England appears to have abounded with Jacobites. Troops were hurried down thither, and Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth were secured. At Bristol several cases of fire-arms, and about two hundred horses, prepared for the use of the insurgents, were seized; and Sir Richard Vivian, and other gentlemen, were put under arrest, whilst others were placed under strict surveillance. Oxford, too, that "High Church and Tory *Alma Mater*," fell under the ban of the government. Over their cups, from the heads of houses to the undergraduates, they had been in the habit of drinking to the health of King James without fear or molestation. But their Jacobitish tendencies had at this time attracted the attention of government. When their chancellor, the duke of Ormond, fled to France, his brother, the earl of Arran, had been elected; and they not only reserved all honorary degrees for Jacobitish *savants*, but they even sheltered Jacobite officers who had been dismissed from the army. One Colonel Owen was there, who was projecting an insurrection in aid of the general movement in preparation in the western counties. Accordingly General Pepper, whose temper accorded with his name, was sent to Oxford with a squadron of horse to clear the city of suspected Jacobites. Eighteen suspected persons were down on his list, ten or twelve of whom were apprehended, but the rest—among whom was Colonel Owen—managed to escape his vigilance. Some indications of resistance were at first manifested by the gownsmen, but Pepper warned them that if any interruption was attempted his men should fire, and they were scared into submission. Divinity owned the power of the sword.

The Jacobites in the north of England were not so easily repressed. Forster, with whom the earl of Derwentwater—an illegitimate descendant of Charles II.—was associated, took the field there with a body of horse, and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, they marched to Newcastle. They had friends at Newcastle, but the great body of the burghers were zealous for the Protestant succession, and they flew to arms and shut their gates against them. Thus baffled in their designs, they retired to Hexham, and from thence having been joined by two hundred horsemen, under Lord Kenmure, and other Scottish noblemen in the south-west of Scotland, they advanced to Kelso. At that time their united force amounted to between six and eight hundred horse, and Mar had bargained to send Brigadier Mackintosh with two thousand foot to aid their operations. Mar was then at the head of upwards of ten thousand men. He had made himself master of the fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of Edinburgh: his head-quarters being established at Perth. His army chiefly consisted of infantry, who were all Highlanders, and brave as steel, but who were ill-disciplined, and in great want of arms and gunpowder. At first the duke of Argyle, who arrived at Stirling at the beginning of October, could not muster two thousand men. And if Mar had led his Highlanders against him the issue could scarcely have been doubtful. But while Mar was wasting his time, the duke of Argyle was being reinforced by troops which joined him from all quarters. Mar thus missed by his inactivity the most favourable opportunity of restoring the Stuarts to the throne—and especially of Scotland—that had presented itself since the Revolution in 1688. At length, however, when it was too late, he began to do something. Whilst the main army remained at Perth to receive the Pretender, whom Bolingbroke had written to say would probably very quickly land in the north of Scotland, Brigadier Mackintosh was sent, with a large detachment of the rebel force, to join the English insurgents at Kelso. Mackintosh, who was an experienced soldier, marched with two thousand five hundred men towards the coast of Fife. Boats were assembled in various small harbours to convey them across the Forth to North Berwick. It was a hazardous enterprise, for the estuary over which they had to pass was sixteen miles broad, and they were watched by several English cruisers. Nevertheless, on the night of the 2nd of October, a body of sixteen hundred safely landed on the southern coast of the Forth. Another detachment, which sailed later, was not so successful. A portion of that detachment was compelled to return to the Fife coast, while three hundred of the troops, being chased by the English cruisers, landed on the Isle of May, where they were blockaded. On landing, Mackintosh, with his sixteen hundred men, instead of marching straight to Kelso, turned aside towards Edinburgh, hoping to surprise and capture the Scottish capital. But in this he was disappointed. Anticipating his movement, the duke of Argyle was there with a body of five hundred horse, and discovering this, Mackintosh marched to Leith, which he reached unmolested. Mackintosh took up his quarters in the remains of the citadel built by Cromwell, but demolished at the Restoration. He was pursued thither by the duke of Argyle, but on his arrival he found that Mackintosh, who had seized some cannon and ammunition from vessels in the harbour, which he had planted upon the ramparts, and had thrown up barricades, was in too formidable a position for him to attack him with any chance of success without artillery, and he returned to Edinburgh. Mackintosh remained at Leith two days, after which he resumed his march to Kelso. On the morning of the 16th of October he reached Seton House, the castellated mansion of the Jacobite earl of Winton. Here again he put himself in a posture of defence, for the duke of Argyle, having obtained artillery, again set out in pursuit of him. He was already preparing to attack Seton House, when a messenger arrived with the intelligence that the earl of Mar was advancing towards Stirling. Mar had heard of the danger in which the band of Mackintosh was placed, and he made this feint to avert it. He succeeded. The duke had left a force under General Whetham to defend the bridge at Stirling, and as it was more important that the advance of Mar upon Edinburgh should be checked than that Mackintosh should be crushed, he made a forced march back to Stirling. But there was no fear from the movement of Mar. His chiefs had advised him to attack Whetham before the duke should arrive, but instead of this he wasted his time in deliberating at Dunblane, till his opportunity was once more lost, and then he retreated to Perth.

Meanwhile Mackintosh with his highland followers had joined the English under Forster and the Scots under Lord Kenmure at Kelso. They entered the town with their bagpipes playing, but they made a very indifferent figure, for the rain and their long marches had fatigued them. This was on Saturday, the 22nd of October, and on the morrow both Protestants and Papists attended divine service at the great kirk of Kelso. The insurgent force, English and Scots, amounted to about two thousand men: a small force wherewith to attempt to overthrow a strong government. Nevertheless, on Monday, the 23rd of October, King James was boldly proclaimed with "colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing." Then there was a manifesto read in the market-place, which dwelt strongly on the evils of the Union, and the blessings which would arise from freedom from foreign domination. It was agreed that they should go boldly into England, where they were assured they would be joined by twenty thousand of the men of Lancashire. This course was adopted, but instead of increasing their forces it had the immediate effect of diminishing them. The Highlanders refused to cross the border. They would fight, they said, if they were led against the enemy within the borders, but they would not go into England. Not even the offer of sixpence a day, which to them was a promise of fabulous wealth, could tempt them to go where Lord Winton assured them they would either be cut to pieces or sold for slaves. At least five hundred of them deserted the cause of King James and dispersed themselves on the hills and moors to get back to their highland homes as best they could. The rest marched forward. On reaching English ground the whole command was assumed by Forster, the veteran old Mackintosh serving under him. On they went to Penrith, in Westmoreland, where fifteen thousand of the *posse comitatus*, chiefly rustics, who had assembled under the bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale, fled before them in dismay. They then proceeded to Lancaster, where they were welcomed by Roman Catholic families, and where the "gentlemen soldiers" treated tea with the ladies of the town. They soon left for Preston, a favourite residence of the rich Roman Catholic families, where a regiment of dragoons and a body of militia retired before them. In their route they had been joined by some of the Roman Catholic gentry of Lancashire, and at Preston others, with their tenants and servants, enrolled themselves under the banners of the redoubtable Forster, although he was a Protestant. Forster



LANCASTER CASTLE.

thought himself a hero; his march had been unobstructed, and it seemed to him that England could not offer any effectual resistance. But he was quickly undeceived. Carpenter had turned aside from his pursuit and had gone to Durham, where he joined General Wills, who had been sent to the north-west to repress insurrection in that quarter. Their combined forces marched to Wigan, where they separated; Wills marching straight upon Preston, and Carpenter advancing in another direction to take the insurgents in flank. Full of confidence, the insurgents had abandoned themselves to pleasure. General Wills was allowed to approach Preston without so much as a musket being fired. He thought that there would be no fighting—that the insurgents had fled back to Scotland. In the lane through which he had to pass Cromwell had, in the Parliamentary wars, struggled for four hours before he charged the enemy in the town and cleared the streets; but Wills passed along its whole length, deep and narrow as it was, without meeting with an enemy. As, however, he approached the outskirts of the town he was suddenly saluted by a volley of musketry from the barricades. Two dragoons fell, and orders were given to his troops to dismount and attack a barrier in the street which led to the Wigan road. The Highlanders commanded by Mackintosh defended that barrier, and a hundred and twenty of the king's troops fell before their withering aim. But throughout the day the fighting continued, and at length the besiegers possessed themselves of two houses, which became strong positions. The struggle continued during the night, but many of the insurgents left the town in the midst of the confusion and darkness and made their escape over an unguarded ford of the Ribble. Their forces, however, still doubled those of the regular troops, for, fighting behind barriers and within the houses, few of the rebels had fallen. With a brave and skilful commander victory might long have been doubtful, but no sooner did General Carpenter come up on the following morning with a part of his cavalry, than Forster lost heart. Colonel Oxburgh, an Irishman, was sent to propose a capitulation. On condition, he said, of being received as prisoners of war and recommended to the royal mercy, the besieged would lay down their arms. Wills at first replied that he would not treat with rebels; but finally he consented that if they would lay down their arms and surrender at discretion he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword until he had further orders. It was in vain that other negotiators applied for the royal mercy: Wills was firm in his purpose. There was no alternative; it was submission or death. The Highlanders proposed cutting their way through the king's troops sword in hand, but their chiefs, averse to such a desperate measure, persuaded them to lay down their arms. Accordingly about fourteen hundred of the rebels, two-thirds of whom were Scots, surrendered themselves prisoners into the hands of about twelve hundred of the English troops; for as yet Carpenter's troops were outside the town, and Wills was allowed by him to have all the honour of the victory. Amongst the prisoners were eight noblemen; namely, the Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Winton, Carnwath, Kenmure, Nairn, and Charles Murray. These, with Forster and other leaders, were marched under a strong guard to London, which they entered amidst the cries of "Long live King George," and "Down with the Pretender;" but many officers who had held commissions were summarily tried by court-martial and shot, and many of the common men were condemned to be either executed or transported.

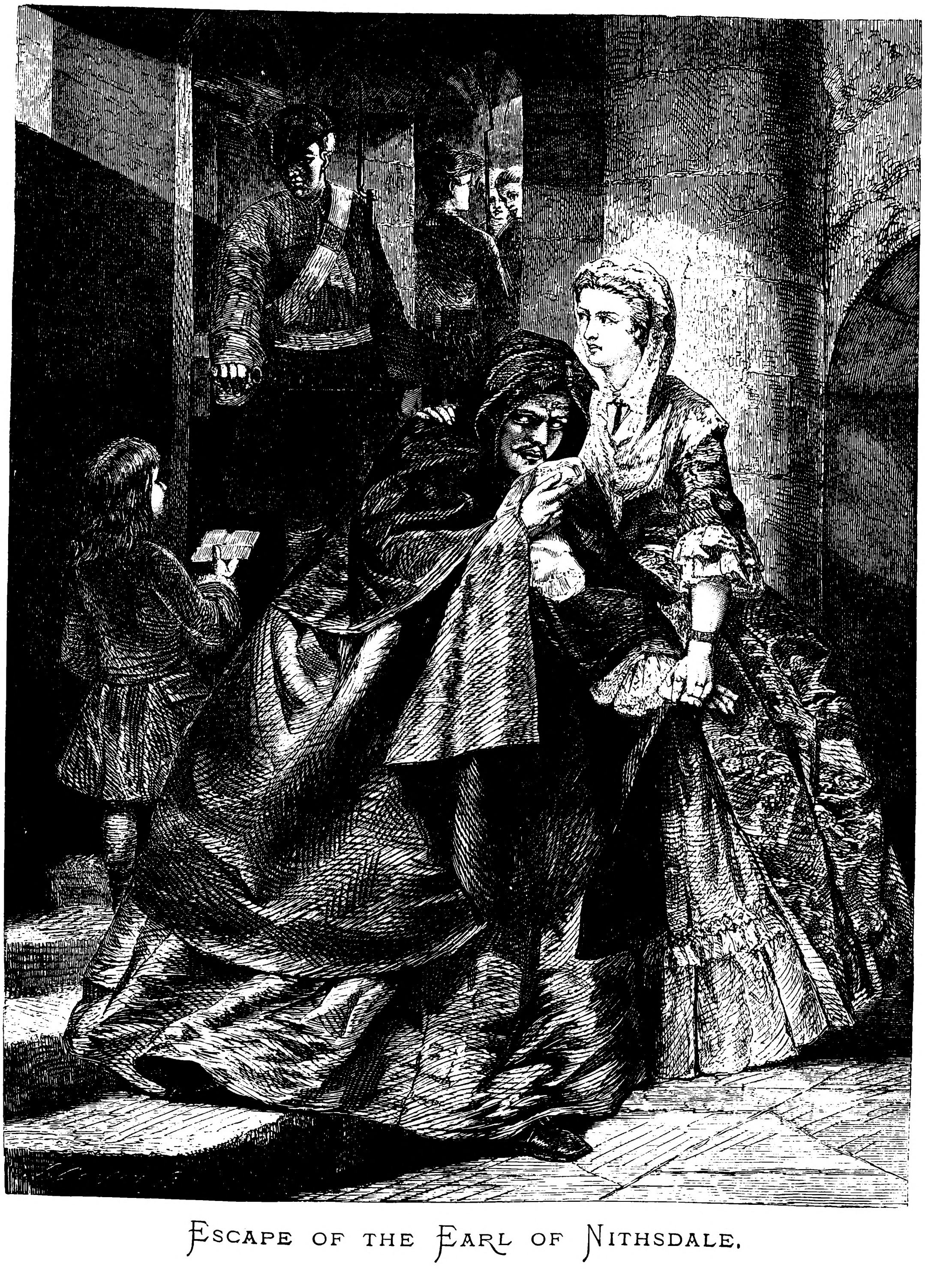
The insurrection in England was ended, and on the very same day that Wills received the submission of the rebels at Preston, the duke of Argyle had struck the banner of the Pretender to the dust in Scotland. Mar had sent General Gordon to seize the duke of Argyle's town and castle of Inverary, to check and chastise the Campbells, and then to turn upon the English force from the west. In this expedition Gordon was unsuccessful. He returned to Perth; and thus reinforced, on the 10th of November, Mar broke up his camp and moved southwards. About the same time the duke of Argyle led his forces from Stirling northwards. Numerically the forces of Mar were by far the strongest, for while his amounted to about ten thousand those of the duke did not count half that number. But the troops of Argyle were mostly veterans, while those of Mar, though many of them were brave, were deficient in military organization. They were also, as the master of Sinclair says, almost destitute of powder and ball. On the 12th of November Mar halted at Ardoch; and Argyle having crossed the Forth occupied Dunblane. Between them lay an open moor, which, from its having been the old place of meeting for the militia of the sheriffdom of Monteith, was called Sheriffmuir. Argyle had prearranged that he would endeavour to bring the rebels to battle on that spot, for, although somewhat rough, the ground admitted of cavalry evolutions and charges of horse, of which, above all other modes of fighting, the Highlanders stood most in dread. But on this occasion they showed no signs of fear. Mar called a council of war, in which doubts were expressed as to the prudence of venturing a battle, but the clans tossed up their caps and bonnets, and exclaimed with one voice, "Fight, fight." Orders were therefore given to form the field. Argyle had drawn up his troops on the heights above Dunblane, to the north-east of that place, which lay about a mile and a half from his left, while Sheriffmuir lay on his right. Mar, knowing that his numbers far exceeded those of the duke, extended his lines as far as possible, with a design to take his opponent in flank. In conjunction with Lord Drummond he commanded the right in person, while the left was led by Gordon and Huntly. General Hamilton acted as chief of the staff and kept watch on the whole line. On the other side Argyle commanded the right, General Whetham the left, and General Wightman the centre. The troops of Mar marched forward to the attack full of hope and confidence. The master of Sinclair says that no man who had a drop of Scots blood in him but must have been elevated to see the cheerfulness of his countrymen on that occasion. On the left they were triumphant. At the first onset the ardour of the Highlanders was somewhat cooled by seeing their chief, Clan Ranald, fall mortally wounded by an English bullet; but Glengarry, throwing his bonnet in the air as he darted forward, exclaimed, "Revenge to-day, and mourning to-morrow;" and then the Highlanders, following him, rushed upon the English with such fury that in a few minutes the whole of the left wing was broken and routed. Whetham, with some horse, rode full gallop to Stirling, where he gave out that all was lost. But in the meantime the duke of Argyle was achieving a victory. The attack of the insurgents on the wing which he commanded had a totally different result. As they advanced he charged them with such intrepidity, that although they made a gallant and obstinate resistance they were compelled to give way. The rout was complete. The duke pursued them over the river Allan, in the waters of which not a few of them perished. But in their retreat the clans did not turn their backs upon the enemy: ten times during the short space of three miles they attempted to rally, and Argyle was compelled to press them closely that they might not recover from their confusion. The left wing, therefore, of both armies were beaten; and the right of both were victorious. Mar chased the troops of Whetham to Corntown, a village near Stirling, and then returned to the battle-field. He took up his position on an eminence which offered several advantages both offensive and defensive. He was thus posted when Argyle returned from his pursuit of the Highlanders. His forces were exhausted, and he designed passing round the hill and marching to Dunblane, but perceiving his danger he drew up his men behind some inclosures, and put two cannon in their front. But his position was perilous. If Mar had but charged down-hill upon the royal troops they might have been dispersed; and Scott says that if the insurgents had but thrown down stones upon them they would have been disordered. But Mar determined to leave the battle-field to Argyle. Towards evening he drew off his forces to Ardoch, and then it was while the bagpipes were heard in the retreat that Gordon of Glenbucket uttered the well-known apostrophe, "Oh, for an hour of Dundee!" Argyle, wondering at Mar's stupidity and cowardice, and rejoicing at his own good fortune, then marched to Dunblane, where he took up his quarters for the night; after which he returned to Stirling. The loss of the insurgents in this battle was about seven hundred in killed, and two hundred in prisoners; while the loss of the royal army is stated at four hundred killed, and two hundred prisoners. On the side of the insurgents the young earl of Strathmore and other men of rank were slain, and Lord Strathallan was taken prisoner. The battle may be said to have been drawn: but for Argyle it had all the advantages of a great victory; for on Mar's return to Perth he found that his numbers had been greatly reduced by desertion. On hearing of the defeat of his friends, indeed, he seems to have considered his cause hopeless, for the master of Sinclair says that he was induced through a friend to ask Argyle if he was empowered to grant terms, and that Argyle replied that he had no such powers, but that he would apply for them; which, however if he did were never granted. But the battle of Sheriffmuir was not so fatal to the cause of the Pretender as the loss of Inverness, which was given up to King George by Lord Lovat, who had hitherto acted in concert with the insurgents. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had assembled his vassals. The marquis of Huntly and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the insurgent army in order to defend their own territories. Many of the Frazers also, following the example of Lord Lovat, the head of their clan, declared for King George; and the marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl of Mar for the defence of his own country. Seeing no chance, indeed, of a second engagement with any degree of success, the clans, according to custom, began generally to disperse to their highland homes.

The cause of King George was in the ascendant. While the troops of Mar were dwindling away his were ever on the increase. Six thousand Dutch troops had landed, and were on their march to Scotland, while other reinforcements were hastening to join Argyle at Stirling. His forces were daily increasing. Yet this was the moment—when his affairs had been by battles and desertions rendered desperate—that the Pretender chose to appear in Scotland. It was a strange infatuation. But it would appear that he had been taunted with cowardice, and that even the French court, which was being continually urged to render him assistance, had broadly hinted that it would be absurd to incur risk for a prince who seemed loth to risk himself for a crown. Moreover, the Scottish Jacobites were continually calling for his presence, even after the affair at Preston and the battle of Sheriffmuir. It is said that Mar, in order to induce him to come to Scotland, represented what he must have known was false, that since his battle with Argyle his army had increased. He had for some time lain concealed at St. Malo, but as that port was closely blockaded by an English squadron he travelled across the country in disguise, where he took ship and sailed for Peterhead. He landed on the 22nd of December, attended only by six gentlemen. James Edward seems to have been elated on arriving in Scotland, for in writing to Bolingbroke he thanked God, he said, that he was in his own ancient kingdom. He represented that his affairs were in a prosperous way, and expressed a hope that if his friends would do their part on the Continent, as he should do his in Scotland, all would go well. But he was ill-fitted to perform a part which would raise him to a throne. As in love so it is in war; it is the brave who wins, and although James Edward was anxious to relieve himself from the imputation of cowardice, every step he took fixed the stigma more indelibly upon his character. From Peterhead he proceeded, still in disguise of a French naval officer, to Fetteresso, the seat of the Earl Marischal, who was a partisan. Mar and some thirty Jacobite leaders hurried from Perth to meet their king at Fetteresso; and Mar had scarcely arrived there when he was created a duke for his services. He remained at Fetteresso for some days. It was said that he was labouring under a fit of ague; but it was shrewdly suspected by some that if he shook at all it was for fear of the duke of

Argyle. That the Highlanders very soon became disgusted with him is clear, for at Kinnaird, where he was on the 2nd of January, 1716, he wrote to Bolingbroke to tell him that he was obliged to send back one of his only two experienced officers on account of that disgust, which he was at a loss to understand. But, notwithstanding, he moved onwards towards Perth. On the 6th of January he entered Dundee, with "Duke" Mar on his right hand, the Earl Marischal on his left, and about three hundred Jacobites in his train. Having stopped about one hour in the market-place of Dundee, to allow the townsmen and ladies to kiss his hand, he pursued his journey. He arrived at the royal palace of Scone on the 8th of January, where, as was natural, he fixed his residence for a few days in order to prove that he was a king. Here a council was formed, and manifestoes and proclamations issued in abundance. One of these fixed his coronation for the 23rd of January. He was warmly supported by the Episcopalians, but not by the Presbyterians. It was noticed that while only two of the former prayed for King George, the same number of the latter prayed for King James. On the 16th of January he went to the camp at Perth. As the Highlanders gazed on him their enthusiasm cooled. They had been taught to believe that he was a man of noble stature and graceful appearance—more indeed like a god than a man—but instead of that they saw before them a man of somewhat feeble frame and of listless action. But the disappointment was not all on one side. It was mutual. The Pretender had been led to believe that there were sixteen thousand men in arms, whereas he found only about one-third of that number at Perth. No wonder, therefore, that he looked grave, and that he was taciturn. His hopes were crushed: his prospects blighted. One of his proclamations had ordered all good men and true to repair to his standard; but instead of answering to his summons, many threw away their white cockades and went over to the royal army. The one side became daily stronger, and the other daily became weaker. Everywhere, at home and abroad, the government was continually gaining strength. The clansmen themselves were not to be depended upon, for if their chiefs, as some of them did—the Frazers, for instance—went over to the side of King George, they followed in their train. They were as ready to fight for the House of Hanover as the House of Stuart if their chieftains bade them. On every side, therefore, the Pretender was beset with dangers. Even if he looked to Ireland he saw no hope of an effectual rising in his favour; and if he cast back his eyes to France, there was nothing to cheer him. Spain was more devoted to his interests. Its monarch had sent him a hundred thousand crowns, in ingots of gold, but the vessel in which the money was stowed was wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and those who had the command of it, with the seamen, were glad to escape with their lives, and leave the ingots to sink to the bottom of the sea. Three thousand muskets also, which had been secreted in a vessel near the mouth of the Seine, never arrived. Everything was adverse to his project. Still the Pretender hoped to hold his ground beyond the spring, till troops, for which he had urgently written, could be got over from Spain, with which succour, he said, all would be gained, but without which all would be lost. But the duke of Argyle was not so accommodating as to let him rest till the spring. Regardless of the snow, which lay thick on the ground, he was marching on Perth with as much haste as the season would permit. Between him and Perth there were villages in which shelter and provision might be obtained; and to impede his advance a proclamation was issued, by which the military commanders of Mar's forces were ordered to destroy these villages, houses, corn, cattle, and forage. Six happy villages of a peaceful population were thus devastated, and the inhabitants were turned out to perish in the snow. Meanwhile the soldiers of Argyle, aided by peasants, were clearing the roads. It was supposed by Mar that the royalists could not march when there was no cover left, especially "as the roads were so narrow that but one could go abreast." But they did march, notwithstanding the snow and the opposition of a detachment of Highlanders sent from Perth, and from some garrisons held on the borders of Fife, to oppose their progress. The march was commenced on the 21st of January, and by the 30th of that month Argyle was at Auchterarder, one of the desolated villages. As he approached nearer and nearer towards Perth the temporary court there became more and more terrified. Councils were held, but only to differ in opinion and quarrel. Some of the clans were willing, nay, even eager to fight, but their officers were unwilling to risk their lives in a pitched battle. They desired to place the king in the midst of them and fight to the death, but James Edward shrank from being placed in such a perilous position. He was no warrior at any time, and to venture his life at such fearful odds was not at all to his taste. But in the midst of all this hesitation and doubt as to what had best be done the danger became more imminent. Argyle was at hand, and there was no alternative but to fight or take refuge in flight. The latter was chosen. On the day that Argyle arrived at Auchterarder the army was informed that it was determined to retreat from Perth. Preparations were forthwith made for their departure, and on the 31st, as Argyle with his main body was advancing from Tullibardine, Perth was evacuated. The Pretender and the Highlanders crossed the Tay upon the ice, and when Argyle and his troops entered Perth on the morning of the 1st of February, only a few, "who being drunk had stayed behind the rest," were found in the town. The rest had fled, and pursuit was vain, for the regular troops of King George were no match in fleetness for the nimble-footed Highlanders. Argyle, indeed, followed them with six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions, and eight hundred light foot; but when on the 3rd of February he arrived at Dundee, he found that they had struck across the road leading to Montrose, which was buried under the snow, and over which his forces could not travel. A detachment, however, under General Cadogan was sent towards Montrose by another route. But the pursuit was bootless. On the 5th of February, when Cadogan reached Arbroath, he discovered that James Edward had sailed the evening before from Montrose for France. Like a coward, as he was, he deserted his followers. He had ordered the clans which had still remained faithful to his cause to prepare for a march by night towards Aberdeen, where they were assured they would find troops just arrived from the Continent to join them; but before the hour arrived for their departure he had, accompanied by the earl of Mar, stolen down to the harbour under cover of the darkness, where a boat was in waiting, and in a few minutes he was on board a French ship, called the Maria Theresa of St. Malo, and sailing away to Gravelines, where he safely landed. Lord Drummond and the earl of Melfort, with eleven other persons of distinction, escaped in the same ship. General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left in the chief command of the Highlanders, proceeded with them to Aberdeen; but when the duke of Argyle arrived there on the 8th of February the whole army had melted away. Some few prisoners of inferior note were captured, but the principals all escaped. About one hundred and twenty noted Jacobites made for the extreme north of the Highlands on horseback, and finally they sailed in open boats for the Orkneys, where a ship belonging to the Pretender was ready to take them to the Continent. About sixty of them reached the ship in safety, but the boats in which the rest ventured to sail were swamped, and they were drowned. The rebellion was over.

There was, however, another act in the drama to be enacted. As the rebellion had in all probability been hastened, if not stirred up, by the violence of the Whig ministry, so it was to be followed by that ministry's vengeance. Thousands of Englishmen and Scots were called upon to pay a severe penalty for their rash doings. The rebellion not only proved fatal to many noble families, but ruined thousands of all classes. But few military or civil executions took place in Scotland, for, as before-seen, most of the leaders had fled; but the clans were let loose to destroy one another, and the royal troops took free possession of the houses and estates of the Jacobites, and committed fearful ravages. But it was in England that the vengeance of the government was more fully displayed. By the capture of Preston the gaols of the north became crowded with prisoners, and while bands were shot in groups by the sentence of courts-martial, several hundreds of inferior condition were left to starve of hunger and cold in their gloomy dungeons. The cup of vengeance, full to the overflow, had to be drunk to the very dregs.

Parliament met on the 9th of January, and there were but few advocates for mercy in that assembly. The rebellion formed the most prominent subject of the king's speech. At that time some success had attended his arms, but the danger had not passed away. It was supposed by the king that the Pretender was then in Scotland, and he apprehended that the consequences of the rebellion would result in the creation of an extraordinary burden upon the state. He took, therefore, he added, "the first opportunity of declaring that he would freely give up all the estates that would become forfeited to the crown by the rebellion, to be applied toward the cost which would be incurred." This incentive to a wholesale measure of attainder was not needed, for the Commons were ready to deprive all high-born rebels both of property and life without the royal encouragement. There was not a single hour lost in taking such steps toward those who had already been captured in arms. Before the House adjourned, Mr. Lechmere, after a long speech, in which he declared that the punishment of the leaders of the rebellion was a national question, involving the great principle of the Act of Settlement as opposed to the claim of hereditary right; and maintained that in justice to the king they, the Commons, ought to take the prosecution of such rebels into their own hands, he impeached James earl of Derwentwater of high treason. Other members severally impeached William Lord Widdrington, William earl of Nithsdale, George earl of Winton, Robert earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn. There was not the slightest opposition to these impeachments, although there were still many Jacobites in the House, and on the 19th of January they were brought to the bar of the Peers to answer to the charges. Every one except Lord Winton pleaded guilty, and forthwith sentence of death was passed upon them as traitors. Winton was put upon his trial on the 15th of March, and was found guilty and condemned to die. Meanwhile efforts had been made to save the lives of those who had pleaded guilty. Secretary Stanhope pleaded for his old schoolfellow Lord Nairn, and was successful. But it was in vain that the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and the young countess of Derwentwater, pleaded with tears for her husband. They were admitted to an audience, but failed to move the heart of the king to mercy. Nor could his ministers be moved by tears or gold. Bribes were offered but without effect, at least as regards Lord Derwentwater. Extenuating circumstances were found in the cases of the earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington, and they were respited; but what those circumstances were is not recorded. The other three victims—the Lords Nithsdale, Derwentwater, and Kenmure—were left for execution. Their execution was to take place on the 24th of February, and on that day the Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure perished on a scaffold erected on Tower Hill: each of them expressing remorse for having pleaded guilty, and avowing their conviction that James III. was their rightful sovereign. The third victim was missing. By the agency of his devoted wife he had escaped from his chamber in the Tower, and was on his way to France. Lady Nithsdale had on her knees before the king entreated his mercy for her husband, but had been rudely repulsed. She went away from the king's presence with a fixed resolution to save her husband from the jaws of death. And she succeeded. According to her own relation of the way in which she effected the escape of her husband, she went in a coach to the Tower on the night before the execution was to take place, accompanied by a tall and slender lady, who in addition to her own clothes carried under her riding hood a complete dress fitted for a tall and stout lady named Mills, about the same size as the prisoner. Mrs. Mills exchanged her dress and departed, and then Lord Nithsdale put on the dress she had left behind, and went out as Mrs. Mills had come in—covering his face and weeping. He was accompanied to the outer door, where



ESCAPE OF THE EARL OF NITHSDALE.

there were friends in waiting, by the Lady Nithsdale, who then returned to his chamber, talked as to her lord somewhat loudly, imitated his voice, and finally bidding him good-night, went quietly away. As before recorded, Lord Winton had been tried and condemned, but he too effected his escape from the Tower. Early in April a commission for trying prisoners of inferior rank met in the court of Common Pleas, and Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates were found guilty on indictments of high treason. Forster escaped from Newgate and got safe to the Continent, and Pitts the gaoler, being suspected of conniving at his escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. The old Brigadier Mackintosh and the rest of the prisoners pleaded not guilty, and were allowed time to prepare for their trials, but in the mean time he with seven others having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel, broke loose from Newgate and got clear off to the Continent. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained, and four or five were executed at Tyburn. In Lancashire twenty-two rebels were executed; about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation to the American colonies.

The Whig ministry had by their vengeance pushed the nation to the very verge of renewed rebellion. Their severities increased the general discontent. Many who had never before dreamt of rebelling against the government of King George, seeing the courage and fortitude with which those who were executed encountered death, became prepossessed in favour of the cause by which its victims were animated. As in religion so in politics: persecution begets converts. Numbers who had once cried with all sincerity, "Long live King George," would now, had they dared, have cried with equal sincerity, "Long live King James." The ministers increased the general dissatisfaction by increasing the very evils which had been the moving cause of the rebellion. On the 17th of April a bill was passed without opposition, "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists." By this bill it was even enacted that if any Papist enlisted in the king's service he was to meet with effectual and exemplary punishment. A more effectual mode of setting one section of the community against the other could not possibly have been devised. It was a dividing of the nation against itself in the most emphatic manner. Nor was this feeling displayed only in legislation. It was manifested in the hall of justice. The Lord Chancellor Cowper, in passing sentence on the Catholic peers, by a strange perversion of right feeling, insulted their religion by advising them to choose better spiritual guides to attend them on the scaffold. That the Whig ministry had become obnoxious to the country is clear from the fact, that at this time they were afraid of going before it in a general election. In the last election they had secured a triumphant majority, but it was apprehended by the king and his ministers that in the present state of the national feeling the issue of an election would be extremely doubtful. It was, indeed, more than probable that it would have resulted in a strong Tory majority. That was a circumstance to be avoided both by King George and his ministers. In this dilemma the ministry resorted to the very questionable measure of extending the term of parliament, and thus to establish their administration. It was felt that by adding four more years to the existence of the present parliament, the throne of King George, which was threatened both from at home and abroad, might be consolidated. Accordingly on the 10th of April the duke of Devonshire brought in a bill to repeal the Triennial Act, and by a new law to extend this—and that was its primary object—and all future parliaments to the term of seven years. His grace was the son of that nobleman who had been one of the principal supporters of the Triennial Act, but he made no scruple at pulling his father's handiwork to pieces. The preamble to the Septennial Act reiterated his grace of Devonshire's sentiments. "Whereas," it says, "it hath been found by experience that the Triennial Act hath proved very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more violent heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than was ever known before; and the said provision, if it should continue, may probably at this juncture, when a restless and popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government." The measure was supported by the duke of Argyle and the Lords Dorset, Carteret, Cowper, and others attached to the ministry; and was opposed by the duke of Buckingham and the Lords Peterborough, Nottingham, Abingdon, and all the Tories. But in the Lords the Whigs had a majority, for the bill passed on a division by ninety-six votes to sixty-one. In the Commons the bill was supported generally by the Whigs, whether in or out of office; while on the other hand Hanmer, the late Speaker, with others on the Tory side of the House, manfully combated for triennial parliaments. But all opposition was vain. The Septennial Act was read a third time on the 26th of April by a large majority, and became the law of the land: a law which, notwithstanding its temporary object—that of keeping the Whigs in and the Tories out at this particular period of English history—is still in existence. The wisdom of the measure has been a subject of debate from the time it was passed to the present day: some maintaining that it is a direct usurpation of the rights of the people, while others contend that it is a bulwark to the liberty of the country. But practically very few parliaments have a septennial existence in recent times, as a change of ministers frequently involves the necessity of a general election. Hallam, perhaps, may be right when he says that under the existing custom of considering six years as the natural life of a House of Commons, "the usual term of duration should be permitted to take its course, except in some cases where some great change of national policy may perhaps justify its abridgment." He adds wisely that the crown "would often obtain a very serious advantage over the House of Commons if it should become an ordinary thing to dissolve parliament for some petty ministerial interest, or to divert some unpalatable resolution." Triennial parliaments have their modern advocates, but, on the whole, it would appear safer to adhere to the law of the Septennial Act, which though passed originally for a specific and selfish purpose, has conduced to the country's welfare.

As King George now considered himself safe on the throne of England, he was desirous of visiting his Hanoverian dominions. The state of affairs on the Continent, he said, demanded his attention. His responsible advisers objected to his quitting the kingdom at this juncture, but remonstrance was useless. Accordingly—as by the Act of Settlement he was restricted from leaving his British dominions—a bill was brought in to repeal that clause of the Act which debarred him from going to his continental possessions, and which passed through both Houses without opposition. King George had on this occasion some excuse for passing over to the Continent. In the summer of this year a storm was gathering over his German dominions from the quarter of Sweden. That storm was called up by George's anxiety, as elector of Hanover, to extend his dominions on the Continent. Without entering at length into continental history, it may be briefly stated that Charles XII., king of Sweden, who was an ambitious monarch, had some years previously been at war with the northern potentates. For some time his arms were victorious, but finally his conquests were brought to an end, in the year 1709, by the Russian czar, at Pultowa. From that time till the year 1714, he was detained as a captive at Bender, in Turkey, whither he had fled for refuge. Meanwhile the Danes, Norwegians, Prussians, Saxons, and other nations that had crouched at his feet helped themselves to some of his territories. By the peace of Westphalia, the rich districts of Bremen and Verden, which had formerly been bishoprics and separate states, were ceded to Sweden, and were in the peaceable possession of Charles when he became a captive. These were seized by Frederick of Denmark; but when Charles in 1714 burst upon Europe again, finding that he had not the power to secure his prey or even to defend himself, he entered into a treaty in July, 1715, with George, not as king of England but as elector of Hanover, by which he on his part gave up to the elector the territories he had seized, and the elector on his part engaged to join the coalition, and to pay his Danish majesty a sum equal to about 150,000*l.* sterling. There can be no doubt that by obtaining the possession of Bremen and Verden George considerably strengthened his interest in the empire, and gave great additional weight to the Protestant cause. But by this ill-timed bargain and treaty another enemy to England was created. It would have been wise, indeed, if when conferring the crown of England on the elector of Hanover, he had been required to relinquish his continental dominions to some other member of his family; and if not, at least to have bound him not to seek to extend those dominions at the expense of other potentates. By his treaty with Frederick of Denmark, it was instantly demonstrated that a king of England, who was the sovereign of another country, was not likely to be long at peace with his neighbours. By the treaty which King George entered into with Frederick of Denmark, foreign war became imminent. Charles XII. breathed vengeance against the king of Great Britain. To avert it, in the autumn of 1715 a British squadron was sent under Sir John Norris to the Baltic, under the pretext that it was necessary to protect the British trade and shipping; but in reality to compel Charles to submit to the terms of the coalition, and agree to cede certain territories; the most prominent condition being that Bremen and Verden should henceforth belong to the elector of Hanover. About the same time that Norris appeared with his fleet in the Baltic, six thousand Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, where George's son-in-law, Frederick William of Prussia, with his giant grenadiers, aided by a body of Danes, was seeking to compel Charles to resign his pretensions to Stettin, which Prussia had obtained in pawn for a payment of sixty thousand pounds. The war raged furiously. The Islands of Rugen and Uledon were reduced. Charles made his last effort at Stralsund, where he was overpowered and compelled to return to Sweden. Furious at being thus assailed by King George and the English cabinet, he meditated an invasion of England on behalf of the Pretender, but his bold scheme, as will be seen, was defeated.

Meanwhile the new sovereign of England, if he had not been checked by his ministers, would have rushed into war with a potentate far more formidable than the king of Sweden: a potentate whose early history reads more like romance than sober truth. This was Peter, the czar of Russia, a monarch of extraordinary character and boundless ambition. When Sir John Norris was sent with a fleet into the Baltic, the Russians were, with the Danes and Swedes, carrying on a maritime war in that sea, which was highly prejudicial to the commerce of England. The British government, indeed, was convinced that at this early period Peter was desirous of making himself master of all the coast of the Baltic at least; a policy which has actuated the autocrats of Russia from that day to the present time. That he had these ambitious views is evident, for at the moment his rival Charles, king of Sweden, whose provinces lay between his states and the Baltic, was projecting an invasion of England in favour of the Pretender, Peter was attempting to obtain portions of both Denmark and Germany. Taking advantage of dissensions which prevailed in Mecklenburgh, Peter, to assist the duke—who had married his niece—poured an army of Muscovites into that territory. Alarmed at this bold movement, Frederick, king of Denmark, having remonstrated with him in vain, applied to his close ally King George for aid to repel his encroachment. George, who was himself interested as a Geman prince with the czar's movements, and who moreover hated him, in his rage conceived a project of crushing the czar forthwith: "to secure his ships, and even to seize his person, to be kept till his troops should evacuate Germany." His secretary, Stanhope, who was then at Hanover, was not personally disinclined thus to rush into a war with Russia, but the question with him was, what would be said of such a desperate measure at home? It was a proposal too daring to be adopted without the sanction of the English cabinet as a body, and therefore he resisted George's importunities to carry his scheme into execution without their consent. In his letter, he did all he could to induce the ministry to fall in with the king's views; representing that the czar if let alone would not only make himself master of Denmark, but with a body of troops which he had still behind on the frontiers of Poland, might also make invasion wherever he pleased in Germany. But Lord Townshend and the cabinet generally, together with the king's son, Frederick, who had been left "guardian of the realm"—but with very limited powers—were all adverse to a war with the czar, and indeed to any war in the north; and George had the mortification to find that England was not inclined to do battle for his Germanic dominions.

Meanwhile, Secretary Stanhope had been carrying on a tedious negotiation for a definite treaty with France, separate from, and independent of the general arrangements of Utrecht. In the spring of 1716 defensive alliances had been concluded by the British government with the states-general and the emperor of Germany, to operate in case of aggression on either of them by France or other powers. But at this time there was no fear of aggression on the part of France. If the regent ever had any such views, the issue of the rebellion of 1715 had entirely set them aside. The duke of Orleans was even anxious, not only to avoid a rupture with England, but to secure its support to his expected succession to the crown of France. That crown was worn by Louis XV., a sickly boy, whose chief future prospect was the cold grave. The treaty of Utrecht had acknowledged the right of the duke of Orleans' succession to the throne of France, when it became vacant, but he had a possible rival in Philip V. of Spain. It is true Philip, who stood nearer to the throne of France than the regent Orleans, had, when he became king of Spain, made a solemn act of renunciation to that throne, but it was just possible that he might obtain absolution from his oaths, and, notwithstanding his solemn act and the treaty of Utrecht, still lay claim to the kingdom of France. In truth his actions showed that he was thus disposed, for he was using all his efforts to deprive Orleans of the regency, which he felt was a tolerably sure stepping-stone to the kingdom. Hence it was essential that he should have the support of the king of England. Nor probably was it less essential that the king of England should have the support of Orleans, either as regent or king. The Pretender was still in France, and while in that region he might yet prove a dangerous neighbour to King George. It was mutual interests, therefore, that were sought in these negotiations. The treaty of Utrecht had for instance bound France to demolish Dunkirk, and to fill up its port, and that port had been partially destroyed; but the French government had, in order to obtain an equivalent, commenced digging a new basin and a new canal at Mardyke, not only upon the same coast, but at a very short distance from Dunkirk. If George would consent to this scheme, which had been denounced under Queen Anne, then, said the French diplomatists, the duke of Orleans would consent to all King George's complaints: the Pretender should no longer stay on the soil of France. They argued, and that rightly, that Mardyke was not Dunkirk, but the English cabinet knew that it would serve the same warlike purposes, and therefore they insisted that the basin and canal commenced at Mardyke should, before the projected treaty of alliance was signed, be filled up. England, said Stanhope, would not only support the duke in his regency, but would guarantee his succession to the throne of France if the young king should die, but it would never consent to the continuance of the works at Mardyke. There was much contention on this point, but finally the regent complied with this and all other demands. Mardyke was simply to be an unprotected fishing port, incapable of receiving either men-of-war or privateers. The Pretender, also, was immediately to be driven from Avignon, where he then resided, and never under any pretence to return to France or Lorraine; and no rebellious subjects of Great Britain were to reside within their borders. This treaty, moreover, contained a mutual guarantee of all places possessed by the contracting powers; of the Protestant succession to the throne of England, and of that of the duke of Orleans to the throne of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to either power which should be disturbed at home, or invaded from abroad. When the preliminaries of this treaty were signed by Stanhope, on the part of King George, and the Abbé Dubois, the prime adviser of the duke of Orleans, they were forwarded to London for approval, and to the Hague for a further accession to the treaty; it being the express desire of King George that his best allies the Dutch should be a party to it. It was finally concluded, on the 4th of January, 1717, and is known in history as "the Triple Alliance."

In the conduct of this negotiation with France there was a difference of opinion between Stanhope and Townshend, which with other causes of disagreement produced a schism in the ministry, which drove Townshend from the helm of affairs. Their quarrels led to a schism in the Whig administration. They had become so fierce in November, 1716, that while the king was at his hunting-seat at Gohre, Stanhope tendered his resignation on the ground that it was impossible for him any longer to co-operate with one who was "at once so positive and dilatory." Townshend had been positive in the matter of the projected war with Russia, and he stood accused of being dilatory in that of the treaty with France. On both these subjects he had fallen into disrepute with his master, King George, while, on the other hand, from the part he had taken in them, Stanhope had risen into favour. Obstinate himself, George could not brook opposition, while to any one who would humour his views he was all complacence. Hence, when Stanhope tendered his resignation, George would not accept it, but gratified his ill-will towards Townshend by commanding him to write a letter to the offending secretary, full of bitter reproaches for his conduct. But there were other circumstances which tended to widen the breach between the king and his secretary. Townshend had not only displeased the king, but he had made an enemy for life in the person of one of the king's German mistresses; and had also provoked her colleague, the Baron Bothmar, by thwarting his continual projects to obtain money for Mademoiselle de Schulemberg's extravagances. But that which chiefly tended to widen the breach and to bring about a ministerial change was a suspicion under which Townshend rested of caballing with the heir to the throne. For it was from this year that our country was called upon to endure for three successive reigns the anomalous calamity of a party opposition to the government of the actual sovereign gathering round the heir apparent. When the king went to Hanover, being jealous of entrusting any special power and authority to the prince of Wales, he was desirous of joining others in commission with him. Townshend opposed this, and George so far yielded as to appoint the prince "guardian of the realm and lieutenant," but with powers hedged round with restrictions. During the king's absence the prince of Wales became highly popular. He was represented to the king as courting popularity by extraordinary means; as uniting himself with the extreme Whigs; and as lending himself to an intrigue headed by the duke of Argyle, which had for its object the exaltation of the son above the father. He had materially aided in raising George *to* and supporting him *on* the throne, but although disgraced, no attempt was made by him to dethrone the king of his choice. Nor was the prince of Wales desirous of usurping his father's throne. In his absence he manifested an eagerness to open the parliament in person; but the most that can be said of that eagerness is, that it was indiscreet. On the other hand, the king himself was imprudent, for he wished parliament to be prorogued that he might make a longer stay in Germany, thus obstructing the business of the country. It was at this point that Townshend got his dismissal. Having written to Stanhope, urging that the king should speedily decide as to his return, and at the same time intimating the prince's wish to open parliament, George was enraged, and avowed his determination to dismiss his chief minister from the office of secretary of state. At the same time, to soften his dismissal, he was offered the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which was at first refused, but finally accepted. When Townshend was removed from the administration, great indignation was expressed throughout the country, for it was considered that he was sacrificed by a cabal which looked upon Hanover as more important than England. So deep was this indignation, that George, on his return from Hanover, with a view of softening it, expressed his regret to Townshend for acting with such precipitation, and the breach was apparently healed. Townshend was to go to Ireland, and Methuen, one of the commissioners of the treasury, succeeded to the office of secretary of state, as the colleague of Stanhope.

The king opened parliament on the 17th of February. In his speech he announced that a treaty of alliance had been concluded with France and the states-general. At the same time, the Houses were informed that the nation had been in danger of an invasion from Sweden and of a conspiracy at home, both which dangers had been averted. Papers, he said, would be laid before them, containing an account of the projected invasion. These papers were "copies of letters which passed between Count Gyllenburg, the Barons Gortz, Spaar, and others, relating to the design of raising a rebellion in his majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden." Gortz was the minister of Charles XII., and Gyllenburg his envoy in London. Letters between them had been intercepted in October, 1716, and on the 29th of January, 1717, Stanhope laid the information obtained from them before the council. Without hesitation the council resolved on one of the most extraordinary measures on record: that of arresting an envoy and seizing his papers. A detachment of foot guards, under General Wade, was forthwith sent on that errand. Wade found the count making up some despatches, and telling him that he was his prisoner, seized the papers on the table, and demanded the keys of his escritoire. As a matter of course, Gyllenburg resisted: warmly pleading the protection ambassadors of foreign potentates were entitled to by the law of nations. But it was to no purpose. Wade broke open his escritoire, carried away his papers, and put a guard over his prisoner. The circumstances of the case fully justified this bold act of the government. The intercepted letters fully proved that Gyllenburg was connected with a conspiracy, and the law does not sanction an ambassador in plotting against a government to which he is accredited. His guilt was fully manifested by the contents of the papers seized by Wade. Those papers showed clearly that a scheme had been organized for an insurrection in England, and a simultaneous invasion of Scotland: that scheme being mainly incited by the king's bargain with Denmark for Bremen and Verden. As one of the intercepted letters expressed, "there was no medium: either Bremen or the Hanoverian must be sacrificed." But Sweden was not alone in the matter: Spain had entered into the confederacy. That treacherous court had remitted a million of French livres to Spaar, the Swedish envoy in Paris, in aid of the enterprise. The Pretender had, also, offered 60,000*l.* to Charles XII. for the support of his forces. All this, and more, was discovered from the papers of Gyllenburg, fully justifying his arrest. All the ambassadors in London coincided, indeed, in its justice, except Monteleone from Spain, who expressed his concern that no other way could be found without arresting the person of a public minister and seizing papers which were the repositories of his master's secrets. Such an act, he argued, sensibly wounded the law of nations. On the same day that Gyllenburg was arrested, Mr. Cæsar, a creature of Lord Oxford's, and Sir Joseph Banks, were apprehended on suspicion of plotting against the government. Gortz, the Swedish residentiary of Holland, was also subsequently arrested, and his papers seized by an order from the states at the desire of King George. Gortz boldly owned that he had projected the invasion; justifying himself by the conduct of King George, who had joined the confederates against his master without provocation, and had purchased Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark. As for the king of Sweden, he neither owned nor disowned the acts of his ministers, but he retaliated by ordering the arrest of the British minister at his court, and forbidding the Dutch resident to appear in his presence.

This affair led to a renewal of the breach between the king and his ministers. When it came before parliament, the Commons expressed their utmost indignation. A spirit of war against Sweden pervaded the whole assembly. Instant war was proposed, but Stanhope this time was not disposed to be so precipitate. He rather advocated first to provide against the threatened danger. In April he came down to the House with a royal message, informing the Commons that there was still danger impending, and asking for an extraordinary supply by which his majesty might enter into such engagements with other powers as might enable him effectually to avert the storm. This occasioned a stormy debate. The proposition met with stern opposition. One member said it would appear surprising to the whole world, that a nation not long before the terror of France should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as Sweden. It does indeed seem extraordinary that money should be asked for to subsidize foreign allies on such an occasion, unless it was imagined that their forces would be required to put down a rebellion in England, of which the chances were becoming very remote. On the subject of an extraordinary supply, the Whigs themselves differed. Many of them opposed it, and others only gave it a cold support. Walpole, who was first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, spoke in its favour, but with a reserve that was more significant than censure; while all his adherents and those of Townshend voted boldly against the supply. The motion for a supply was carried, but only by a majority of four votes. It was clear that the ministry was now divided against itself. There were divided councils in the Whig camp, which required a change in their body. That same evening, indeed, Stanhope informed Townshend that he was no longer lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The next morning brought other changes. Walpole, Methuen, and Pulteney resigned office, and a few days later the duke of Devonshire and others followed their example. The king entreated Walpole to keep the seals of the chancellor of the exchequer, but to no purpose; and from that time he became terrible in opposition, and little less than a Jacobite. Stanhope now became the head of the government, Sunderland and Addison secretaries of state, James Craggs secretary of war, the earl of Berkeley first lord of the Admiralty, the duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain, and the duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This new cabinet is known in history as the German ministry.

The "German ministry" commenced its administration by courting the public favour. The supply—250,000*l.*—had been granted, and now they advised economy. It was not much wanted. In May, Sir George Byng, who had sailed with a fleet to observe the motions of the Swedes, returned, and anchored in the Sound. The dreaded Swedes were not coming, and the subsidized allies were not required. There were no signs of rebellion, and there were not so many soldiers wanted at home. The smoke had not kindled into a flame. At one fell swoop therefore orders were given for the reduction of ten thousand soldiers; their swords were to be exchanged for the ploughshare. The announcement of this reduction was made by his majesty in person on the 6th of May; and the German ministry flattered themselves that their wise economy would go far to disarm opposition. But there were other subjects over which the Whigs could quarrel among themselves and with their hereditary opponents the Tories to their hearts' content. Anxious to secure popularity, the new cabinet not only recommended the reduction of the army, but also an act of grace to extend to many persons both in England and Scotland. From this act of grace Lord Oxford, who had been pining in the Tower for nearly two years, was to be excepted. He was to be brought to trial. The day fixed by the Lords for his trial was the 24th of June, by which day the Commons were required to make good their charges. But the recent changes in the cabinet made that a difficult task. Those who had drawn up the accusation were now out of office, and a marvellous change came over their opinions. Then the salvation of the country depended upon his head being severed from his body; now it could be saved without such a catastrophe. Walpole, who had been chairman of the committee which sent Oxford to the Tower, would no longer act the prosecutor, and so another chairman was appointed. The German ministry's bid for popularity had failed by exempting Oxford from the act of grace. The head of Oxford was as safe as though it had never been in danger. Acting with the Jacobite chancellor Harcourt, the bosom friend of the accused and the Tories, both Walpole and Towshend resolved that he should be set free. On the appointed day the peers were assembled in Westminster Hall, and the Commons appeared as prosecutors. The king was there, and so were the rest of the royal family and the corps diplomatique as spectators. Oxford also was there: bareheaded at the bar, with the executioner and his keen-edged axe by his side. It was a scene for a painter: a page not only for history but romance. The first article of impeachment referred to the treaty of Utrecht. This was fatal to the whole proceeding. The Jacobite Harcourt urged that no evidence should be received on the charges for misdemeanour until the charges of high treason were disposed of. The Lords retired to consider this weighty question, and a resolution to that effect was moved and carried by a majority of eighty-eight to fifty-six; the Walpole or Townshend Whigs voting with the Tories. The Commons were indignant at this proceeding, more especially as it was felt that it was suggested by Walpole. They refused to comply with it, regarding it as an infringement of their privileges. But the Lords would not give way. The trial was postponed till the 1st of July, when the Commons were required to appear and substantiate the charges of high treason against the delinquent. On that day there was another scene for a painter in Westminster Hall. The Lords were there, and so were the accused and the headsman with his axe, but the king and the royal family were not there: nor were the Commons. So after sitting about a quarter of an hour in silence, the Lords returned to their own House, where a motion was made and carried that, as no prosecutor had appeared, Lord Oxford was acquitted; and his liberation was cheered by the multitude and was received with satisfaction by the nation generally, both Whigs and Tories. The session closed by an act of grace, by which the Lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn, and hundreds of others lying under sentence of death or in confinement for the rebellion of 1715 were set free. Both in England and Scotland the prison doors were generally thrown open to the captive Jacobites; but Thomas Harley and Matthew Prior were excepted from this act of grace, as were " all and every person of the name and clan of Macgregor." But after all this clemency was not complete, for the Act of attainder against them was not reversed, and their forfeited estates were retained by the crown.

During this session a financial scheme was mooted which had for its object the reduction of the national debt. It may, indeed, be considered to have been the germ of the Sinking Fund. The national debt was comprehended under two heads: redeemable, and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with an interest which the public had a right to discharge, and the others consisted of long and short annuities, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Walpole, who was a skilful financier, had brought in a bill for lessening the interest and paying the capital of these debts, but his plan was only approved, not carried into law. It was left for Stanhope to carry it through parliament if he could. But Stanhope was no financier. He desired to carry out Walpole's scheme, but instead of carrying it forward untouched, alterations were made in it which called forth the warmest opposition of its original promoter.

Harassed by his neighbours, Charles XII. of Sweden would never have found either time or opportunity to carry out his projected scheme of invasion. He became anxious indeed for a temporary reconciliation, which, through the mediation of the regent of France, was effected, and the respective envoys were liberated; Gyllenburg in England, Gortz in Holland, and Jackson in Sweden. But, thanks to the Hanoverian succession, the kingdom was still entangled in the net of continental politics. Gyllenburg's letters implied to some extent that the Czar Peter was privy to the conspiracy, which his minister at the English court indignantly denied. On the contrary, he charged that court with having privately treated of a peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the Czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. At the same time he expressed his desire to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures against the common enemy. George replied with the retort courteous. The Czar, he said, should have full reason to be satisfied if he would withdraw his troops from the empire, and so this matter ended: but the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled. Subsequently, indeed, the Czar, who was as mad a monarch as Charles himself, entered into a convention with him, by which they bound themselves to unite all their forces against King George, if he should presume to interpose in a plan of peace which they were negotiating for their mutual aggrandisement in the empire. But this plan was never accomplished, for Charles was killed by a cannon-ball in the trenches before Frederickstadt in Norway, and by his death Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover.

No sooner, however, was one danger passed than another threatened. New rumours of wars with Spain agitated not only England but Europe. At this time Cardinal Alberoni was prime minister of Spain. Alberoni was one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was the son of an Italian labourer, but during the war of the succession he had been in Spain with the duke de Vendôme, through whose influence, gained by his agreeable qualities, he had gradually worked his way to the highest trust and dignity. Philip V. of Spain was a weak-minded monarch. He was governed by the queen, and the queen was governed by Alberoni. Hitherto the cardinal had seemingly been a friend of King George. The king his master, he said, looked up to him, next to God, as his friend. He had been corresponding with Stanhope on the subject of a commercial treaty, in which correspondence he manifested a strong desire to be on good terms with the British government. But his tone soon became changed. Under the treaty of Utrecht the emperor of Germany held the dominions in Italy which had formerly belonged to Spain; and as Great Britain had been a party to that treaty the court of Spain was offended. Until Spain recovered Naples, Milan, and everything in Italy and elsewhere which had been separated from her by that treaty, Spain was held to be a dishonoured country. The alliance with France was still more offensive to the court of Spain; for that cut off all hope of Philip annexing that kingdom to his own. There was therefore an open rupture between the English and Spanish courts. A war, at least, between Spain and the house of Austria was inevitable. Alberoni had great objects in view by which he hoped to raise Spain in the scale of nations. At first he worked secretly. An armament was prepared at Barcelona, which he gave out was to make war against the infidels and pirates on the African coast. In August, however, twelve ships of war, under the command of the Marquess Lede, sailed from Barcelona and anchored in the Bay of Cagliari. The Austrian governor of Cagliari was summoned to surrender, and on his refusal eight or nine thousand troops were landed by Lede on the island of Sardinia, of which, after a stern resistance, they took possession. But the expedition was not merely intended to seize this single territory. Alberoni declared that no further projects were contemplated; but it was clear that Spain, as a first step to recover her lost dominions, was about to seize Sicily, which had by the treaty of Utrecht been handed over to Victor Amadeus. Accordingly the Triple Alliance took the alarm. England and France sent their ambassadors to Spain to attempt to restore peace between Philip and the emperor. Holland also joined them in their attempts to preserve the peace of Europe. They demanded that Spain should give up her recent conquest of Sardinia. The pope too, overawed by the Austrians, who were now all-powerful in Italy, in his peculiar way, aided them in their endeavour to preserve the peace. Like the sovereign pontiffs of old, he directed a terrible brief against Philip, threatening him with the vengeance of heaven, and assuring him that his soul was at stake if he did not withdraw his troops from Sardinia. But the Cardinal Alberoni fortified his master's mind against the pontiff's fulminations, and they were disregarded. Alberoni knew the value of them at this period, and therefore cared not for the holy father's wrath. At the same time he was compelled, from the attitude of the Triple Alliance, to dissemble and open a negotiation. His chief object, however, was to gain time, for while he was amusing the ambassadors with hopes of an accommodation he was preparing for war. Directed by the energy of this Italian priest, Spain threw off her accustomed lethargy. Ships were built, cannons cast, arms forged, and soldiers and sailors engaged in all quarters. Nor was this all. If Europe was combined against Spain, there could be no chance of success, and therefore Alberoni, while he was urging on his preparations for war, extended his intrigues in all directions. He urged the Sultan of Turkey to persevere in a war in which he was engaged with the emperor; excited his disaffected subjects in Hungary and Transylvania to rebel against him; encouraged Baron Gortz in his scheme for the invasion of England; corresponded with the Pretender, who had now fixed his residence at Rome, and proposed a Spanish expedition to Great Britain, to be either commanded by him in person, or by the duke of Ormond; sought to stir up the Jacobites in England and Scotland again to risk their lives on behalf of James Edward; attempted to alarm the English people, and to make them adverse to a war with Spain, by representing that they would thereby lose a most valuable portion of their trade; endeavoured to excite the old commercial jealousies of the Dutch against the English; and finally did his utmost to unite Charles XII. and the Czar Peter against the emperor, and above all against the king, to whom he had declared his master, next to God, looked up to as his friend. Yet all the while he was thus casting firebrands among the nations of Europe, he was amusing the ambassadors of England, France, and Holland with hopes of peace. But how they could have been thus amused is marvellous, for his denunciation of the treaty of Utrecht throughout the whole of the negotiations was plain and unmistakable as to their issue. That treaty, he maintained, had failed to place the peace of Europe on a peaceable foundation. War, he said, had been made to establish the balance of power, and peace was concluded minus that balance. It was "a treaty made by the devil." Could language be more expressive, or more significant of Alberoni's ulterior designs? Yet the year 1717 closed before the eyes of Europe were opened.

On the 21st of November parliament assembled. The king spoke hopefully of preserving tranquillity at home, but notwithstanding ministers proposed to increase the army. Eighteen thousand men were demanded for the service of the ensuing year, but Walpole thought two-thirds would be amply sufficient. If we wanted, he said, to remain a free country, the numbers of the military force must be kept down: a strange argument, in the face of threatened dangers. Notwithstanding, the Walpole Whigs, and the Jacobites and Tories, not only endorsed his arguments, but carried them out by voting the reduction. A Mutiny Bill, brought in this session, formed another subject for heat and altercation between the rival parties. Walpole, who had formerly been secretary at war, and favourable to a military code, now argued that courts-martial were inconsistent with the genius and dispositions of the people, and that the offences of the soldiery should be punished by the civil magistrate. He denounced the bill, indeed, as an encroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England. But, after all, Walpole voted for the bill, and being reproached for his inconsistency, he excused himself by saying that, although in the heat of the debate he was of opinion that mutiny and desertion should be punished by the civil magistrate, yet he was convinced that those crimes should be punished by martial law rather than escape with impunity. The bill, which passed both Houses, gave courts-martial the power to punish mutiny and desertion with death.

Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of March. Before it closed the king, by a message to the Commons, pointed out the necessity of an increase of the navy; and the Commons had, by an address, assured him that the House would make good such increase of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. No specific subject was named, but Walpole rightly observed that the message and address had the air of a declaration of war against Spain. As yet, however, there was no open rupture between the two countries. The negotiations for peace still continued, but every day tended to show that in continuing them Alberoni's object was to gain time. It became evident, therefore, that the British government must prepare for warlike operations; and that all attempts to reconcile the conflicting interests of the emperor and Philip king of Spain would prove abortive. It became also equally evident that the treaty of Utrecht had not placed the balance of power in Europe on a durable foundation, and that other territorial arrangements must be made before peace could be established. Accordingly there was, in the course of the summer, a famous Quadruple Alliance concluded between the courts of Vienna, Paris, the Hague, and London; an alliance by which King George and the regent prescribed a peace between the emperor, the king of Spain, and Victor Amadeus of Sicily. Their scheme was this: The Infant Don Carlos was to have the reversion of Parma and Tuscany; the emperor was to have Sicily instead of Sardinia, which had been taken from him by the Spaniards; Victor Amadeus was to have Sardinia instead of Sicily; and as Sardinia was in all respects, both in extent, wealth, and population, inferior to Sicily, as a make-weight, the emperor was to acknowledge the claims of his House, that of Savoy, to the Spanish succession in case of the failure of Philip's issue. The kings of Spain and Sicily were to be allowed three months to adopt or reject this new balance of power, and the latter alternative was to bring down the vengeance of the Quadruple Alliance upon their devoted heads. Lord Stanhope himself went to Spain, in the hope of inducing Alberoni to accede to these terms; and, strange to say, he was prepared to offer to give up to Spain, if necessary, the old Rock of Gibraltar, which he conceived to be a place "of no great consequence." But that sacrifice was not called for. Before Stanhope arrived in Madrid, an armament, under the Marquess Lede, had entered the Bay of Solanto, and his soldiers had landed and captured Palermo, the Sicilian capital. Stanhope's mission was a complete failure. Alberoni declared for war: eternal war, rather than submit to such an infamous project.

"Into fighting, therefore, arising out of the squabbles of the empire and of Spain, was England precipitated." Indeed, before the gauntlet was thrown down by Alberoni, war had commenced. Early in June, Sir George Byng was sent out with a fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, and two bomb-vessels, with ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. If he found the Spanish fleet engaged in any hostile enterprise against Sicily or Naples, or any other territories belonging to the emperor in Italy, then he was to attack it; but if not, he was to use his utmost endeavours with both parties to refrain from acts of hostility. On arriving off Cadiz, Byng sent a copy of his instructions to the Spanish minister Alberoni, who tore the paper into shreds, and returned for answer that he might execute the orders he had received if he could. Byng's fleet anchored in the Bay of Naples on the 1st of August. He expected to find the Spanish armament there, but instead of that he discovered that it was at that time engaged in the siege of Messina. Taking on board two thousand German troops to reinforce the Piedmontese garrison of Messina, he hastened to the relief of the beleaguered city. He entered the narrow strait, and came in sight of Messina on the 9th of August. Acting under his instructions, he despatched his flag-captain to General Lede with a proposal for a suspension of arms for two months, in order that the powers of Europe, who were still negotiating, might have time to settle terms of peace. At the same time Byng intimated that, if his proposal was rejected, he must use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb dominions which his master had undertaken to defend. But the Marquess Lede had *his* instructions, and they gave him no powers to treat. His orders, he replied, were to seize all Sicily for his master the king of Spain, and at all risks he must obey them. If the Spanish fleet had remained at anchor in the straits of Messina in line of battle, with the batteries Lede had constructed behind them, it would have been in comparative safety; but instead of this, the admirals put to sea from the harbour of Messina the day before the English fleet appeared. Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course to Messina in order to encourage the garrison in the besieged citadel; but in doubling the point of Faro he discerned, mid-channel, two scouts of the Spanish fleet; and about the same time he learned from the crew of a felucca from the Calabrian shore that the Spanish fleet was lying-to in order of battle at the other end of the strait towards Taormina. Detaching the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men-of-war, Byng sailed with the main body of his fleet in that direction. On he went through the straits of Messina, with all sails set and flags flying, the Calabrians and Sicilians on either shore, and on the hills on either side, gazing at the unwonted sight. The Spanish fleet came in view at noonday. It consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, seven galleys, two fire-ships, and four bomb-vessels. This was on the 10th of August; but there was no fighting on that day. The Spanish admiral, Casteñata, did not choose to keep his position, but slipped into the current, hoisted every sail, and fled towards Cape Passaro. Off that cape, on the following morning, the English squadron was carried by a strong breeze into the very heart of the Spanish fleet. Six of their men-of-war, under the Spanish rear-admiral, De Marè, with all the galleys, fire-ships, bombs, and store-ships, were separated from the main body, and standing in for the Sicilian shore; and Byng, before he commenced the action, detached Captain Walton, with six ships under his command, to look after them. This done, he prepared for battle. It is said that the Spaniards commenced the action, and that although the Spanish admirals acted without a settled plan, the battle was hotly contested. But victory did not long remain doubtful. One by one the Spanish ships were captured, three ships of war and three frigates only excepted, which took refuge in flight. In this battle the English fleet suffered but little damage. That which suffered most was the Grafton, commanded by the brave Captain Nicholas Haddock, who was foremost in the fight, and who signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. Haddock engaged several of the enemy, and having disabled them, left them to be taken by those who followed him, and pressed on to engage others in advance, until at length he reached the headmost. Five days after, Captain Walton reported to Byng that he had taken all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast. The Spanish fleet was almost annihilated. But notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of Messina, and that with such vigour, that before the end of September it was captured. At the close of the year's campaign all Sicily, except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, had succumbed to the power of Spain. After his victory, Byng had called upon the Sicilians to rise against the Spanish army on shore and finish the war at once; but they did not respond to his call. It was evident, indeed, that they rather inclined to their old masters than to either the emperor or the House of Savoy; and that although the Quadruple Alliance had given Sicily to the emperor, he would never get possession of it except by the moral superiority of England. As for Victor Amadeus, losing all hope of his regaining possession of the island, he finally acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and consented to put Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, which he still held by his garrisons, into the hands of the emperor. At the same time the emperor engaged to assist the Savoyard in the conquest of Sardinia. Byng anchored for the winter in the Bay of Naples. Soon after his victory, he had received an autograph letter from King George, approving his conduct, and giving him authority to negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as he should see occasion; and while at Naples he received one of more value from the emperor, for it was not only written by his own royal hand, thanking him in the most gracious terms for his valour, conduct, and zeal in the common cause, but it was accompanied with a portrait adorned with sparkling diamonds.

Parliament met on the 11th of November. In his opening speech, the king announced that he had concluded terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the greatest princes of Europe; but that Spain having rejected all amicable proposals, it had been found necessary for our naval forces to check their progress. His arms had been successful, he said; but, notwithstanding, the court of Spain had given orders at all its ports at home and the West Indies to fit out privateers against the English. Parliament, he was assured, would enable him to resent such treatment, and his "good brother," the regent of France, was, he informed them, ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. But parliament was not so ready to assist King George as he imagined. There was a strong opposition to the address moved by Lord Carteret: offering his majesty thanks and congratulation for the naval victory obtained by Byng. In the Lords it was urged that an address of that nature was to approve a sea fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences; that their sanction to it might either clash with the law of nations, or of former treaties, or be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain; and therefore they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation in an affair where the honour, as well as the interest of the nation were so gravely concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House; but Earl Stanhope replied that there was no occasion for such an address, since the treaties of which the late sea fight was a consequence were already before the House. He argued that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht; had acted against the public faith in attacking the emperor's dominions while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom; and that it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain in order to protect the trade of British subjects, which had been insolently oppressed by the Spaniards. A debate of a similar nature on the address occurred in the Commons, where Walpole declared that the giving sanction in the manner proposed to the late measures was called for in order to screen ministers, who, having begun a war with Spain, were desirous of throwing the onus of it on parliament. After warm debates, however, the address was carried in both Houses. The Commons then proceeded to consider the supply; and they voted 13,500 seamen and 12,435 men for the land service. The whole estimate amounted to 2,257,580*l.* for the current year, which was raised by a land tax, malt tax, and lottery.

During this session, in a spirit of a truly enlightened liberality, Earl Stanhope brought in a bill which sought to repeal the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism and Test Acts, and even to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics. The bill had been concerted by the ministry in private meetings with some of the most eminent dissenters, but it was found to be too enlightened for the age. When it was introduced into the Upper House, the Tory Lords stood aghast at its boldness and liberality. But their lips were soon opened against it. Latent bigotry and open political manœuvre prevented toleration from becoming the rule of government. In both Houses there were warm debates on its principles, and when the bill passed it was sadly mutilated: the repeal of the Test Act was rejected, and the Roman Catholics were not relieved from the pains and penalties to which they were subjected.

Late in this session, the last day of February, 1719, a bill was brought into the Lords for limiting the creation of new peers. As the king was at variance with the prince of Wales it was thought that he sanctioned this measure in order to take vengeance on him by weakening his party, the Tories. The bill proposed to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six of the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations; that, instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. The bill was introduced by the duke of Somerset, and was warmly supported by the duke of Argyle, the lord steward of the household, and by the earl of Sunderland, who had recently become a member of the cabinet. The bill, indeed, is generally attributed to Sunderland, who had offended the prince of Wales beyond hope of pardon or of reconciliation; and who, therefore, had a motive for wishing to limit his prerogative when he became king; for if George II., following the example of Queen Anne, should create peers by the dozen, "there could be no security as to the principles or votes of the House of Lords, and the obnoxious Sunderland might in such case have cause to fear impeachment and attainder." The Whigs, as a body, had declaimed loudly against the creation of Tory peers by Queen Anne, and had laid it down as a part of their policy that the crown ought to be deprived of such a dangerous power, but on this occasion they were not so unanimous. The great Whigs, Cowper, who had resigned the chancellorship, and Townshend, joined with the Tories in denouncing it as destructive of the very principle of monarchy. The Scottish peers also joined in the cry against it, and the English commoners took the alarm. By the bill they saw, if it passed, that the avenues of dignity and title would be shut against them, and hence they exclaimed against it as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Such a clamour was raised against it, that although it was twice read without a division, when the time arrived for the third reading, Stanhope announced that, as it had made a great noise, and as it was likely to meet with stern opposition in the other House, he would postpone the measure till a more fitting opportunity.

Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of April, on which occasion his majesty told both Houses that the king of Spain had acknowledged the Pretender. But he was not afraid of leaving his kingdom to the chances of an invasion, for in May, accompanied by Stanhope, he again set off to his continental dominions. On this occasion his antipathy to the prince of Wales was manifested in a scandalous manner. He was neither to take part in the affairs of the kingdom nor the court, for the regency consisted of lords justices, among whom his name was not mentioned, and the duty of holding levees was assigned to the young princesses.

Meanwhile Cardinal Alberoni had been employing all his intrigues, industry, and power, for the gratification of his revenge. He had caused new ships to be built, and all the sea-ports of Spain to be put in a posture of defence. Succours had also been sent to Sicily, and measures taken for the security of Sardinia. Alberoni had, moreover, been everywhere diplomatising and intriguing to further his designs. The death of Charles XII., in December, 1718, in the manner before related, put an end to his intrigues in the north, for Charles's sister Ulrica, who ascended the throne, took into her counsels ministers whose policy was the very reverse of those by whom the late project against England had been framed. Gortz, indeed, the chief promoter of that project, had been sent to the scaffold, and there was now nothing to fear from Sweden and Russia, for the death of Charles had severed the bonds between them by which they had been pledged to restore the House of Stuart in England. But Alberoni did not yet despair of obtaining his revenge. He had emissaries in other countries beside Sweden and Russia. At this time the regent of France was very unpopular. The alliance which he had formed with England was very distasteful to a great part of the nation, while the profligacy and power of his minister, the Abbé Dubois, gave wide-spread offence. The regent was surrounded with enemies, and the prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, was not slow in making use of them. A scheme was formed for seizing him while engaged in some of his usual orgies, to shut him up in the Bastile, to convoke the states-general, and to proclaim Philip, king of Spain, regent, with the duke of Maine, who favoured the design, as his deputy. The duke of Orleans was warned of this plot by friends both in England and Madrid, but nothing was known as to the time and place when it was to be put into execution. Measures, however, were taken to avert the danger. The regent took his pleasure as before, but the Abbé Dubois was on the watch for his preservation. The conspirators were, in truth, soon betrayed. It was discovered that the Abbé Portocarrero, and a son of the marquis of Montelone, were carrying despatches from Cellamare to Madrid. Dubois gave orders to pursue them, and Portocarrero was arrested at Poictiers, and letters were found on his person by which the regent was made acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The regent behaved with singular moderation on this occasion. Under almost any other prince the principals in this affair would have been executed, but he contented himself with sending him across the frontiers, and by committing the duke of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal Polignac, and other persons of distinction, to different prisons. On finding that the conspiracy was discovered, Alberoni made no attempt at denial, but, on the contrary, prevailed upon Philip to issue a manifesto in justification of all the measures taken to overthrow the regency of the duke of Orleans, on which the regent declared war against Spain.

The intrigues of Alberoni in the north and in France had, therefore, signally failed. But he had still one more card to play. At this period the Pretender was in Italy, spending his time alternately at Rome and Urbino. He had recently contracted a marriage with a granddaughter of John Sobieski, the heroic king of Poland; but as that princess was on her way to Italy she was arrested by the orders of the emperor, and detained in his castle of Innspruck. The Pretender himself was not safe in Italy, for the Austrians now had the complete ascendency in the peninsula, and the English fleet was cruising triumphantly off its shores. It was while James Edward was thus situated that he received an invitation from Alberoni to repair to Madrid. Ormond had there concerted with Alberoni a scheme for exciting another insurrection in Great Britain, and he was wanted to give his kingly sanction to it. The Pretender was at Urbino when he received the invitation, and he immediately prepared for his departure. He quitted Urbino by stealth, and having reached the little port of Nettuno, near the mouth of the Tiber, he embarked and sailed to the coast of Catalonia. The earls of Mar and Perth were not, however, so fortunate, for they, with a party of his suite, having crossed the Apennines into the emperor's dominions of Lombardy, were seized and made secure in the castle of Milan. The Pretender arrived safely in Madrid, where he was made much of by the Spanish court. He had the palace of Buen Retiro assigned him for his residence, and was treated as the legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. All the grandees of Spain with whom Alberoni had not quarrelled—and there were numbers with whom he was at variance—came to James Edward's court at Buen Retiro to pay their respects to him. But before he arrived in Madrid, the duke of Ormond had left it to fight for his cause. Alberoni had prepared a formidable armament at Cadiz for the invasion of England, and Ormond had crossed the Pyrenees to take the command as "captain-general of his most Catholic majesty." Ormond was provided with declarations in the name of his Catholic majesty, importing that for many good reasons he had sent these forces as auxiliaries to the rightful King James. He hoped, he said, that Providence would favour so just a cause, but if it should fail, all who joined in it should find a safe retreat in sunny Spain. Officers and soldiers alike, if they were driven to expatriation, should, he pledged his royal word, be treated as though they were his own subjects. It was originally intended that James should head this expedition, but grave doubts arose in the mind of Alberoni whether this would be wise. He had failed before, and he might fail again. The Scottish and English exiles in Madrid were also divided in opinion as to whether he should go with them, or remain behind till they should make his path easy, but at length, much to James's own satisfaction, it was settled that he should remain in Spain. Ormond was to have, therefore, undivided command. The arrangement was, that while he should land with the main body in England, the Earl Marischal should sail with some troops to Scotland, and Keith, his brother, should go through France to collect the Jacobites who were scattered about in that country. In the mean time, the Abbé Dubois had obtained full information of all Alberoni's schemes, and he had apprised the English government of its danger, politely offering twenty battalions of French soldiers to aid in repelling the invasion. But no foreign aid was needed: although as a precaution six battalions of Austrians and two of Dutch were brought over from the Netherlands. It was certainly necessary to make some preparations to avert the threatened danger, and hence a good squadron of ships was put to sea to secure the channel, while troops were cantoned in the most Jacobite districts both of the north and west. Parliament, which was then sitting, assured the king of their firm resolution to support him with their lives and fortunes; and proclamation was issued offering 10,000*l.* for the apprehension of the commander of the Spanish forces. But Ormond was in greater danger of being drowned than of coming to the block on Tower Hill. His armament, which consisted of five men of war, with twenty transports carrying five thousand men, was scattered by a storm in the Bay of Biscay, and, like the Armada of the days of Elizabeth, were driven back to Spain in a dismantled condition. Of all the ships that sailed from Cadiz only the two frigates, with three hundred men, under Earl Marischal, ever reached the British coast. They landed in May, on the banks of Loch Alsh, and the frigates returned to Spain. Before landing, the Earl Marischal had been joined by Keith, his brother, with Tullibardine, Seaforth, and some other noble refugees who had sailed in a small vessel from France. They established themselves in an old castle in the inner reach of the loch, from whence Lord Seaforth ventured to go up the country in disguise to confer with some of the Highland clans. Scattered parties of Highlanders were induced to join the Spaniards, and they had taken one or two insignificant places before the government was aware that any portion of the Spanish expedition had landed in Scotland. Discovering this, some English ships of war were brought down to the coast, and General Wightman, with about a thousand men, moved from Inverness in search of the insurgents. He found them encamped at the pass at Glenshiel. Their numbers are variously stated: some accounts putting them at about fifteen hundred, and some two thousand. They were advantageously posted, but Wightman fell upon them on the evening of the 10th of June, and they were completely defeated. The next day the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war, but the Highlanders had returned to their mountain homes. The Scottish leaders were fortunate enough to escape from the field of battle, and they with other persons of note took refuge in the Western Isles, where they lay concealed till ships arrived to carry them back to Spain. But they were now no very welcome guests in that country.

During this year the sword and the pen were actively employed in various quarters. On arriving at Hanover, King George concluded a peace with Ulrica, queen of Sweden. By a treaty concluded between them the king of England, or rather the elector of Hanover, secured his petty object of acquiring Bremen and Verden. Ulrica at the same time gave up Stettin and some other places to Prussia. The Czar Peter, however, and the king of Denmark, hesitated at giving up their schemes of conquest. Their aim was to effect the total ruin and dismemberment of the Swedish monarchy. It was in vain that King George and the regent of France offered themselves as mediators: their offer was proudly rejected. By his fleet he scoured the Baltic, and committed fearful ravages on the Swedish coast. Alarmed at his power, Ulrica threw herself on the protection of England; and Sir John Norris was sent to the Baltic with eleven sail of the line for that purpose. At first, however, Norris was only instructed to support the negotiations, and the Czar continued his ravages. It is related that he burned more than a thousand villages as well as the town of Nykoping. At length orders were given to Norris to stop his ravages: to treat his fleet in the Baltic as Byng had treated that of Spain in the Mediterranean. Joining his fleet, therefore, with that of Sweden at Carlscroon, Norris proceeded in search of the Russians; and, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, the Czar recalled his ships with all possible haste. But at this time his ally, the king of Denmark, had entered into negotiations with the queen of Sweden, otherwise the Czar might not have been frightened. His Danish majesty finally accepted a sum of money as an equivalent for all the conquests he had made or hoped to make, so that all the enemies of Queen Ulrica made peace with her, the Czar Peter excepted.

In the Mediterranean Admiral Byng rendered efficient aid to the forces of the emperor in the contest with the Spaniards for the possession of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island. These forces, to the number of thirteen thousand, arrived at Naples in the month of May. Byng had recommended this step, but he had declared that sixteen thousand would not be sufficient. And when the imperialists came they were badly armed, and were in great want of money. Byng, however, supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes. They were under the command of the Count de Mercy. Byng took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and finding that the east coast of Sicily was well guarded, but that the west coast was open, he ran into the bay of Patti, where he landed them without molestation. At that time the Spaniards were entrenched at Melazzo; but as soon as they heard of the landing of the imperialists they marched to the inland town of Franca Villa, from whence three roads branch off to Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse. De Mercy advanced from Patti to Melazzo, where he found that the Spaniards had left their sick, with a portion of their artillery, and a considerable quantity of stores. Imagining from their hasty retreat that the Spaniards would become an easy prey, on the 17th of June he moved from Melazzo in pursuit. By that time his army had increased to twenty-one thousand men, and after a three days' march he reached the ridge of Tre Fontane, from whence he saw the Spaniards encamped below in the plain of Franca Villa. As the imperial army looked down upon them a shout of joy ran through their ranks, for no doubt was entertained of victory. But although encamped in the plain the Spanish army was in a strong position, for before it was the steep rocky banks of the river Alcantara, in its rear was the town of Franca Villa and a ridge covered with armed peasantry, while its two wings rested upon an irregular hill and intrenchments and stone walls. If De Mercy was confident of success, so also was his opponent and old schoolfellow, the Marquis Lede, who still commanded the Spanish forces. Every precaution had been taken by Lede to insure victory, and he obtained it, for after a fierce battle De Mercy was compelled to retreat with the loss of five thousand men. He himself was wounded, but he retreated in good order, hoping to establish his communication with the English fleet, and to cut off Lede and his army from Messina. His only hope lay in Byng and his brave sailors. The fate of the war was in their hands, and nobly did they do their duty. No admiral could have manifested more energy and promptitude than Byng displayed in exploits that required both courage and decision of character. Hearing of the defeat at Franca Villa, he sent reinforcements and provisions from Melazzo, and at the invitation of De Mercy he repaired on horseback through a hostile country to the Austrian camp to aid the imperial commanders by his counsel. He found them jealous of each other, and divided in their plans. He found them, also, laying the blame of their recent failure upon one another. By his judicious counsels, however, he gave a successful direction to their future efforts. Exhorting them to forget the past, he directed their attention to what he thought had best be done. By his advice the siege of Messina was undertaken, and by his aid by the month of October it was captured. That siege had lasted three months, and the Germans had suffered great loss in killed and wounded, but its capture was of the utmost importance to the cause of the emperor. Sicily, however, was not yet won. During the siege Lede and his Spaniards had fortified themselves in a strong and advantageous post at Castro Giovanni, in the centre of the island, and had cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catania. To attack him in this situation would have been madness; nor, although the imperialists had put Messina in a good posture of defence, could they remain in its neighbourhood, on account of the scarcity of provisions. A council was called to know what was best to be done, and again Byng rescued the imperialists from destruction. They had come to the conclusion of leaving a strong garrison in Messina; of transporting the horse across the straits to Calabria, where they would find forage; and of sending a part of the infantry by sea to Syracuse, where they might winter, and be ready to take the field in the spring. Such a movement would have been disastrous to the imperial arms, and Byng saw it, and pointed it out in the clearest possible manner. The better way, he said, would be to transport the army to Trapani by sea, where they could extend themselves into a plentiful country. Byng seconded his advice by offering his cash and credit to procure supplies, and to transport the imperialists by detachments to Trapani, which offers De Mercy joyfully accepted. The last convoy departed from Messina on the 19th of January, 1719: Admiral Byng and Count De Mercy accompanying it. But it was not till the end of February that the whole of the convoy arrived at Trapani, it having been overtaken by a terrible storm off the isle of Alicudi. At first the Marquis Lede attempted to shut up the imperialists in the north-western corner of the island, and prevent their approach to the capital, Palermo, but in the spring, when De Mercy had collected all his forces, he took up his position at Alcamo, in its vicinity. He found, indeed, that he could no longer hold Sicily in his grasp. The successes of the imperialists had greatly discouraged the native partisans of Spain. They were ready to rise against him, and as he was cut off by the English cruisers from all assistance from Spain, he made overtures for evacuating the island. All he wanted was a free passage, for himself and army, back to Barcelona, or some other Spanish port in the Mediterranean. De Mercy would have been glad to have let them thus depart the island. But such an end to the war in Sicily did not suit the views of Byng. It might be all very well for the Austrians to be content with getting possession of Sicily without any further fighting or trouble, but Byng looked to future contingencies. The Marquis Lede had the finest Spanish army under his command, and to have allowed that to depart so easily would have been dangerous to the peace of Europe. It was caught in a trap, and Byng determined it should not be let out until a general peace was made. He declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued. He agreed, however, in proposing with De Mercy that if the Marquis Lede would surrender Palermo and retire into the middle part of the island—to Castro Giovanni or some other fortified position—they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, during which time both sides would have an opportunity of consulting their respective courts. If during that interval, Byng declared, they attempted to withdraw or ship off any of their troops hostilities should be commenced. Lede next proposed to surrender Palermo with a part of the adjacent country in consideration of a three months' truce; but while this negotiation was pending news arrived from Madrid which caused a renewal of hostilities. But the military operations, from this time till the Spaniards finally evacuated both Sicily and Sardinia, were of minor importance.

Alberoni had stirred up war in the empire, and had sought to kindle its flames both in Great Britain and France; and by a righteous judgment it had come home to Spain itself. The declaration of war made by the regent of France was no idle menace. It was followed by action. An army of thirty thousand men was sent against Spain under the command of the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., and consequently half-brother to the

Pretender. Berwick was a soldier of fortune, but prudent and brave. An important part of Berwick's instructions was to destroy the dockyards and arsenals on the Biscayan coasts, in which ships were everywhere being built for the purpose of carrying out the maritime schemes of Cardinal Alberoni. And all this was done despite King Philip's manifestoes and proclamations. Not a Frenchman was seduced by them. They performed their task with alacrity and effectually. Berwick captured Fort Passage, where several new ships, together with a vast quantity of timber and naval stores, were burnt to ashes; next he reduced Fuenterabia; then, aided by an English squadron, he attacked Santona, where the same scenes were enacted as at Fort Passage; and finally he made himself master of St. Sebastian. The whole of the province of Guiposcoa was occupied or overrun, and its states compelled to acknowledge the French dominion. In Catalonia, also, the French carried on their conquests without interruption, capturing several forts, and making an attempt upon Rosas. Nor were the English idle in the work of destruction. A strong squadron, with four thousand troops on board, under Lord Cobham, sailed to Corunna, in Biscay, from whence Ormond had set out on his unfortunate expedition, with a view of obtaining an indemnification for the expenses of the war. Corunna was found to be impregnable, but Cobham reduced Vigo, where many of Ormond's stores still remained, and all of which were captured. Some of the neighbouring towns and small sea-ports were sacked by the English troops, and then Cobham returned to England with his prizes. Between the English and the French the newly-created naval power of Spain, with which Alberoni intended to do such great things, was almost annihilated.

On discovering that the duke of Berwick was in earnest, Philip, king of Spain, returned to Madrid, hopeless and despairing. Wherever he turned his eyes he saw nothing but discomfiture to the mighty projects the fertile brain of Alberoni had marked out for his aggrandisement. Messenger after messenger came to his court, with evil tidings on their lips. Sardinia still remained in his hands; but the duke of Savoy, to whom it had been allotted by the Quadruple Alliance, when he saw that all hope of recovering Sicily, or of retaining the two or three towns he still held in the island, was lost, had entered into a convention with the emperor, by which it was agreed to form an army for its reduction. The emperor was to furnish six thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, for the reduction of Sardinia, in return for which the duke of Savoy was to join his troops in Sicily, to co-operate with the imperialists against the common enemy, and then, when the Spaniards were driven out, these troops were to evacuate the island, and leave it to the emperor. Sicily was to be gained first for the emperor, that being the nearest way to the conquest of both islands, and then Sardinia was to be wrested from the Spaniards for the duke of Savoy. And these objects were upon the eve of being accomplished. What then was to be done? On every hand Philip saw nothing to hope for, but much to fear. After the victory of Franca Villa, Alberoni, conceiving that he might make terms of peace honourable to Spain, had offered to relinquish both Sicily and Sardinia, if France would restore the conquests made in the Biscayan provinces, and if the English would restore Gibraltar and Port Mahon. Stanhope proposed to the Abbé Dubois, before they entered into any negotiation, to demand from King Philip the dismissal of his minister. "We must," he said, "make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace, for as his ambition has been the sole cause of the war, which he undertook in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace, he will only yield to necessity with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success." Had the Spanish arms still continued to have been victorious, there can be no doubt that Philip would have rejected this demand; but as before seen the victory of Franca Villa was followed by reverses, and these, combined with the clamour of Philip's grandees and courtiers, who were all seeking to effect the ruin of Alberoni, induced him to submit. As soon as it was known that he might purchase peace by sacrificing his minister, Philip made up his mind to the price. On the 5th of December, 1719, Alberoni was dismissed by a royal decree from all his employments, and was commanded to leave the Spanish territories within twenty-one days, and he returned to Italy a poorer man than when he entered the country. On his way to retirement, he traversed France, the seat of one of his most daring intrigues; a proof that he considered the regent above any unworthy act of vengeance. Having thus submitted to the dictation of the allies, Philip hoped to obtain favourable terms of peace, but it could only be obtained on the one condition against which his mind revolted, that of acceding to the Quadruple Alliance. And that accession was proclaimed in January, 1720; Philip at the same time declaring that by it, for the sake of peace, he sacrificed his rights and possessions. In his decree announcing his intention to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, Philip renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised that his troops should evacuate the islands of Sicily and Sardinia within two months. This promise was not fulfilled to the letter, for there was fighting between the Spaniards under Lede and the imperialists under De Mercy, till the beginning of May, when a courier arrived from Madrid with positive orders to evacuate Sicily and return to Spain. This done, the duke of Savoy was put in possession of Sardinia, and peace was restored to Europe. The services of Byng had been so conspicuous throughout the whole of this war, that on his return to England he was appointed treasurer of the navy and rear-admiral of Britain, and he was subsequently ennobled by the title of Viscount Torrington, made privy-counsellor, and Knight of the Bath.

If the ministry and the House of Lords had had their way, Byng would have missed his peerage. King George returned from Hanover in the autumn of 1719, and on the 23rd of November had opened his parliament. In his speech he said that it had pleased God to strengthen the arms of Great Britain, and to prosper the several negotiations. Sweden especially had been relieved by our interposition, and a foundation had been laid for such a union among the great Protestant princes as would tend to the security of our holy religion. He represented that the hand of God had visibly been with them in all their undertakings; as if the Almighty had been on their side alone. But both Houses endorsed his sentiments with remarkable unanimity. Success in diplomacy and war had made them wonderfully satisfied with all that they had done and were still doing on the Continent. But the unanimity between the two Houses and the rival parties was not of long continuance. Since the last parliament, Sunderland and his party had been making great efforts to remove all opposition to the peerage bill. In the Lords no one except Lord Cowper opposed it, and he did so with greater earnestness than before. "Precipitation," he said, "was always dangerous, and in many cases suspicious; and he could not help being of opinion that, if there were no secret meaning in the measure, it would not be pressed upon the House in so extraordinary a manner." The bill passed the Lords, but it was not so easy to carry it through the Commons. Walpole was the chief orator on the occasion, and his eloquence and arguments carried all before him. He alluded to the enmity which existed between the king and the heir to the throne, and of the personal character of the king, and the seeming surrender of one of the most important of his prerogatives, in the plainest language. "We are told," he remarked, "that his majesty has voluntarily consented to the limitation of the prerogative. This may be true; but may not the king have been deceived? which, if it is even to be supposed, must in this case be admitted. The character of the king furnishes us with a proof that he has been deceived; for although it is a fact that in Hanover, where he possesses absolute power, he has never tyrannized over his subjects, or despotically exercised his authority, yet can one instance be produced of his ever giving up a prerogative?" He declared that such a bill would shut up the door of honour to the nation. It would make the Lords, he said, masters of the king. He asked how the Lords could expect the Commons to give it their concurrence. Would they, he demanded, receive a bill which should prevent a baron from being made a viscount, or a viscount an earl, an earl a marquis, and a marquis a duke? He denied that it would secure the liberty of parliament. On the contrary, it would form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude, in all cases of extinction and creation, all such persons from their body as might be obnoxious to them. But the most remarkable part of Walpole's speech was its exordium. "Among the Romans," he remarked, "the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the Temple of Fame but through that of Virtue: if this bill is passed into a law one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." Ministers must have felt when this exordium was uttered that the knell of the peerage bill was rung, and when it was followed by argument after argument, uttered with a rhetorical force that bore down everything before it, they could have had no hope in a division. The bill was, indeed, rejected by the overwhelming majority of two hundred and sixty-nine to a hundred and sixty-seven, and yet ministers still remained in office: a circumstance which at this period was neither considered extraordinary nor dishonourable.

It was during this session of parliament that the South Sea Company received the royal assent. The scheme formed by this company was the great event of the year 1720. It was a mercantile association, incorporated for the purpose of carrying on trade with the countries situated along the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It had been in existence upwards of ten years, but had not yet realized a single sixpence. It arose out of the national debt, which in its infant days was the terror of statesmen. The most skilful financier did not know how to deal with this nightmare of the nation. It was a growing evil, but how to check it puzzled the wisest heads. At the accession of Queen Anne it amounted to sixteen millions; at her death thirty-six millions had been added to the burden. In 1711 the floating debt was about ten millions, and Harley, then treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum, and by making certain duties of customs permanent to secure the payment of the remainder. The new fund was a part of the capital stock of the South Sea Company, which was to possess a monopoly of all the trade to the Spanish coasts of South America. It might have been profitable if Alberoni had not interfered with it, for, when the peace of Utrecht was completed, Spain refused to permit any approach to free trade with any of her coasts. The trade was restricted to one ship annually, and in 1717 one was sent, but Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the goods. The company, however, discovered other means for the employment of its capital. In his opening speech of the present parliament King George said to the Commons: "I must exhort you to concert measures for lessening the national debt." It would appear that the plan for its reduction had already been adopted by the ministers. Bamboozled by Sir John Blount, who had been a scrivener, and who was one of the South Sea directors, they conceived that the company might by an extending trade pay off all national encumbrances in a very brief period. It is clear that whatever abilities the ministry might possess they were no financiers, otherwise they must have known that so many millions could only have been paid off by slow degrees, and by an inviolable sinking fund. But John Blount had a plausible tongue. He exhibited the advantages which would result from consolidating all the funds into one in such glowing colours, that ministers were charmed with the idea. But how was this to be done? Blount knew, if they did not. It was to be done by means of the South Sea Company, which could do all the business of the government and the nation in the surest and safest manner. Not only would it be able to get rid of irredeemable annuities which had in the last two reigns been granted, mostly for ninety-nine years, and which amounted to about 800,000*l.* per annum, but in twenty-six years it would clear off the whole of the national debt. For such a great service to the nation, however, the company required its advantages. All the different public securities reduced into one aggregate fund was to be placed in their hands; they were to be vested with great commercial privileges; and to be authorized to obtain by purchase or subscription all the debts of the nation, both redeemable and irredeemable, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. All this was agreed upon, and it only remained to bring in a bill formed on the projected plan, and if it passed the South Sea Company was forthwith to commence its gigantic task. The bill was introduced into the Commons by Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, during the month of February. If the proposal was accepted Aislabie declared that the country would soon be freed from all its debts, and enjoy unrivalled prosperity. The Commons generally agreed that it was necessary to reduce the public debt; but it was moved by Mr. Broderick that other companies should be allowed to compete. This was rather awkward, for ministers had struck their bargain with Blount. Aislabie sought to set aside the motion by suggesting that competition would be like putting the nation up to auction, and that things of this nature should be carried on with spirit. But the House sided with Broderick and affirmed his motion. There were only two competitors: the South Sea Company and the Bank of England. The competition was a spirited one. When the offer of the Bank of England was known, the South Sea Company came to a resolution that, cost what it would, they would obtain the preference. The two companies, indeed, went on bidding against each other till the Bank of England was fairly beaten out of the field. For the honour of ridding the nation of its public burdens, the South Sea directors agreed to give seven millions and a half pounds sterling as the purchase-money of the annuities. Some of the members still expressed their doubts of the success of this project. Walpole declared that it would have the effect of extending the pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, by diverting the genius of the nation from trade and industry, and exciting its contempt for slow profits and careful economy. He attempted to introduce a clause into the bill fixing how many years' purchase were to be paid to annuitants by the company, but he was unsuccessful. The bill passed the Commons by a majority of a hundred and seventy-two to fifty-five, and on the 4th of April it was carried up to the Lords. In that House it was opposed by the Lords North and Grey, Earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton and Buckingham, and others, who affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few to the impoverishment of the many. But the Lords sanctioned the measure, the king gave his assent to it, and the golden age commenced—only to be followed by the ruin of thousands. But when parliament was prorogued, on the 14th of June, there was a flourish of words in the king's speech about national prosperity.

As usual on the prorogation of parliament, King George went off to Hanover. Before he went this time there had been a restoration of family peace at court. In May, chiefly through Walpole's means, the king and his son were reconciled. And in effecting this Walpole served his own ends. With all his eloquence he had not been able to overthrow the ministry, but at the same time the ministers found that they were scarcely able to do without him. There was no great debater in their ranks, and moreover Sunderland and Stanhope were not able to cope with the Hanoverian favourites. So they came to terms. Walpole became paymaster of the forces, and Lord Townshend president of the council. The adhesion of these great Whigs to the cabinet was a great blow to the Jacobites, with whom they had so long been allied. So, also, was the reconciliation of the king and his son, but they consoled themselves with the thought that all was "false and hollow." Atterbury, the Jacobite bishop of Rochester, boldly affirmed that "in truth and at the bottom the parties, as well the principals as those who list under them, were still as much separated in interest and inclination as ever."

While King George was involved in a labyrinth of negotiations, the South Sea scheme produced a species of national delirium in England. Although the terms offered to annuitants by the company were somewhat grasping in their character, there was a rush to accept them. The sacrifice they were called upon to make was deemed only to be momentary. To hold stock in a company whose trading privileges might realize wealth beyond "the dream of avarice" was considered to be more important to individual welfare than to receive seven, eight, or nine per cent. upon annuities. Within one week two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain incomes for a possible fortune which would make them rich as Crœsus. But before this rage commenced, Blount had to perform a part which stamps him at once as a rogue and a vagabond. For a brief period people were shy, and when he found this he circulated a report that Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which Philip of Spain had long desired to repossess, were about to be exchanged for some places in Peru which would both protect and enlarge the trade of England to the South Sea. Blount knew this to be false, but his tale was widely believed. And the very mention of Peru, from which Spain had derived its precious metals by cargo after cargo, called up in the public mind visions of a "potentiality of wealth." Persons of all ranks crowded to the office of the South Sea Company for shares in their golden lottery. In a letter to Earl Stanhope, written by Secretary Craggs in July, he wrote, "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." All were promised riches, and all sought them. The dividends held out to their view were something fabulous. No wonder then that South Sea stock was at a premium. It was sold and resold at enormous prices. In August, the hundred pound shares were worth at least a thousand pounds. Nor was this the only project which gained the public favour. In the summer of 1720, the dog-star raged over Exchange Alley with a fury never before equalled. It was crowded from morning till night by every class of society from the prince to the peasant, all franticly eager to become shareholders in some of the companies. For other companies of a similar character sprung up with a rapidity hardly known in later times. There were joint stocks for making salt water fresh; for extracting oil out of sunflower seeds; for producing silver out of lead; for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal; for trading in human hair; for fatting hogs; for importing jackasses from Spain; and for a wheel of perpetual motion. And there were, also, fishery companies; companies for various manufactures; and companies for settlements and foreign trades. The universal brain was at work under the malignant influences of the dog-star of that memorable summer, to find out by what easy road all classes of society might become rich. Or if that was not the object of the inventors of companies, it was to filch money out of people's pockets to put it in their own. The South Sea stock was "the gold table," the better sort of the other companies were "silver tables," and the lower sort, got up especially for the benefit of footmen in livery, "farthing tables." There was not any capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, to whom the road to riches was not as open as the great highway of the Appii Forum was to imperial Rome. Shares of every sort were at a premium; except, as in some cases, when the office was opened at noon one day, and the subscription list was closed on the next, by the non-appearance of the sharpers, who had decamped with the shillings and the sixpences they had been enabled to obtain from the credulous multitude: for in some of the doubtful undertakings a shilling, and even sixpence per cent., was sufficient to procure a receipt for a share which was to bring its owner riches.

The scriptural declaration, that "they who would be rich often fall into a temptation and a snare," was amply illustrated in this memorable summer. It was boldly proclaimed by the South Sea Company that after Christmas their annual dividend would certainly not be less than fifty per cent. upon their hundred pound shares. It was a simple declaration, for no figures were entered into to demonstrate the absurdity. But the bubble soon burst. In their over-anxiety to monopolize the folly as well as the money of the nation, they procured not only the speedy disruption of their numerous competitors, but their own eventual downfall. They lifted the veil which concealed the chicanery of the competing companies, and by that act the people's eyes were opened to their own wrong-doings. Their rivals were odious to these great lords of the money-market. At their representations a proclamation was issued "against mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." What they were doing themselves was sanctioned by the wisdom and authority of parliament. Their swindle was legalized, and therefore legitimate. Fear of prosecutions therefore put an end to most of the public companies. They closed their offices and decamped with their ill-gotten gains. But in exposing the cards of others the South Sea Company drew attention to their own game. In their endeavour to let out a part of the truth, they disclosed the whole. People first began to suspect, and then to be certain that they had parted with their precious gold for that which was mere waste paper. Cautious holders, even before August, began to sell out, and their wisdom was soon manifested. Shares which had in August mounted up to a thousand per cent. fell in September to one hundred and seventy-five, and no exertions on the part of the bold Sir John and his brother directors could get them up again. They went down with a rush as rapid as they had risen. The card temple of gold, built with so much care and cunning, fell into ruins. Bankers, brokers, merchants, and goldsmiths began to fail, each in his own turn causing that of hundreds of others. The fruits of the universal imprudence were bitter in the extreme: an infinite number of families, before wealthy, were steeped in poverty. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians were involved in the general calamity. Some died of broken hearts, others quitted the country and resorted to remote parts of the world, from whence they never returned. Nobility was even ruined; for the duke of Portland, and the Lords Lonsdale and Irwin were provided with colonial governments for their future support. Walpole, who had predicted this catastrophe, was taking his ease at his residence of Houghton, and the very men who had rejected his advice with scorn now besought him to come up to London and make terms with the Bank of England. All that the company required was, they said, for the Bank to agree to circulate some of their bonds. That would prevent their failure, and enable them still to keep faith with their creditors. But Walpole's mediation was of no service. At his request the Bank did consent to circulate three millions of bonds for one year, but on looking more narrowly into the affairs of the company it became evident that by so doing the Bank itself would be brought into the vortex of ruin, and the bargain was therefore repudiated.

The Londoners bitterly cursed the South Sea Company, and all that had been concerned in its iniquity. The directors, the ministers, the royal family, and even the king himself, all came in for a share of the public odium. And it must be confessed they richly deserved it; for they nearly all had either profited by the bubble while it lasted, or lost large sums when it burst. There were but few in the highest ranks who had not dabbled "in the stocks." Walpole himself had done so, and gained by selling out when the shares had reached their culminating point. "I will only tell you," he wrote to the earl of Pembroke, who sought his advice, "what I have done. I have just sold out at 1000*l.*, per cent., and I am fully satisfied." It can be no matter of surprise, therefore, that he was not one of those who joined in the cry for vengeance upon the South Sea directors. On the contrary, he argued in parliament that if London were on fire wise men would endeavour to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. The session opened on the 8th of December, and the royal speech recommended measures to restore the public credit. That task, which was no light one, fell to the lot of Walpole, who was regarded by all parties as the only man who could effect it. King George himself applied to him for counsel and succour in the emergency, for he could trust none of his counsellors beside, either English or Hanoverian. They, indeed, were completely bewildered, and by their counsels were only increasing the alarm and confusion of the king. Walpole, however, wrote consoling letters to him while in Hanover, assuring him that the public credit might yet be sustained, and at the same time advising his speedy return to England. Meanwhile, and before the king opened parliament, he had matured his scheme for disentangling the government from the embarrassments of the South Sea Company. But the great difficulty under which Walpole laboured was to get the House to enter upon the business calmly. His scheme was in danger of being frustrated by the violent passions of some of the members, who were more anxious for revenge than for the salvation of the country. Men's minds were inflamed to madness by the tricks that had been played; and moreover party spirit was called into full play by the mischief which had been done under the sanction of the ministry. The debate on the address was long, loud, and angry; and it was only carried through Walpole's temper and influence, and the confidence they had in him as a financier. He had, he assured them, matured a plan which would restore public credit, and at the proper time he would submit it to the wisdom of parliament. But some months elapsed before that time came. There was much to be done before parliament could take his plan into calm consideration. Petitions from all quarters were pouring in, calling for justice on the authors of the present calamities, and showing how great those calamities were. The one universal cry was want of money, for there was not a single branch of industry which had not been crippled by the spirit of gambling created by this precious scheme, which held out hopes of people growing rich without work. But if the contrivers, executors, and directors of the bubble were to blame, so were the people themselves, for they had been as eager to spend their money in gambling as the company had been to receive it. However, it was necessary that parliament should in some degree punish the authors of the calamities, and trace out the extent of corruption which had been practised. Accordingly a motion was carried four days after the assembling of parliament, by which the directors were ordered to deliver in an account of their proceedings. This motion was opposed by Walpole, but such was the temper of the House that it passed without a division. But the year died out, and no accounts were rendered. It was evidently thought by some that the directors were contemplating flight, for after the Christmas recess, A.D. 1721, a bill was brought in by Jekyll for restraining them from leaving the kingdom, and compelling them to deliver in upon oath the real value of their estates. That bill was passed, and a secret committee of inquiry was appointed to examine the company's accounts. At this time the cry for vengeance had become louder and deeper: the nation cried aloud for it, and demanded indemnification to the sufferers out of the confiscation of the estates of the directors. The committee of inquiry, which consisted chiefly of the more violent members, commenced their labours by the examination of Knight, the cashier of the company, and who knew most of its transactions. But Knight did not disclose all he knew. Alarmed at the temper displayed by the committee, he fled to Brabant, taking with him the register called the green book. The discovery of his flight caused the greatest possible excitement in the House. A reward of two thousand pounds was offered for his apprehension, and he was arrested at Antwerp, but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. It was believed that there were influences at work to screen him, and the caricatures of the day—for Punch had already entered the field of politics—pointed to the duchess of Kendal as his protectress. The flight of the cashier suggested to the Commons more active measures. The secret committee affirmed that they had already discovered "a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell had ever contrived to ruin a nation." Accordingly four of the directors who were members of parliament were forthwith committed to custody, and the rest were subsequently arrested. All their papers were seized. Nor were the Lords less violent than the Commons. Some of the directors were brought before them, and having in the course of their examination confessed that large portions of the stock had been given to several persons in the administration and House of Commons to obtain the passing of the South Sea Act, the House resolved, on the motion of Lord Stanhope, that this practice was a dangerous species of corruption. The debate which ensued on this subject was fatal to the life of Stanhope. The young duke of Wharton, who was as profligate as he was talented, in the heat of it compared him to Sejanus: a minister who had made a division in the imperial family and rendered the reign of Tiberius Claudius hateful to the Romans. Stanhope undertook to vindicate the ministry, but in doing so his rage excited a rush of blood to the head, and he was taken home, where on the next day he expired. The death of Stanhope, on whom no suspicion of improper connection with the South Sea scheme rested, raised Lord Townshend to the position of secretary of state; and as Aislabie was more than suspected of being one of the recipients of South Sea stock, Walpole again became chancellor of the exchequer.

It was on the 16th of February that the secret committee of inquiry made their report. They stated that they had encountered great difficulties in their task. Some of the company's books, they said, were replete with fictitious entries, blanks, erasures, and alterations, and some of their books could not be found. It would appear that the cashier had, as far as possible, obliterated all evidence as to the corruption of certain great ladies and ministers of state by the South Sea directors. Notwithstanding, the committee had discovered that, before any subscriptions could be made, more than 1,200,000*l.* had been disposed of for facilitating the passing of the Act. They found, also, that among the recipients of the directors' favours were the duchess of Kendal, and the countess of Platen, and her two nieces; the earl of Sunderland; Mr. Craggs, senior, postmaster-general; James Craggs, junior, secretary of state; Charles Stanhope, secretary of the treasury; and Aislabie, then chancellor of the exchequer. Those who had the disposal of this stock were Sir John Blount, and Messrs. Gibbon, Chester, Halditch, and Knight, the cashier, who had absconded. Some of the recipients had made splendid fortunes, for the committee stated that Aislabie had accounts with brokers to the amount of 794,541*l.* That one instance may serve as an example of the whole, and will sufficiently indicate the extent of corruption which had been practised. But the full extent, as the committee intimated, could never be known, as the cashier had the key to the darkest secrets, which by his flight must ever remain a mystery. Such delinquents deserved exemplary punishment, and the House now proceeded to award it severally. But before this the two Craggs, father and son, were out of their reach; for James Craggs had died of small-pox, the virulence of which was probably increased by anxiety, and his father had destroyed himself by poison. Charles Stanhope was the first proceeded against, but he was acquitted by a majority of three, possibly out of sympathy for the fate of his accomplished and honest parent. For Aislabie there was small mercy: he was expelled the House and committed to the Tower, to the great joy of the Londoners, who on the occasion set all London in a blaze by bonfires. Aislabie's estates were confiscated. Sunderland's turn came next, but he was an earl, and the charge against him was urged to be on second-hand evidence—on what Sir John Blount had heard the cashier say—and hence he was acquitted by a majority of two hundred and thirty-three against one hundred and seventy-two. But if Sunderland was not punished in one way he was in another, for he lost his popularity, and he was compelled to resign his premiership and the treasury, which Walpole, who had long had an eye upon them, obtained. As regards the king's mistresses and the court ladies, the Commons were sufficiently gallant not to proceed against them. It would not have been right to touch the king in his dearest affections, although their just punishment would have been at least to send them back to Hanover. The chief vengeance of the Commons indeed fell upon the directors. Their lives were spared, but they were reduced to a state of penury; for their estates were confiscated, and they were for ever disabled from either holding places, sitting in parliament, or becoming members of any companies. Whether their share in the South Sea Company arose from guilt or folly they were doomed men; allowed to live, but only as outcasts of society. Their confiscated estates amounted to two millions sterling. It was thought by their contemporaries that their punishment was too mild, that they deserved hanging, but history must now record that it was excessive. As Gibbon, the eloquent historian, and the grandson of one of those to whom this punishment was meted out, rightly observes, "The equity of modern times must condemn the violent and arbitrary proceedings, which would have disgraced the cause of justice and would render injustice still more odious."

Having punished the offenders, or at least some of them, the temper of the House calmed down, and they proceeded to exercise their wisdom in repairing the mischief which the scheme had produced. By the bill, which was finally passed in July, to remedy the evils, government remitted more than five millions of the seven millions and a half which the South Sea directors had promised the public as a bonus; their forfeited estates were applied to clear off part of their incumbrances, and thirty-three per cent. of the capital was to be paid to the proprietors. On the whole, the holders of claims on the government who had exchanged their securities for South Sea stock were losers of more than one half of their income. Thus while some individuals were enriched by this national convulsion, a greater number were ruined or impoverished. This, indeed, was the natural result of the scheme, because there neither was, nor could be any trade to the South Sea, or to any other sea, sufficient to pay adequate dividends on a stock purchased so dearly. But by the resolutions of Parliament the credit of the nation was restored, and the ferment of the people soon subsided, although the evil effects of the national greed for wealth displayed in these transactions was long and bitterly felt by individual families.

Nor was it in pecuniary matters alone that the people suffered from the South Sea Bubble. Had the scheme succeeded to their utmost expectations, it would have proved more fatal to their real welfare than its failure. Even in the prospect of wealth, and while yet it was visionary, they had "waxed wanton." Intoxicated by it, the adventurers launched out into the utmost extravagances. There was no dainty too rare for their tables, no wine too costly, and no furniture or apparel too sumptuous. Their imaginary wealth even affected their manners. They indulged in the most criminal excesses; became proud, insolent, and ostentatious, and scoffed at religion and morality. The nation bade fair to become a nation of atheists. It was the time when the famous Professor Whiston was issuing his infidel publications, the poison of which was eagerly imbibed by the public. To stem this evil the earl of Nottingham brought in a bill for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness. Onslow moved that the bill should be thrown out, and on a division it was rejected by a considerable majority. The session closed on the 10th of August, on which occasion his majesty expressed his concern for the innocent, and indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South Sea scheme, but at the same time took to himself comfort that, from the measures they had passed, and to which he had readily assented, there were already symptoms of a recovery of the public credit. But these professions did not clear the English court from the infamous share it had taken in the South Sea project, and men could not forget that the court ladies who had largely partaken of the booty were still allowed to remain to harass ministers by their greed for gold.

The Spanish troops having evacuated Sicily and Sardinia, there was now no longer any obstacle to a peace with Spain. Accordingly a treaty of peace between the two countries was signed on the 13th of June. By one of the clauses of that treaty it was agreed that there should be a mutual restitution of seizures made during the war. At the same time and place a treaty of defensive alliance was signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, by which the possession of Bremen and Verden was guaranteed by these powers to Hanover; and by a secret article of which King George agreed not to oppose the views of Spain and Italy. To obtain possession of Bremen and Verden George would have sacrificed Gibraltar, but when this became known the public indignation was so loudly expressed that he was compelled to withdraw the proposal. Later in the summer, through the intervention of France, a treaty was concluded between the Czar Peter and the queen of Sweden, by which the latter became stripped of some of her most fertile provinces. Between King George and the Czar there still continued to exist the most undisguised animosity. The Russian resident in London having used some unguarded expressions in a memorial presented to the king, was ordered to quit the kingdom, of which the Czar justly complained; but as it was done, he said, in the Hanoverian interest, he should make no reprisals on the English nation.

Parliament met on the 19th of October. In his speech the king dwelt complacently on the subject of restoration of peace to Europe. Walpole had during the recess abolished various duties and given an impulse to national industry; and he desired the Commons to consider of further means, having for their object the extension of commerce. At this time the ministry had secured such a majority in both Houses as enabled them to carry any measures without any great difficulty. There was no longer a division in the camp of the Whigs. They had coalesced, so that the battles of argument fought were between the Whig and the Tory phalanges. And those battles were fought with much warmth. The navy debt of 1,700,000*l*. especially was warmly debated. The Tories very justly represented that the money had been spent for objects distinct from the national interests. There could be no doubt that keeping seamen in pay during the winter both in the Mediterranean and the Baltic had unnecessarily increased the navy debt; and there could be no doubt that they were kept there, not for the support of the interests of England, but of Germany. Ministers argued in the Commons that near two-thirds of the debt had been contracted during the late reign, and the House acquiesced in their arguments. In the Lords the whole course of our foreign politics was condemned by the Tories. The duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the House; but the motion was rejected. The Jacobite earl of Strafford declared that the war with Spain had been undertaken without any just provocation, and that it had ended without any advantage; that Byng had attacked the Spanish fleet, contrary to the law of nations, without any declaration of war; and that the war had interrupted one of the most valuable branches of English commerce, at a time when the nation was groaning under the pressure of heavy debts incurred in the wars of the last reign. Strafford moved for an address to his majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Byng, now Lord Torrington, should be laid before the House. This motion shared the fate of the duke of Wharton's, but an address was voted, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. In the previous session an Act had been passed, under the apprehension of a plague which was then raging at Marseilles, in France, for the building of pest-houses, to which not only infected persons but even the healthy of an infected family were to be removed. The Act provided also that lines should be drawn round any city or town so infected. In this session Earl Cowper, the ex-chancellor, moved for the repeal of these powers. He objected to them as unknown to our constitution, and as inconsistent with the lenity of our free government. They were the more odious, he said, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and they were impracticable, unless they were carried out by military compulsion. Earl Cowper was a man of liberal and enlightened views, but he forgot that it is sometimes necessary for the state to appear harsh for the safety of the individual. The plague which had been raging at Marseilles was one of the most fearful character, and had not parliament made these sanitary regulations—in the first instance forbidding any person to come into England from any part of France between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk — some parts of England at least might have been desolated through its too familiar contact with the Continent. And as the danger was not yet over, or if it was, the alarm was still rife throughout the country, Earl Cowper's motion was rejected.

During this session, "the people called Quakers" appeared before parliament, by petition. That body of Christians had abandoned their fanatical principles, and had become one of the most sober-minded communities on the face of the earth. The state had long looked upon them with a favourable eye, for they were submissive to all its ordinances. They would not fight, indeed, for the state, but then they would not fight against it. They had, indeed, long been indulged beyond their fellow-citizens by an Act of Parliament, allowing them to make a solemn affirmation in lieu of an oath. But their consciences were still burdened. In the form of their affirmation were these words: "In the presence of Almighty God." These words they held to be essentially an oath, and while they constituted part of the form, they were debarred from answering in courts of equity, taking probates of wills, proving debts on commissions of bankruptcy, and taking up their freedoms to be admitted to poll at elections for their freeholds. They prayed, therefore, that the words to which they objected should be struck out of their form of affirmation. Walpole, who was a friend of toleration, warmly supported the application, and a bill was passed in the Commons without any difficulty; in the Lords, however, it met with great opposition. But the bill for the relief of the Quakers passed by a large majority. The supplies having been granted, on the 7th of March, parliament was prorogued; and on the 10th of the same month it was dissolved by proclamation—and thus ended the first septennial parliament of Great Britain.

Early in this year the earl of Sunderland died suddenly. He had since his retirement from office continued to support ministers; but at the same time, with, it is said, the approval of the king, he had been engaged in a correspondence with the Jacobites. What was the object of this correspondence is unknown; but if it was carried on under the sanction of King George, Sunderland was employed as a spy to discover the secrets of the Jacobites, who were still plotting against the government. The death of Sunderland was followed in June by that of his father-in-law, the great duke of Marlborough. He had long been in a state of dotage, but his "military glory" was not forgotten, for his funeral was almost regal. He was followed to his brief resting-place in Westminster Abbey by the king, the prince of Wales, and a vast procession of the nobility and military, while thousands flocked from far and near to witness the last scene of Marlborough's eventful history. His body was subsequently removed to the chapel at Blenheim Palace.

Once more the rule of the House of Hanover was threatened by the House of Stuart. In May, the king is said to have received from the regent of France intelligence of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. An event had happened which revived the hopes of the Jacobites. In 1720 the Polish wife of James Edward had given birth to a son. This was considered by Atterbury to have been the most acceptable news which could have reached the ears of a good Englishman. And Charles Edward Louis Casimir—for that was the name given to this child of exile—came into the world under very auspicious circumstances; for his royal descent was put beyond suspicion by the presence of seven cardinals in the chamber of the princess. In England there was great exultation among the Jacobites when the event became known. It was proclaimed in all parts of the kingdom, and it was easy to foresee that even in his cradle Charles Edward was destined to give the signal for conspiracies and possible insurrections. But the disaffection did not end here. Unwarned by former failures, the Jacobites were concocting a scheme for a revolution. It was settled that the duke of Ormond was again to lead foreign forces for the invasion of Britain. The men of mark engaged in this scheme at home were the earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords Lansdowne, North, and Gower, and the undaunted Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. It was conceived by these plotters that there was no faith to be put in the treaty which had been concluded between France, Spain, and England: that notwithstanding its binding nature and its recent ratification, both France and Spain would be willing, clandestinely, if not openly, to aid in the restoration of the House of Stuart. Intrigues to bring about this consummation were set on foot, both at Paris and Madrid: General Dillon, an exiled Roman Catholic, intriguing at the former, and the duke of Ormond at the latter. The signal for the invasion was to be the departure of the king on his usual summer visit to Hanover. Troops were being collected for this enterprise. The king was expected to sail for his German dominions in July, and the ship in which he sailed was scarcely to be out of sight, when Atterbury and his friends were to obtain possession of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where the public money was deposited, and to proclaim James III. in different parts of the country. But the plot, though kept a profound secret at home, became known in Paris through Dillon's imprudence. Confident of the regent's support, Dillon applied to him for the aid of five thousand men; but the regent informed the British minister of the application, and the British minister gave information thereof to Walpole, and the spirit of mischief was crushed before it could be brought into action. There was a great stir when the news arrived in England. There was a camp formed in Hyde Park, whither all military officers were ordered to repair; troops were brought over from Ireland; and application was made to the states of Holland to have ships and land troops ready to aid in repelling the danger. It became known that the Pretender had left Rome, and that the duke of Ormond had left Madrid for the Biscayan coast. To circumvent their movements, Walpole obtained an order from the court of Madrid to prevent their embarkation. Lest there should be danger, the king was advised not to go to Hanover, and he took up his residence at Kensington, in the rear of the camp. But if there ever was any danger, it soon passed away. The vigilant Walpole became not only acquainted with the plan of action, but with the names of the actors. Accordingly warrants were issued for their arrest. Amongst those arrested were Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the Lords North and Grey, and others of inferior rank. Carte, the Jacobite historian, fled to France; Layer, a young barrister of the Temple, attempted to escape but was captured; and Neynoe, an Irish Catholic priest, was drowned in the Thames as he fled from the king's messengers. The arrest of Atterbury caused a great commotion in the nation. His arrest was held to be sacrilegious; and in many of the London churches the parochial clergy publicly prayed for him. His friends argued that there was no plot at all, and that the ministers had only invented the tale to effect the ruin of their opponents. Throughout the whole country the High Church party were filled with indignation at his confinement in the Tower, which they maintained was an outrage upon the Church of England and the episcopal order. But their outcries had the contrary effect to what they desired; for, provoked by them, government caused the prelatical prisoner to be treated with unusual severity.

Meanwhile, instead of repairing to the Continent, King George, attended by the prince of Wales, made a progress through the western counties, his object being to court what he had so long neglected—popularity. On his return he opened the second septennial parliament. This was on the 9th of October. Everywhere the elections had been favourable to the Whigs; so that during this session all that the Tories could do was to talk loudly. The royal speech, on the 11th, naturally referred to the event which had caused such a commotion in the kingdom. George expressed the greatest wonder a' the plot, as since his accession he had never invaded the liberty or property of his subjects. He denounced it as ungrateful, and as the height of madness. "By forming plots," he said, "they depreciate all property that is vested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit; they make an increase of the national expenses necessary, and then clamour at the burden of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone create and occasion." There was much truth in this, but in some parts of the king's speech there was evident exaggeration, as when he asserted that had not the plot been timely discovered the whole nation, and London in particular, would have been involved in blood and confusion. The Commons, however, seemed to believe all that the speech contained, for their address was one of the warmest and most highly complimentary character. And the Commons acted in accordance with the sentiments expressed in their address. The Habeas Corpus Act was at once suspended for a whole year; and the House of Peers was desired to sanction the detention in the Tower of the several members of their order who had been arrested during the summer. On the 22nd of September, a declaration, signed James Rex, had been issued, which, for its absurdity, reads more like a forgery to bring contempt on the Pretender, than an authentic document by which he sought to raise himself to the throne. That declaration proposed that George should quietly deliver up the throne of Great Britain to the said "James Rex;" in consideration of which he, King James, would bestow upon the said George the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all the other states to confirm it. Moreover, if he complied with the proposal the British crown should revert to him if ever he should attain it in the due course of legitimate succession. One can hardly believe that this document was genuine, but it was treated as such by the Lords and Commons, for in their indignation at its surpassing insolence they ordered it to be burnt as "a false, insolent, and traitorous libel!" As it was conceived that the papists were at the bottom of the plot, Walpole, by way of punishing that body, brought in a bill for raising 100,000*l.* upon their real or personal estates towards defraying the expenses which had been incurred in order to save the kingdom from their machinations. This was a sort of poetical justice, but it was not sound, for it confounded the innocent with the guilty. Moreover, the papists had not been the only religionists concerned in the plot, for the clergy of the Church of England had been as busy in the plot as the priests of Rome. And finally, both the papists and nonjurors were involved in the indiscriminate punishment; for after the bill had passed against the former it was in strict justice extended to the latter. But after all very little money was gained by this species of blundering legislation; for to save their pockets the Jacobites, whether papists or nonjurors, crowded to the quarter sessions and took a solemn oath of allegiance to the king, although in their hearts they poured their bitterest curses on his "sacred head."

The Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the evidence of the conspiracy. The report of that committee was made on the 1st of March, 1723. The young barrister Layer had been previously tried and condemned in the King's Bench; the charge against him being that of enlisting men for the service of the Pretender in order to create a rebellion. Layer had been reprieved that he might be examined by the committee, but as he would not make any confession he suffered capital punishment at Tyburn. The report of the committee involved other names—as those of Lords Scarsdale, Stafford, Cowper, Bingley, Craven, Bathurst, and Gower—besides those already mentioned. No steps, however, were taken against these noblemen, the evidence against them not being sufficiently clear. All were known to be discontented with the government, but it could not be proved that they were traitors. But with regard to the other Jacobites, the report of the committee, which was of great length, was more condemning. From that report bills of pains and penalties were passed against Plunket, an Irish priest, and Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman, both of whom had been seized with papers tending to prove that they were concerned in the plot. They were to be confined during the king's pleasure, and their goods confiscated. The most important person amongst the accused was Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. He was proceeded against by a bill enacting his punishment and deprivation. In the Commons that bill passed without a division, but it met with great opposition in the Lords. Atterbury appeared at the bar of the Lords on the 6th of May, where he defended himself with great skill and eloquence. Witnesses were heard in his favour, among whom was his friend Alexander Pope, the Catholic poet. Pope maintained that Atterbury was incapable of plotting against the government. In his intercourse with him there had never been anything said of plots and revolutions. Papers had been found in Atterbury's handwriting, or at least resembling it, and Erasmus Lewis, who had been connected with the chancellor Harley, undertook to prove from his experience that it was easy to counterfeit any one's handwriting, and that therefore it was dangerous to rely on such evidence. Other witnesses gave evidence which, if true, went to show that, so far from plotting against the government, Walpole himself was plotting his destruction. Whether this was true or not, Walpole thought it necessary to reply to the charge, and he appeared as a witness in the House of Lords for that purpose. It would appear that Atterbury always considered Walpole as the author of his ruin, but it was not proved that he was; except in so far as he believed Atterbury to be guilty, he did all that he could to convict him as a traitor. The trial proceeded. In his defence Atterbury made a touching appeal to the House: dwelling eloquently on the hardships he had endured in the Tower, and the manifold reasons he had to be contented with the rule of the House of Hanover rather than to plot against it. He neither coveted riches nor a higher station in the Church, he said, and so far from having any inclination to popery, he had, as it was well known, written many years ago in defence of Martin Luther. He would, indeed, he asserted, rather burn at the stake than depart in any material point from the Protestant religion as professed in the Church of England. But Atterbury's pleading was in vain. The Lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill. On the question that it do pass, a long and warm debate ensued. The duke of Wharton and the Lords Paulet and Bathurst denounced the proceedings as extraordinary, unjust, and unconstitutional. But the debate was chiefly remarkable for the constitutional opposition of the ex-chancellor Cowper. "This bill," said he, "carries in the frame of it an invincible objection to it, for the preamble and the enacting part, the crime and the punishment, bear no proportion to each other. The preamble contains a charge of high treason against the bishop, and pray, my lords, why should he not be punished accordingly? What reason can be given why the bishop should not be punished, at least equal with others, in cases of high treason? The want of legal evidence is the only reason pretended. To palliate the matter a little, a distinction is endeavoured to be made between legal evidence and real evidence, or between such evidence as our law requires and such as in natural justice and equity ought to be admitted. But, my lords, this is a distinction without a difference, for what is evidence of a fact before any judicature whatsoever but such testimony as the nature of the case requires to induce a moral certainty of the truth of the thing testified? The wisdom and goodness of our law appear in nothing more remarkably than in the perspicuity, certainty, and clearness of the evidence it requires to fix a crime upon any man, whereby his life, his liberty, or property may be concerned. Hereon we glory and pride ourselves, and are justly the envy of all our neighbour nations. Our law in such cases requires evidence so clear and convincing that every bystander, the instant he hears it, must be fully satisfied of the truth of it. It admits of no surmises, inuendoes, forced consequences, or harsh constructions, nor anything else to be offered as evidence but what is real and substantial, according to the rules of natural justice and equity." Earl Cowper proved to demonstration that such evidence as the law required had not been produced against Atterbury, but the bill passed, and by it he was banished the realm, and subjected to death in case he should return. He was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities; but his estate was not forfeited by his attainder. There can be no doubt of his connection with the exiled family of the Stuarts before his banishment, and it is certain that he had no sooner reached the Continent than he openly joined the Pretender; for he was his confidential agent first at Brussels, and subsequently at Paris. And at this time James Edward was in want of such an agent, for Lord Bolingbroke, who had long acted in that capacity, convinced of the hopelessness of his cause, had made his peace with King George, and was, when Atterbury went into exile, on the point of returning to England.

With the trial and condemnation of Atterbury the prosecutions for this invasion, pretended or real, closed, for the rest of the conspirators were admitted to bail. The danger over, the king went to Germany: taking with him his favourite mistress, the duchess of Kendall. He was accompanied also by his two secretaries, the Lords Townshend and Carteret, for as usual he had to enter into negotiations with foreign potentates. The negotiations between the different powers occupied much time to very little account, for their only result was the contracting closer connections with Prussia and Denmark. This done, on the 19th December the king and his duchess and secretaries returned to London.

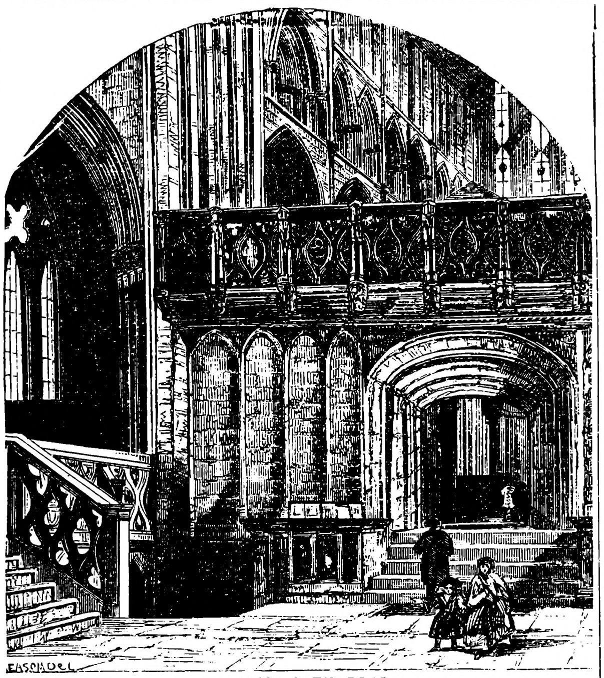
The second session of the second Septennial Parliament commenced on the 7th of January, 1724. The king's speech was chiefly congratulatory. The safety and honour of the kingdom had been provided for effectually by the measures of the preceding year, and all was peace. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of trade and manufacture, and the general tranquillity of the people, had followed in the train of those measures. Under these circumstances, his majesty desired that they would only grant such supplies as were necessary for preserving this happy state of things; and he particularly recommended them to take into their consideration the public debts of the kingdom with a view to their reduction. In compliance with this recommendation, the Commons made provision for the liquidation of a part of the public debts and of the surplus accruing from the sinking fund. But there was no marked economy exercised by the Commons on this occasion; for although the country was said to be at peace, ten thousand men were voted for the navy; and the standing army of eighteen thousand two hundred men, which had been maintained to face the danger of the late threatened invasion, was still kept up. The expense of the year was defrayed by a land tax and malt tax.

Having thus despatched the supply, the Commons took into their consideration a crying evil of the day. For a long series of years ambassadors, peers, and members of parliament had granted protection to profligate persons and fraudulent debtors; and the Commons now resolved to wipe their hands of such an iniquity. Protections granted by members of that House were to be henceforth null and void. And to some extent the Lords followed their good example. They, too, made a declaration to a similar effect, excepting, however, all menial servants and persons necessarily employed about their own estates. They might still claim their lordships' protection from prosecutions for either debt or drunkenness. The session was closed on the 24th of April.

About this time some alterations were made in the disposition of the great offices of state. In the hope of securing a good understanding with France, Horace Walpole was appointed resident ambassador at Paris in the place of Sir Luke Schane. In the preceding August the profligate Abbé Dubois, prime minister of France, died; and his more profligate pupil, the duke of Orleans, also expired suddenly in December. As the young king, whose death had been long expected and hoped for by the late regent, was now nominally of age, he was allowed to reign without a regency. In reality, however, all power was in the hands of the duke of Bourbon, a bosom friend of Bolingbroke's, through whose influence, in connection with the talent of Horace Walpole, it was hoped that all would still run smooth with the court of France. But in order to preserve harmony with the court of France, it was necessary that another change should be made in the ministry. It was known that Lord Carteret was no friend of Bolingbroke's, and was endeavouring to supplant both Walpole and Townshend by promoting all George's German predilections which had a tendency to war, and therefore he was sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and he was succeeded in his secretaryship by the duke of Newcastle. But these changes may be said to have taken place from ministerial rivalries and jealousies, and not from absolute necessity to preserve harmony with the court of France.

During the lord-lieutenancy of Carteret there was a great commotion in Ireland, and all about halfpence and farthings. In the year 1722 a patent had been granted to William Wood, a proprietor and renter of iron and copper mines in England, enabling him to issue that copper coinage to the value of 108,000*l.* There could be no reasonable objection to this, but it was whispered abroad that the patent was obtained by fraud. The Irish parliament, however, took umbrage at such a coinage. The thing had been done by the king's ministers in a corner. The patent had been granted without consulting either the parliament, the lord-lieutenant, or the privy council of Ireland. It was an insult to the whole nation. A resolution therefore was passed by the Irish parliament, which met in September, to the effect that Wood's coinage would be prejudicial to the revenue; that it was destructive to trade, and of dangerous consequences to the rights of the subject; that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation; that the coinage was deficient in weight; that even if the terms had been complied with, there would have been a loss of 150 per cent. to the nation; and that granting the power of coinage to a private individual had ever been prejudicial to the kingdom. Addresses from both Houses were voted, and sent to King George in England. Meanwhile, the whole nation was in a state of ferment about this copper coinage. And that ferment was chiefly stirred up by the powerful pen of Swift, the dean of St. Patrick's. Under the name of M. B. Drapier, he issued a letter addressed "to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and country people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland, concerning the brass halfpence coined by one William Wood, hardwareman." Letter after letter appeared from the pen of this able but unscrupulous writer on the subject of Wood's halfpence and farthings. He declared that they were of the most base quality, and alloyed beyond all precedent; whereas it was proved by experiments at the mint, made under the direction of Newton, that they equalled or exceeded, in weight and purity, coins of the same denomination in England. The excitement caused by the Drapier's letters and Swift's varied philippics against Wood's money was tremendous. The Irish went mad about it. There was nothing heard of throughout all Ireland but Wood and his accursed coinage. He deserved hanging, or a more just punishment, it was said, would be to scald him alive in his own copper. Nor was this fury displayed by one section of the community alone. All parties, whether Papists or Protestants, whether Whigs or Tories, whether Orangemen or Rapparees, joined in the universal malediction. So bitter did the general feeling become concerning Wood's copper money, that even the merchants to whom the coin had been consigned were compelled to make it publicly known they would have nothing more to do with it. And it was in vain that Lord Carteret, when he reached Ireland, sought to stem the public fury. He offered a reward for the discovery of the author of the Drapier's letters, but no one would point him out; and he prosecuted their printer, but the grand jury threw out the bill. From the highest to the lowest there was a combination against the hated currency. Walpole had, in the hope of softening down the feelings of the Irish, conceded that the amount of the currency issued should not exceed 40,000*l.* in value, and that it should not be a legal tender for a larger sum than fivepence-halfpenny in one payment; but the Irish insisted that they would not take a shilling of the "cursed stuff." In the end, the patent was withdrawn.

Walpole had restored quietude in Ireland by cancelling Wood's patent, but he had scarcely done so when he was called upon to allay a storm arising from a domestic question in Scotland. The Scots did not quarrel about halfpence and farthings, but about malt. It has been seen that the expenses of the year 1724 were provided for by a land tax and malt tax. Hitherto the Scots had been allowed to brew their ale free of all duty. They had uniformly resisted any such impost as being contrary to the articles of the Union. What the tax on tea at a later date was to the Bostonians, the tax on malt was to the Scots—odious. Walpole himself was opposed to any imposition being laid on their favourite beverage, but some of the English country gentlemen had pressed the subject upon him, and he was compelled to consent to a duty of three-pence being raised in Scotland on every barrel of ale in lieu of the malt tax. It was probably thought that, as the duty was not levied on the raw material, but on its production, that it would be divested of its sting. In that form some of the Scottish members voted for it, but the Scottish people were not so easily satisfied. The duty was to come into operation on the 23rd of June, 1725. Accordingly, on that day there was a fierce demonstration against it in Glasgow. A great mob assembled, and with long-continued shouts of "Down with Walpole!" proceeded to acts of mischief. The house of Donald Campbell, member of parliament for that city, who had voted for the ale duty, was attacked at midnight and destroyed. So great was the tumult, that the military force was called in; but, nothing daunted, the mob attacked the soldiers, and it was not till after several were killed and many wounded that the riot was quelled. General Wade, who performed this service, subsequently seized some of the rioters, and apprehended the chief magistrates of Glasgow, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh. The Glasgow magistrates were brought before the lords of justiciary, and charged with timidity or treachery for not checking the riots, but they were held to be innocent, and discharged. On the other hand, Captain Bushell, who had ordered the soldiers to fire on the rioters before Wade entered the town, was tried for murder and condemned, but he was par-



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

doned by the king, and received promotion for his services. The opposition against the tax at Edinburgh was of a different character. For some time the brewers refused to brew, but this was found to be prejudicial to their interests, and to their customers' comforts, and the brewhouses were soon again in full operation. Rather than be deprived of their ale, the Scots submitted to the duty, and Walpole congratulated himself that Ireland and Scotland were again quiet. But this was not effected till a change had been made in the office of secretary of state for Scotland. As Walpole suspected that the duke of Roxburgh, who filled that office, encouraged the commotions to embarrass the ministry, he was dismissed, and the earl of Hay, brother to the duke of Argyle, was sent to Scotland to pacify the country, in which object he succeeded.

Parliament, which met on the 12th of November, 1724, appears to have been assembled chiefly for establishing funds for the expenses of the ensuing year. Although the king professed the highest satisfaction at the state of foreign affairs, and the perfect state of tranquillity at home, the army was still kept up as though war might be expected: especially from the close alliance which had been formed between Sweden and Russia. In April, 1725, his majesty notified to the Commons that he had been engaged in some extraordinary expenses, and therefore he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Those debts appear to have accrued from moneys paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties; or, in other words, bribery and corruption; a regular system which Walpole was notoriously organising in the House of Commons. Mr. Pulteney urged that, before the king's message was taken into consideration, the papers relating to the address should be examined. A debt, he said, of 500,000*l.* had been contracted in three years, and it was no wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil list, since they and their friends shared so largely in the revenue. He wanted to know whether that sum was the full amount due, or whether the House was to expect another reckoning? His sarcasms were aimed at Walpole, who answered his objections, with which the House may be supposed to have been satisfied; or, at all events, Pulteney's objections were overruled, for a bill was passed enabling King George to raise a sum not exceeding 1,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, to free the civil government from the debts contracted.

This session was chiefly distinguished by two incidents,—the impeachment of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield for malversation, and the restoration of that notorious political delinquent Lord Bolingbroke to his forfeited estates. The misdoings of Thomas Parker, earl of Macclesfield, had become notorious There was a loud outcry in the country against them, and, warned by the public voice, early in January he resigned the great seal. By that resignation he hoped to avoid the punishment due to his offences. But that hope was vain. He was impeached in the Commons by Sir George Oxenden on various charges: such as having made unusual and exorbitant profits by the sale of masterships in the court of chancery; as having abused his trust in using the money of suitors, and of widows and orphans, of whom he was the legal guardian; and as having in various instances made divers irregular orders. The Commons found a true bill against Lord Macclesfield, and he was brought to the bar of the Lords, by whom he was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, and be imprisoned in the Tower till that sum was paid. The money was found in six weeks, and Macclesfield was then discharged. Sir Peter King, one of the justices of the common pleas, now created Baron King, succeeded him in the chancellorship. Some historians of modern times hold that Macclesfield was unjustly condemned, but Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," maintains "that his conviction was lawful and his punishment mild." But while Macclesfield was thus punished for malversation by this parliament, Lord Bolingbroke, who had been attainted for treasonable practices, was restored to his forfeited estates.

Parliament was prorogued in May, and in June King George again went to Hanover. His presence was needed there, for notwithstanding the multiplicity of his negotiations and the many treaties he had concluded, all prospects therefrom promised to be but a baseless vision. The mounds which he had thrown up to preserve his German dominions had but a sandy foundation. In the beginning of the preceding year Philip, king of Spain, had retired with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, from whence he sent a letter to his son Louis, prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown; and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion, and put himself under her protection. Philip represented that the wars and tumults with which God had visited him during twenty-three years of his reign had determined him to descend from his throne, in order that he might at St. Ildefonso, free from all other cares, serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote himself to the important work of his salvation. Philip's renunciation of the throne was published through the whole monarchy of Spain, and his son, Don Louis, on the 15th of January, 1725, by the full consent of the council of Castile assumed the reins of government. It would not appear, however, that Philip was so tired of regal state as he represented. His apparent humility was a state trick. He descended from one throne in the hope of ascending the steps of another. The young king of France, Louis XV., was again in a precarious state, and should he die Philip hoped by his renunciation of the throne of Spain he might obtain that of France. He was perfectly satisfied that no one brow would be suffered to wear the two crowns, and he fancied that by transferring Spain to one of his sons the opposition of the great powers to his rule in France, which had been so strongly manifested, would be removed. But in truth Philip was as much king in the cloisters of St. Ildefonso as he had been in the palace of Madrid. It was a farce of king and no king, but it was soon played out. In a few months Don Louis died of the small-pox, and Philip resumed his sceptre. If he had not there was now but little chance of his obtaining the kingdom of France, for Louis XV., so often at the point of death, had not only recovered, but had been declared likely to live and to perpetuate his race. Philip declared that he would for ever separate himself from that country, and he now turned his eyes towards England. The congress of Cambray was still sitting, and Philip had agreed to leave the power of arbitration in the hands of France; but he now told Stanhope, the English ambassador at Madrid, that he would place his whole friendship and confidence in King George, and submit the arrangement of his disputes with the emperor to the sole mediation of Great Britain. But George was not disposed to come to a rupture with France for the sake of Philip's friendship and confidence. He urged that Spain still stood in need of French countenance and assistance for protection from the emperor, and that it would be safer and wiser for Philip not to break with France. But he had broke with France beyond all hope of present reconciliation. The insult he had received had been declared by him of such a nature that all the blood of Spain could not wipe it out. As, therefore, England would not take up his quarrel he turned to his enemy the emperor. Philip recalled his plenipotentiaries from the congress of Cambray, and professing his readiness to concede all the points he had been contesting with the emperor, proposed a close alliance with him "against France and England." This proposal was gladly accepted by the Emperor Charles. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Vienna between Spain and his imperial majesty by which the peace of Europe was endangered. On his part, Philip agreed to sanction the Ostend Company, and allow it all the privileges of the most favoured nations; to acknowledge the emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and abandon all pretensions to all territories dismembered from Spain by the peace of Utrecht; and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, which provided that the succession of all the hereditary states of the House of Austria should in default of males be secured and rest in the female line. On the other hand, the emperor renounced absolutely all claim to the Spanish throne; and by a private agreement pledged himself to demand Gibraltar for Spain, and in case of this being refused by the English court, to combine with Philip in wresting the island of Minorca from the power of Great Britain, and to place the Pretender on England's throne. Alarmed at this alliance between Spain and the emperor, King George projected a treaty with France and Prussia in opposition to that of Vienna. Such a treaty, which bound the three countries to hold by each other if either were attacked, was signed on the 3rd of September. Subsequently, Denmark and Holland acceded to this treaty; while Spain and the emperor added the Czarina Catherine I., widow of the Czar Peter, who had recently died suddenly, to their confederacy.

Having taken these precautions, King George returned to England. He embarked for Harwich on the 1st of January, 1726, but on the voyage a terrible storm arose, which after two days of danger and distress obliged him to land at the little port of Rye, in Sussex, from whence he proceeded to London by land. Parliament met on the 20th of January. The subject of the late treaties formed the chief subject-matter of the speech. The Houses were told that the treaty of Vienna had laid the foundation of new troubles in Europe; that it threatened his subjects with the loss of several of the most important branches of their trade; and had compelled him to concert measures with other powers as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable. His enemies, he said, were already on the alert by their emissaries in soliciting support from various courts to the cause of the Pretender. Finally, he declared that the alliance between Spain and the emperor was adverse to the Protestant religion on the Continent; that one of their objects, indeed, was its utter subversion. Beyond all doubt the treaty of Hanover was dictated by the interests of Germany, and not from any fear of loss to British commerce, or the extirpation of the Protestant religion. The glory of England had nothing whatever to do with it; the treaty of Vienna had more especial reference to the affairs of the Continent. It is true Gibraltar was to be demanded, and there was some talk of an attack upon the island of Minorca, and about bringing the Pretender over to England, but these were at present remote contingencies. All the topics of the speech, however, were forcibly impressed upon the House in the motion for an address by the ministry and its supporters, and it was in vain that their views were opposed by Pulteney and the discontented Whigs, and Shippen and his band of Jacobites. They denounced the treaty of Hanover as unjust, unnecessary, and unnational; as tending to injure the trade of England, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The address was carried by a large majority. In the address the Commons assured the king that they would support him against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. This assurance was put to the test in March, when a message was sent to the House demanding an extraordinary supply, that the maritime force might be augmented, and other measures concerted as should enable his majesty to meet the coming storm. This demand was complied with, and the supplies ordinary and extraordinary being granted, with everything else which the court thought proper to ask, parliament was prorogued on the 24th of May. Walpole was at this period all-powerful. The majority which he had in the Commons was overwhelming, so that all objections to his measures were worse than useless. He appears even to have overridden the House of Lords. The message for an extraordinary supply was not sent to them, on which Lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy comments upon the state of insignificance to which the English peers were reduced. But Walpole carried matters with a high hand. He had opponents in both Houses; he had enemies at court; and he had enemies who wielded the power of the press against him; but with his powerful majority in the Commons he carried all before him without either having his temper ruffled or exerting the power he possessed against them.

By this time the Czarina of Russia had prepared a fleet for co-operation with Austria and Spain. To circumvent her movements Admiral Wager was sent to the Baltic with an English fleet to blockade her ports. Joined by a Danish squadron, on the 29th of May he appeared before the port of Revel. He was provided with a letter from King George to the Czarina, which he forwarded to her imperial majesty. George observed that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her preparations for war by sea and land; and personally he complained that measures had been taken by her court in favour of the Pretender; and that his repeated attempts to secure a lasting friendship with the Russian crown had been set at nought. Under these circumstances he added that his admiral had orders to prevent her ships from sailing out of any of her harbours. The Czarina, who it was known carried out the plans of the Czar and had imbibed his animosity to King George, professed to be astonished at the measures he had adopted. It would have been more agreeable, she replied, to the custom established among sovereigns if he had remonstrated before he had made any warlike demonstration. That was offensive; especially as she had no thoughts for disturbing the peace of the north. As regards the Pretender, she said, that was a frivolous accusation, made only to cover the designs lately displayed towards the Russian empire. Admiral Wager, however, was not deceived by the Czarina's peaceable professions, for he remained in the Baltic till the ice and storms of the north had effectually blocked up her fleet in her harbours, and then he returned to England.

Two other English squadrons sailed in the spring of this year. One of these, under Rear-Admiral Hosier, for the West Indies, with orders to take or block up the Spanish galleons; and the other, under Sir George Jennings, for the coast of Spain, where it was rumoured an armament was preparing to bring over the Pretender. Hosier blockaded Porto Bello, but his was an unfortunate expedition, for he himself, with a large number of his crew, perished of yellow fever in the Spanish Main. This unfortunate expedition excited a loud clamour in England: the loss being suffered without any advantage to the nation. Jennings, with his squadron, scoured the Spanish coasts, but found no armament ready, and so after causing great alarm to the Spaniards, but doing very little harm to their country, he returned home.

All these movements looked very much like war. The attitude of England was certainly defiant, and bade fair to convert the semblance of war into its stern reality. It was the beginning of a storm which was growing thicker and thicker every day in the political horizon. When parliament met on the 17th January, 1727, the royal speech was essentially warlike. The Houses were informed that the alliance concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power: a power which was directly levelled against the dearest interests and privileges of the English nation. It was clear, said his majesty, that Great Britain must either surrender Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or the nation must resolve vigorously to defend their rights. Moreover, he asserted that it was now known for a certainty that one of the secret articles of the alliance was the placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. Russia, he affirmed, had entered into the combinations of the emperor and Spain, and but for the British fleet which had been sent into the Baltic, under Admiral Wager, the invasion of England might have been an accomplished fact. As regards Gibraltar, he declared that the ambassador of Spain was possessed of a memorial containing a formal demand for its restitution, and that when he had delivered it to the English government he had orders to return to Madrid. He exhorted the Commons, therefore, to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of the country; and, lest they should prove lukewarm, he concluded his speech by a reference to subjects which always moved the passions of the Houses; namely, the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe, and the interests of British commerce; and the great blessings they enjoyed under a Protestant government. Addresses in both Houses were moved in accordance with the royal speech, but they were not passed without opposition.

This celebrated speech of King George gave great umbrage to the court of Vienna. The emperor's minister in London, M. Palm, was directed to present a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the nation. Palm's memorial disavowed the secret articles of which so much had been said by the king and his ministers. That article relating to the Pretender he declared was a positive falsehood, and the insinuation with respect to Gibraltar equally untrue. Palm's memorial concluded thus:—"Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred, imperial, and Catholic majesty require that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world; and his sacred imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations." A translation of this memorial was printed and published, together with a letter from Count Zinzendorf, authorising its circulation among his Britannic majesty's subjects; and the intemperate language of the papers, combined with the audacious appeal from the throne to the people, excited a wide-spread resentment. Both Houses were indignant at the imperial minister's insolence, and an address to the king, drawn up by Walpole, passed *nem. con.*: the discontented Whigs and the Jacobites for once voting with ministers. That address not only expressed the utmost indignation at Monsieur de Palm's memorial, but thanked his majesty for his care and vigilance in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of his enemies, and assured him that they would stand by him against them all, whether native or foreign, and would effectually defeat the expectation of all such as may have in any manner countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the disturbers of public tranquillity in this extravagant insult upon his majesty, or flattered them with hopes that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures could stagger the firmness of the British nation in vindication of his majesty's honour and the defence of their rights and privileges. Palm was commanded immediately to leave the kingdom, and the British resident at Vienna was recalled. The rupture was rendered complete by declarations presented by the emperor and King George to the diet of the emperor at Ratisbon, in which personal reflections were not wanted on either side. Both potentates dipped their pens in gall, and all hope of reconciliation vanished.

To secure himself against the impending storm King George had recourse to negotiations with foreign powers. He drew closer the bonds of alliance with the king of France; agreed to pay 50,000*l.* for three years to the king of Sweden, who had been detached from Russia in consideration of that monarch's holding ten thousand troops ready for any emergency; concluded a fresh treaty with the king of Denmark, who agreed to furnish troops for a given sum; and took into his pay twelve thousand Hessians. The king of Prussia, King George's son-in-law, stood aloof from the quarrel, as did also the States-General. George had no disinterested allies. None of them would contribute their assistance without being largely subsidized. Although their dominions were as much endangered as were those of George's on the Continent, they would not fight without English gold. Great Britain, in truth, not only paid them for the defence of their own dominions, but undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. The expenses already incurred, and were still likely to incur, were so great that the ways and means granted were not sufficient to defray them. Ministers were compelled to ask the House for a vote of credit to enable the king to meet all present and future expenses up to the 25th of September in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive "to the security of commerce, and restoring the peace of Europe." It was moved in the Commons that a clause of appropriation in the Malt Tax Bill should be inserted, giving that power to his majesty; and although some members denounced the demand as unconstitutional, and as likely, through the influence of evil ministers, to be attended with dangerous consequences, the motion was carried. And in addition to this vote of credit the warlike propensities of King George were gratified by the grant of 370,000*l.*, to be raised by loans on exchequer bills to be charged on the surplus of duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal.

If the war, therefore, was not fierce and bloody, it was not for lack of English gold. It might, perchance, be this, combined with the steps taken by his Britannic majesty, which made it almost bloodless. Spain commenced hostilities by laying siege to the rock of Gibraltar. It was commenced on the 11th of February. Lord Portmore, then in the eightieth year of his age, hastened from England to defend the fortress of which he was the governor. The old earl arrived in April, and found the rock quite safe. It was well provided for a defence, and with the reinforcements he brought with him, though the emperor had joined with Spain in attacking it, there would have been no fear of its being captured. The garrison was numerous and well supplied with military stores, and, what was equally essential, in no want of provisions, for English men-of-war in the harbour secured a constant supply from the coast of Africa. But the emperor did not come to the assistance of Spain in its attack upon the coveted old rock. The truth is, the emperor was in no condition to fulfil the engagement he had contracted in the treaty of Vienna, and while the Spaniards were ineffectually firing upon the rock he was negotiating for peace. He had acted the bully, and now, like all bullies, he acted the coward. Awed by the confederacy in Germany and by the assembling of a French army on the Rhine, and finally cowed down by the death of the Czarina Catherine of Russia, on whose support he had reckoned, he seized the first opportunity of sacrificing his rash Spanish ally. France, through its prime minister, the Cardinal Fleury, who had succeeded the duke of Bourbon, and who was a man of peace, made overtures of peace, which were accepted without hesitation. On the 31st of May his ambassador at Paris signed the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland, by which it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend Company should be suspended for seven years; that the emperor should confirm all treaties previous to the year 1725; and that a general congress should be opened within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for settling all disputes and consolidating the peace of Europe. Thus deserted by his cowardly ally, Philip, king of Spain, withdrew his forces from Gibraltar, and acceded to the treaty. His minister signed the preliminaries at Vienna; but the court of Madrid subsequently started some difficulties, and for some time England and Spain were in a condition in which peace and war may be said to have been evenly balanced. Admiral Wager still continued to cruise on the coast of Spain, but eventually the pen triumphed over the sword: peace was consummated.

The peace thus brought about without any loss either to the honour or dignity of the country is generally attributed to the abilities and peace-loving politics of Walpole, and the cardinal de Fleury of France, who were men of like minds. Yet at this very time, when Walpole had saved the country from a bloody and expensive war, his power was somewhat endangered. Bought over by Bolingbroke and his party, the old duchess of Kendal was exerting all her influence with the king to ruin Walpole and to reinstate Bolingbroke, not merely in the House of Peers, but in the cabinet. But all Walpole's fears and Bolingbroke's hopes were set aside by an unlooked-for event. The king closed the session on the 15th of May, and on the 3rd of June he embarked at Greenwich for his much-loved Hanover. He was again accompanied by the duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend. On the 7th he landed at Vaert in Holland, and leaving the duchess on the Dutch frontier, he proceeded on his journey by land. At that time he was apparently in his usual health, but on the morning of the 10th, as he was travelling along the road he was seized with apoplexy. His attendants proposed that he should stop at Ippenburen, to obtain medical advice. He had almost lost the power of speech, but he muttered Osnabruck several times, and his servants, trained to implicit obedience, pressed forward to that place. His unhappy wife, the Princess Sophia, had died in the preceding November, in the solitary castle of Ahlen, where she had been confined for thirty-two dreary years; and if we are to believe Lockhart of Carnwarth, she had written a letter to his majesty containing a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for hard usage and unjust treatment, and which concluded with a summons or citation to her husband to appear within the year and the day at the Divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered to the king either in England or Hanover it was delivered to him in this his last journey while in Holland. Supposing it to have come from Hanover, George opened it immediately, and was so struck with its contents and his fatal citation that "convulsions and apoplexy came fast upon him." Be this as it may, before George reached Osnabruck he had gone to his long account. His only brother living, the prince bishop, had his palace at Osnabruck, and when he was roused from his sleep at midnight by the tramp of horses in his court-yard all was over: George, king of Great Britain, and elector of Hanover, was dead. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, and was buried at Hanover.

Few monarchs on the throne of England have been personally less influential than this first of the Georges. At the same time his reign was beneficial to the country. In spite of his vices and infirmities—and they were not a few—he was a man of vigorous character. Though a despotic ruler in his own country, he accommodated himself admirably to the restrictions of constitutional monarchy, and on some occasions he displayed considerable ability as a sovereign and a politician. According to Horace Walpole, who was no flatterer of kings, he possessed many attractive qualities in private life, and he records several instances of his amiability, humour, and wit. As his history manifests, he was strongly attached to his German dominions, which was distasteful to his British subjects; but it is certain that he wished and sought to govern England according to the maxims of its constitution and the genius of its people. If ever he deviated from these principles it appears to have been either from the undue influence of his German mistresses, or the suggestions of a venal ministry, whose power was founded on corruption. Whatever was good in his reign might be ascribed chiefly to himself; whatever was evil to those by whom he was surrounded. It has been well observed that, as the Whig ministers were allowed to govern the country as they pleased, so they in return gratified the sovereign with a continual round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be to the rest of Europe. This reign therefore was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was, to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the Pretender from those of Britain. To effect both purposes England paid considerable subsidies to many different states in Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened that the connection was changed, or a variance ensued before even the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties; the Barrier Convention Treaty; a defensive alliance with the emperor; the Triple Alliance; the Convention Treaty; the Quadruple Alliance; the Congress at Cambray; the Treaty of Hanover; the Treaty of Vienna; and the Convention of Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. All these various and expensive negotiations were mere political playthings; they amused for a while, and were soon neglected, the present interests and passions making new and more natural connections.

GEORGE II.

It was on the 14th of June that the news of the king's death reached Walpole. He was at dinner in his villa at Chelsea, when a courier arrived from Lord Townshend, his brother-in-law, with a despatch containing the intelligence. No time was to be lost if he wished to retain his power; and rising from dinner, Walpole mounted his horse and rode in hot haste to Richmond, where the prince of Wales was staying. George had retired to take his usual afternoon's nap. He was asleep in his bedroom, the princess sitting by his side. But Walpole's errand admitted of no delay. He was aroused, and, half dressed, rushed to the prime minister in the antechamber. "I am come," said Walpole, abruptly, "to acquaint your majesty with the death of your father." It is related that George could scarcely credit the fact till the despatch was produced and read to him. It is probable that Walpole regarded his tenure of power as more uncertain at that moment than when the duchess of Kendal was intriguing with Bolingbroke against him, for George had long looked upon him with suspicion and resentment. And for a time his apprehension seemed confirmed. Kneeling at the feet of his new sovereign, Walpole inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to summon the council, and to draw up the usual speech or declaration to its members. "Go," said George, abruptly, "Go to Chiswick, and take your directions from Sir Spencer Compton." Walpole did as George desired, fully convinced that his reign was over. But Sir Spencer Compton was ill-fitted for the post of prime minister. "He was," says Horace Walpole, "Speaker of the House of Commons and treasurer to his royal highness, who by that first command implied his intention of making Sir Spencer his prime minister. He was a worthy man, of exceedingly grave formality, but of no parts—as his conduct immediately proved." The poor gentleman was so little qualified to accommodate himself to the grandeur of the moment, and to conceive how a new sovereign should address himself to his ministers, and he had also been so far from meditating to supplant the premier, that in his distress it was Sir Robert Walpole himself to whom he had recourse, and whom he besought to make the new draft of the king's speech for him. Walpole wrote the speech, and Sir Spencer Compton took it to Leicester House, whither the king had removed from Richmond, where it was delivered to the privy council. That was on the evening of the 14th, and on the next day George II. was proclaimed king of Great Britain.

The dismissal of Walpole's son-in-law from his office of master of the robes, on the first day of George's reign, seemed to indicate that the fall of the Whig ministry was certain. Had the matter rested with the king, such would probably have been the case. But George, who was not possessed of any shining abilities, was in the habit of listening to his wife's counsels; a circumstance the more remarkable because he like his father had no great respect to the seventh commandment. Notwithstanding, he appears to have loved his wife—Caroline of Anspach—and Caroline, despite his known amours, lived in amity with him. Caroline was a remarkable woman. Possessed of considerable talent, she affected to combine the characters of a princess royal and philosopher; a beauty and a wit: a metaphysician and divine. Her levees were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and learned woman. She received company, in which learned men and divines mingled with courtiers and ladies of the household, while at her toilet. At these levees prayers and sometimes sermons were read, and the conversation was of a multifarious character. Metaphysical subjects were discussed in the midst of repartee, sallies of mirth, and the tittle, tattle of a drawing-room. George himself had no taste for literature: on the contrary, he would rather hold discourse with a soldier, from a general to a corporal, than with all the savants in the world. But he had a high respect for his queen's talents, and as she did not interfere with his pleasures he did not interfere with her literary tastes. And Caroline steadily persevered in maintaining her opinion that it would be better to retain the late king's cabinet than to form a new one; and when at length she urged that Walpole had agreed to carry through the Commons an augmentation to the civil list of 130,000*l.*, whereas Compton would only undertake to propose 60,000*l.*, there was no longer any hesitation. Walpole and his party were continued in power, and Compton was made president of the council and a peer of the realm, with which he was infinitely better pleased than he had been with the unexpected honour of the premiership.

In pursuance of the Act of Settlement, the parliament assembled on the day when George was proclaimed king, but it was prorogued till the 27th of June. On that day he went to the House of Peers. In his speech George professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their civil rights. As soon as the circumstances of his affairs would permit he promised to lessen the public expense; but he more than hinted that it would at the present moment be necessary to increase it by making a new provision for the support of himself and family. Addresses of condolence on his majesty's bereavement, and congratulation on his accession, passed both Houses; and in the Commons the question of supply was at once taken into consideration. Walpole said that the original sum of 700,000*l.*, which had been granted to the late king, had been found insufficient for the support of his dignity. Every year his majesty had spent more than he had received, and as the present sovereign had a large family, it was necessary that it should be increased. He proposed therefore that the civil list should be settled at 830,000*l.* during the present reign. There was not a voice raised against this proposal except that of the Jacobite Shippen. But Shippen stood alone in opposition. No one was found to second his motion for restricting the revenue to the sum granted to George I., and Walpole paid his price for the continuance of his power at the expense of the nation. Subsequently it was agreed with equal unanimity that Queen Caroline should receive a jointure of 100,000*l.*, charged upon the revenue of the civil list, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset House, and Richmond old park. Then on the 17th of July, the king having first thanked the Commons for these marks of attachment and affection to the throne, and congratulated both Houses upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe, he prorogued his first parliament. This was on the 17th of July; and on the 7th of August a proclamation was issued for its dissolution, and writs were issued for a new parliament to meet in January, 1728.

George II. ascended the throne with the almost universal approbation of the people. Few British sovereigns, indeed, have commenced their reigns under more auspicious circumstances. He was crowned at Westminster Abbey on the 11th of October. At that time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled, and all Europe was freed from the calamities of war. The peace of Great Britain was uninterrupted for a considerable time except from transient tumults, which were easily put down by the strong arm of the government.

The new parliament met on the 23rd of January, 1728. It was found to be loyal and compliant. Arthur Onslow was elected Speaker in the room of Spencer Compton, who had been raised to the peerage. Onslow was one of the most distinguished men who have ever sat in the Speaker's chair: he was grave, eloquent, and venerable, and in every way qualified for that honourable and important office. The king's speech was precautionary rather than warlike. It was necessary, he said, still to continue the preparations for war which had been the means of securing the nation and preventing an open rupture in Europe; but by advices recently received he had hopes that the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries and the opening of the congress would speedily be removed. He still talked of economy. When it could safely be done there was to be a reduction from time to time of the expenses of the public. That should be his first care. But speeches of this nature penned by Walpole were evidently composed with a view of soothing the minds of the people into a concurrence with the measures of government without any real intention of practising economy. And they succeeded admirably, for "hope tells a flattering tale," which men are too apt to believe. It would seem that the cabinet could not be grateful enough for their continuance in office, and their supporters joined in their grateful feelings. All George's transactions were admiringly approved. They promised him their hearty support in all his undertakings; and solemnly declared that whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service would be cheerfully granted. Ask and have, was the order of the day. The estimates laid before them were of the most lavish character for the period, but they were cheerfully complied with. They voted about twenty-three thousand land troops for garrisons and guards, and fifteen thousand seamen; and they granted 233,923*l.* for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops, and subsidies both to the king of Sweden and the duke of Brunswick. The year's expense was estimated at four million pounds sterling, which was to be raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt tax, and by borrowing 1,750,000*l.* of the Bank of England, for which annuities to the amount of 70,000*l.*, or twenty-five per cent., to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation. But these sums were not granted without being called into question. Concerning the loan of the Bank, Pulteney declared that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes and putting off the evil day, and that although great merit had been attributed to the sinking fund, yet the national debt went on increasing. Walpole on the other hand affirmed that it had decreased and was still decreasing, and the majority, without affording any proof, coincided with him. Out of doors there were murmurs about the loan of the Bank of England. The city of London presented a petition which set forth that the duties already laid upon coals and culm affected the trade of that city only, and that the inequality of the burden was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and a great hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. But this petition was rejected and the tax imposed. During the session the Commons agreed to an address to the king praying for a specific account of 250,000*l.*, which had been put down as secret service money. Compliance with this request would probably have been fatal to the ministry. It was said to have been charged for the security of the navigation of the kingdom, and the restoration and preservation of the peace of Europe. It was shrewdly suspected, however, that the money had been spent for purposes widely different from these legitimate objects. And this suspicion was confirmed by the reticence of the king. All the answer he vouchsafed to the address was that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and part by himself; and that a specific account of such disbursements could not be given, as it would be prejudicial to the public service. Such a reply in the reign of King William would have raised a dangerous flame in the Commons, but Walpole bore down all opposition with ease. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague mode of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments insignificant, to cover embezzlement, and to screen rapacious ministers; and others joined with him in demanding a precise account of all the sums disbursed, but it was to no purpose. All the answer ministers would give was that they had been expended in negotiations too delicate to be mentioned. Pulteney and those who supported him conceived, and with good reason, that the money had been chiefly spent in managing the elections and by bribing the members for the support of the ministry; but it so happened that while they were in the heat of debate upon the subject, an express arrived announcing that the king of Spain had ratified the former preliminaries with France and England, and referred the settlement of all differences to the congress, which was now appointed to be held at Soissons instead of Aix-la-Chapelle. Nothing could have been more opportune for the credit of the ministry. Walpole was delighted. He read the express to the House with jubilant feelings, and then declared that the nation would henceforth be relieved from such expenses; for he could assure those who had been vociferating for a detailed account of the secret service money, that it had been expended in obtaining this conclusion of peace! The voice of opposition was now hushed; but it was not for long. Although Walpole had declared that the nation would no longer be burthened with the late expenses, in this very session a message was delivered to the House demanding a vote of credit for the very purposes for which it was asserted that the secret service money had been expended, namely, the protection of trade and commerce, and the restoration of the peace of Europe; and though Pulteney, Shippen, and the rest of their party declaimed against the vote, the majority expressed their entire confidence in the king's "royal care and goodness," and their readiness to enable him to fulfil his engagements. The vote of credit passed, and on the 28th of May George closed the session, tendering his thanks to the Commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and especially for enabling him to borrow 500,000*l.*, for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy. Yet in this very session ministers had taken credit to themselves that they had made provision for the gradual discharge of the national debt; and the king had said, when a detail of that debt had been laid before him, that there was now a fair prospect of seeing all its existing items discharged without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

In December this year, Frederick, prince of Wales, and heir to the throne, arrived in England. Hitherto he had been left at Hanover, and had not been allowed to quit the electorate. He was received by the nation with great joy. At this time he was twenty-one years of age, and was considered to be full of promise. But like his father he proved to be an undutiful son, and George had soon reason to wish him back at Hanover. There were, however, faults on both sides, for King George was addicted to avaricious meanness, and stinted his son of the means necessary to uphold his dignity.

Parliament assembled on the 21st of January, 1729. The congress, which had been sitting from the 19th of June of the previous year, had not yet decided upon a treaty of peace. The ministers of the different courts, indeed, were perplexing each other with a series of memorials and counter-memorials, so that it was yet doubtful whether there would be peace or war. The fate of Europe continued in suspense. Such was the representation made by the king at the opening of the session, but he declared that he was unwilling to kindle a new war in Europe. In some respects a declaration of war against Spain would have been hailed by the nation with delight. At this juncture the Spanish court had renewed a good understanding with France; had strengthened its interests by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal; and therefore it became cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. Spain in fact was by its cruisers interrupting the commerce of Great Britain with impunity. The Spaniards were also preventing the English from cutting logwood in Campeachy. The merchants of London and other places complained bitterly of the interference of Spain with their trade. Petitions were presented to parliament on the subject, and the Commons agreed in a declaration that the Spaniards had violated treaties. An address was also agreed upon, desiring that his majesty would use his utmost endeavours to procure satisfaction for the injuries endured, and for securing a free and uninterrupted exercise of commerce between England and her colonies in America. To this address the reply of the king was all that the Commons could desire; but to another address, referring to the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specifying to what particular uses it had been applied, his answer was anything but satisfactory. It had been disbursed (he said) for secret services which could not be divulged. Walpole and his majority were too much addicted to secresy. Some of the proceedings of this session, indeed, were scarcely fit to see the light. Despite the strong remonstrance of Pulteney and his party, the subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbuttle were continued as heretofore; and the land and sea forces were kept up as though the nation was actually at war. In truth, Admiral Hozier had been instructed to seize the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his subjects. This was considered by the minority in both Houses to be an unreasonable burden on the nation, and motions were made to that effect, but rejected. The subject, however, which caused the warmest discussion in both Houses was connected with the civil list. Walpole proposed that a grant of a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to supply the deficiency of the civil list; affirming that the eight hundred thousand pounds settled on the king was not sufficient to cover his expenses, or rather that the civil list revenues had not during the last year reached the maximum. This was a direct falsehood. On the contrary, Pulteney in the Commons stated that from the examination of the accounts which were then before the House, it was proved to demonstration, that instead of falling short, the revenues of the civil list had produced a much greater sum than that for which they were given. He proposed that a select committee should be appointed to investigate the truth, but his motion was negatived. The sum of a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was voted "on account of arrears due on the civil list revenues;" but, to add mockery to robbery, there was inserted a provision, which went for nothing, that at the king's death the money should be repaid. The arguments of the Lords in opposition against this grant were cogent and unanswerable. They alleged that instead of a deficiency there was a considerable surplus; that this was a new grant and a new burden on the public; that the nation was burdened, not to complete but to augment the sum designed for the civil list; and that at a time when the national debt was increased, when taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country, when foreign trade was in a languishing condition, when manufactures were in a decayed condition, when the poor were increasing in numbers, and the nation surrounded with calamities. There might be exaggeration in some of these statements, but when the Lords argued that if, supposing there were any deficiencies in the civil list revenues, the public were called upon to make them good, it was nothing but natural that when they exceeded the maximum the public should have the benefit—the reasoning was unanswerable. They rightly observed, also, that by the precedent before them, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears outstanding at the end of the year which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supplies to make good the arrears in one year would certainly increase the surpluses in another; that the revenues of the civil list were variable in their nature; and that even when there was a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt. They added, with cutting sarcasm, that these might easily be increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. But no amount of argument, reasoning, or sarcasm was of any avail; Walpole with his paid majority carried everything before him. There was an ever-growing system of bribery and corruption at this period, for the members were so venal that without a bribe they would not vote for the minister. The car of government was driven, not by simple honest-hearted patriotism, but by gold expended in a manner "too delicate to be specified."

Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of May, the king having extolled its wisdom and patriotism. In his first parliament a wish had been expressed that he would not waste his revenues as his father had done in going to Hanover. The annual visits of George I. to his German dominions had been distasteful to his English subjects, and had rendered him unpopular. Soon after the close of this session, however, the second George followed his example. He departed for Hanover, leaving the queen regent of the kingdom. It is not improbable that the grant of a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was required for the express purpose of defraying the expenses of this trip to Germany, for it was well known that the electorate did not contribute to the support of the king, but that rather the king contributed to the support of the electorate. The object of his visit is not stated, but no political negotiations are ascribed to his sojourn in Germany. These appear to have been left to the queen and Walpole. In order to settle the differences with Spain, Stanhope was sent to the Spanish court, which was then at Seville; and after encountering many difficulties, that able diplomatist brought about a very advantageous treaty, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right as established by the Quadruple Alliance. This treaty, which was concluded on the 9th of November, bound Spain in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland; confirmed preceding treaties; revoked the exclusive privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor by the treaty of Vienna; and restored the English trade in America to its former position. No mention was made of Gibraltar, but it is evident that Spain was still jealous of its possession by the English, for the Spaniards were at this very time constructing the memorable lines of San Roque, or the Campas, which cut off the communications of that important fortress from the main land, and which, after causing great mischief to the English garrison from time to time, were finally destroyed during the wars which ensued from the French Revolution.

The session of 1730 commenced on the 13th of January. The treaty of Seville formed the chief topic of the speech. By that treaty the king said the peace of Europe was established. He affirmed that the advantages of the treaty were all on our side, for that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. As a consequence of it, he said that he had given orders for reducing the land forces, and laying up a great part of the fleet. There would therefore (he added) be a considerable saving in the expenses of the current year. Both Houses presented an address of thanks and congratulation on the peace of Seville; but in the Lords exceptions were taken to some clauses in the treaty. By one of its articles all captures were to be restored, but this was accompanied by a clause which obliged the merchants of Great Britain to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. This it was contended was a hardship upon them, and dishonourable to the nation. Few, it was argued, would undertake such a journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend that their claims would be disputed and counterbalanced by the Spaniards. Other articles objected to were the guarantee of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza; to the infant Don Carlos, which it was apprehended might involve Great Britain in future quarrels; and the undertaking to convey in English ships Spanish troops to garrison several of the cities in Italy, which it was feared would lead to an open rupture with the court of Vienna. And this latter fear was not groundless. Incensed at the treaty of Seville, in which he had not been called upon to be a party, the emperor had already shown his resentment, by issuing an edict prohibiting British subjects from trading in his dominions. Another ground of objection to the treaty was that the right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca were not by any one of its articles distinctly ascertained and acknowledged. In opposition to these views, however, the majority resolved that the treaty was all-sufficient for maintaining the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown, and for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and the repair of losses sustained by British merchants. It was found at this time that the emperor was negotiating a loan of four hundred thousand pounds in the city of London, and, apprehensive that this loan was required for the purposes of war, Walpole brought in a bill prohibiting loans to any foreign power without the express sanction of his majesty. This measure was designated by the opposition "a bill of terrors," and it was argued by them that if British subjects were not allowed to lend their money the Dutch would, and that therefore the emperor would still obtain the sinews of war if he required them. But the measure was proved in the end to have been wise and prudent, for the emperor could not obtain money either from the English or the Dutch, and stifling his indignation, he submitted to terms of accommodation. The bill prohibiting loans was carried triumphantly; but on other subjects ministers met with unwonted opposition, and were mortified to find that their majority was dwindling down to proportions incompatible with their stability of power. Indeed, on one occasion they were fairly beaten in the Commons. On the 16th of February the opposition proposed that all persons who had any pension, or held any office from the crown, either directly or indirectly, should be disabled from taking a seat in parliament. The bill further provided that every member on taking his seat should make oath that he had neither pension nor office under the crown, and that if he afterwards accepted either the one or the other he should signify it to the House within fourteen days. This bill was so popular abroad that Walpole was afraid of lifting up his voice against it, and it was carried in the Commons, but the Lords were more independent, for after a long debate it was rejected. It would appear that this Pension Bill led to a quarrel between Lord Townshend and his brother-in-law, Walpole, the former being dissatisfied at having the odious part of throwing out the bill assigned to him as leader in the House of Lords. This quarrel, as will be seen, finally led to Townshend's resignation of office. Meanwhile each in their respective Houses warmly contended for the stability of the cabinet. In the Commons Walpole brought forward his annual motion for continuing the subsidies to the Hessians and other German troops, and though it was carried, the unprecedented number of a hundred and sixty-nine recorded their votes against the grant. A Mutiny Bill met with similar opposition, as did a motion made by Pelham for fixing the land service at nearly eighteen thousand men. Pulteney insisted that twelve thousand would be sufficient, and Shippen affirmed that the proposal negatived the terms of the late address, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the treaty of Seville, which had been described as the harbinger of the blessings of an absolute peace. Shippen argued that the motion tended directly towards a military government, to which he hoped the nation would never submit. He treated such an army in a time of peace as unnecessary, considering the glorious aspect of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. Such a number of troops, he urged, were not necessary, either to awe Spain into a firm adherence to its treaty, or to force the emperor into an immediate accession, or for the support of his majesty's person and government. Other subjects on which the opposition made a stand were the destruction of the harbour of Dunkirk, and the renewal of the East India Company's charter. It has been seen that by the treaty of Utrecht the harbour of Dunkirk was to be destroyed by the French, but this promise had not been wholly fulfilled. So far from this being the case, the works had undergone some repairs, though not to the extent that was represented. The opposition moved that all papers relative to the port and harbour since its demolition should be laid before the House; and when they were on the table, and had been examined, Wyndham moved that the evidence established the fact that what had been done to the harbour was a violation of treaties, and designed to annoy the trade of England. This, however, was successfully met by a counter-motion, affirming directly to the contrary; namely, that his majesty had obtained express orders from the most Christian king of France, to cause the demolition of all the works that might have been erected at Dunkirk contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. On the subject of the renewal of the East India Company's charter the opposition were equally unsuccessful. On condition of the company's paying two hundred thousand pounds, and reducing the interest of the money they had already advanced to the public one per cent., the charter was renewed to A.D. 1766. But though ministers bore down all opposition, it was evident their power was on the wane, for their triumphs were clogged by protests in both Houses, which was ominous.

When parliament was prorogued, on the 15th of May, Townshend resigned. The quarrel between him and Walpole had been a fierce one, even extending to a personal scuffle. By Townshend's retirement Walpole became what he had long desired to be, supreme in the administration; Stanhope, who had been created earl of Harrington, became secretary at war, Pelham secretary of state, and the privy seal was given to Compton, earl of Wilmington. The chief management of foreign affairs was left to Lord Harrington and the duke of Newcastle, who, however, were guided by Walpole's pacific counsels. For, with all his faults, Walpole was a man of peace; and but for his wise forbearance the nation might have drifted into war at different times, both with the emperor and with France and Spain. Regarding, however, the blessings of peace and the interests of commerce as far more precious to a nation than conquest, he concluded a treaty with the emperor, cemented our alliance with France, which was far from being popular, and bore patiently with the imperious insolence of the Bourbon king of Spain.

This year was remarkable for a visit to England by seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America. Being introduced to King George, they laid their regalia at his feet, and in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for that purpose, they acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion. The brilliancy of George's court dazzled these simple sons of nature. The king and the queen were compared by them to the sun and moon, and the princes to the stars of heaven; while they themselves were as nothing before them. Could they have pierced through the vista of time, and have foreseen the day when the white man was destined to supplant them in their hunting grounds by decimating their race, they would not have been so submissive to English royalty.

At this period England was infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. Thieves and robbers appear to have been a privileged race in these days. There was a notion abroad that laws necessary to prevent their deeds of rapine and violence would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects. But if thieves and robbers were privileged persons, debtors were not. In the parliamentary records of 1729–30 there are three reports of a select committee of the House of Commons on the state of the gaols of this kingdom. The inquiry was confined to the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench—all prisons for debtors—and the reports unfold a system of oppression and cruelty almost too horrible to be believed. This system was the fruit of venality. By the statutes of the twenty-second and twenty-third of Charles II., the government of all prisons was vested in the judges of the higher courts and in justices of the peace; but the warden of the Fleet enjoyed a patent office, to be purchased by a large payment to some minister of the crown. Thus, one John Huggins gave the handsome sum of 5000*l.* to Lord Clarendon for his patent, and having used his wardenship for the increase of his wealth, he resold his patent for a similar sum to Thomas Bainbridge and Dugald Cuthbert. And these patentees made a tolerably profitable investment of their money. The reports showed that in one way or another they about cleared their purchase money in one year. Their treatment of the prisoners was cruel in the extreme. It was only the affluent prisoner who could obtain even the humblest lodging and the coarsest food. Those who had no money were handed over to the common side of the prison, where disease, engendered by filth and starvation, in numerous instances soon put an end to their miseries. These abuses were dragged to light chiefly through the humanity of Mr. Oglethorpe, whose philanthropy is eulogised in the verse of Pope, and whose name deserves to rank with the more modern philanthropist—Howard.

The session of 1731 commenced on the 21st of January. Peace and war still trembled in the balance, and zeal and vigour were again enforced in the royal speech. It was only by these, said George, that a rupture with foreign powers could be prevented. The former scene was repeated. Both Houses in their addresses promised to support the king in all his engagements, and the opposition severely criticised the foreign policy of the government. To dwell on these altercations is needless: it is the old story over again. Other measures of a domestic character are more interesting. In this parliament petitions were presented to the Commons from the magistracy of the north and east ridings of Yorkshire, complaining, "That the obliging grand jurymen at the sessions of the peace to make their presentments in a language which few of them understand, and the suffering in any proceedings of the courts of justice, or in any of the transactions of the law, whereby the persons or the property of the subject may be affected, the use of a language not intelligible, and of a character not legible but by the learned in the law, were great occasions of the delay of justice, and gave room to most dangerous frauds." In the time of the Commonwealth the ancient practice of using corrupt Latin for written pleadings had been abolished, but when the monarchy was restored it was held wise and reverential to restore the old law language. And if the lawyers could have had their way it would still have been perpetuated. They urged that the bill brought into the Commons, in compliance with the Yorkshire petitions, by the direction of Lord Chancellor King, who had worked his way to the woolsack from the ranks of the common people, would render the ancient records, which were all written in Latin, useless; and that, so far from expediting, it would, by altering the established form of judicial proceedings, cause confusion and delay in the administration of justice. The bill, however, enacting "That all proceedings in courts of justice shall be in the English language" passed the Commons with but slight opposition. In the Lords it was opposed as an innovation full of danger to the commonwealth. The judges, speaking through the lord-chief-justice, were decidedly against the change. Difficulties, it was urged, would arise in translating law out of Latin into English, and lawsuits would be multiplied in regard to the interpretation of English words. On the other hand, the duke of Argyll contended, that as our prayers were in our native tongue, that they might be intelligible, there could be no reason why the laws wherein our lives and properties are concerned should not be so likewise. The bill finally passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. The bill for preventing pensioners sitting in parliament was again brought in during this session, and once more passed the Commons, but it met with the same fate in the Lords as before. On this occasion Walpole himself denounced it as tending to erect the House into a court of inquisition. This parliament took into consideration the frauds and malversations which had been discovered in the charitable corporation which had been formed for the relief of the poor, and Sir Robert Sutton being convicted of fraud and peculation, was expelled from the Commons. The cause of the poor was also pleaded by many of the members in respect to the salt tax, which Walpole revived this session. It was argued that the tax particularly affected them, as they could not afford to purchase fresh provisions; and that as they had before been discontented with such a tax, its renewal might exasperate them into open sedition. The measure passed, but while the poor were disregarded by the ministers in the ways and means, landed proprietors were considered, for the land tax for the ensuing year was reduced. In the Lords a bill was read for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, but, contrary to all sound policy, it was opposed and rejected. Lord Bathurst moved for an address to desire that his majesty would give directions for the discharge of all the German troops in the pay of England, but his motion was fruitless. These troops were certainly not now required, for when parliament was prorogued on the 7th of May, the king gave the Houses to understand that all apprehensions of a war were removed, as a treaty had been signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He remarked that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe; and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable opportunity of seeing the public tranquillity re-established. Freed from all alarms of war, public credit was this year firmly established, and a great impetus was given to trade and commerce. At this period, indeed, the flag of England was seen in every sea, and the peace was accompanied by great prosperity, to which the English colonies, which were making rapid strides from infancy to manhood, greatly conduced.

In opening the fifth session of this parliament, on the 13th of January, 1732, the king expressed his satisfaction at this state of affairs, attributing it to their zeal, attachment, and resolution. He conceived that it would inspire all in both Houses "with such temper and unanimity, and such seasonable zeal for the public good," as became a parliament sensible of the great blessings they enjoyed. But this royal recommendation of "temper and unanimity" was unheeded. Party spirit ran too high to be mollified by gracious speeches from the throne. The address was moved by Lord Harvey—the "Lady Fanny" of Pope's keen satire. It was both adulatory and fulsome: the king's conduct was to have their entire approval, and the blessings they enjoyed under his rule were to have their heartfelt acknowledgments. Lord Harvey, who was son to the earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, but they were more specious than solid. He had been recently appointed vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, and was a firm adherent of Walpole's. He was, also, the confidential intimate of Queen Caroline, which probably made him an object of envy. At all events his address, combined with the pert and frivolous manner of his oratory, raised a strong opposition. Pulteney took the lead. He could not now condemn the foreign policy of the ministry, but contended that what had been done might have been done sooner, and at much less expense. If affairs abroad, he said, were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it into his head to carry the ship a great way about through sands, rocks, and shallows; and who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a good deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous and unnecessary expense, at last by chance came into port, and triumphed in his good conduct. The philanthropic Oglethorpe was in opposition, but his language was more moderate. Pulteney had said that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate except the grand seignor. Oglethorpe remarked that many other things related more nearly to the interests of the nation than did the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. He had hoped to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been demolished; that full and complete satisfaction had been received for the ravages committed by Spain on our commerce; that more care had been taken in disciplining the militia, on which the country must depend for defence in case of an invasion; and that some regard had been shown for the interests of the Protestants in Germany. The heart of Oglethorpe seemed to be full of the milk of human kindness to the overflow; but even he was not free from prejudice. He was glad to find, he said, that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly, for he had generally observed that when two dogs were in a leash together the stronger ran away with the weaker, and this he was afraid had been the case between France and Great Britain. The motion was defended by Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and Horace Walpole; but after a long debate "Lady Fanny's" frothy motion was carried. But the voice of opposition was not hushed. It was acknowledged on all hands that by the treaty of Vienna the blessing of peace was secured—at least for a time. The scoffing majority triumphed in the matter of the address; but the undaunted minority again returned to the charge in the matter of a standing army. Contrary to all reason, the secretary at war moved that the same number of land forces which had been maintained in the prospect of war should be continued in pay. It was an unfortunate proposition, for it only tended to increase the bitterness of party strife. Pulteney and his party urged a reduction, and maintained that a standing army in time of peace was unconstitutional, and dangerous to the liberty of the country. By means of standing armies, said Pulteney, the nations around had lost their liberties and had become enslaved. So bitter was Pulteney's opposition to Walpole, that the king took up his quarrel, by striking his antagonist's name out of the list of privy councillors, and ordering that all the commissions of peace which he held in the country should be cancelled. His opposition to a standing army, as being useless, appears to have been the chief cause of George's resentment against Pulteney, although he had sinned before beyond forgiveness, by publishing a private conversation between himself and Walpole, in which the latter had spoken very freely of the king when Prince of Wales. There was equal opposition in the Lords as well as the Commons against the measures of the ministry, and especially to a standing army, but it was all in vain—Walpole triumphed.

The session was closed on the 1st of June by a speech from the throne, in which the king informed the Houses that the States-General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna, and that he had determined to visit his German dominions, leaving the queen regent as before. While at Hanover, the decree of the Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, the electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatinate alone formally protesting against the Act. During this visit to Hanover, George also took under his protection many of the Protestant inhabitants of Saltzburg, who were suffering persecution. Some of these poor people came over to England, and for the most part were subsequently conveyed across the Atlantic, under the care of the philanthropic General Oglethorpe, to settle in the infant colony of Georgia. Oglethorpe was appointed governor of that province, which from that small beginning rapidly rose into a rich and flourishing colony.

Parliament reassembled on the 16th of January, 1733. The royal speech was brief and unsatisfactory to the public. The king had no reason, he said, for calling the members together other than the ordinary despatch of business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such matters as should require their care and consideration. The situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, was still represented as being all that could be desired; tranquil and prosperous. But if there was peace, it was because England submitted still to the wrongs which Spain had committed upon British merchants without demanding satisfaction in a manner likely to obtain it. Commissioners of the two crowns had been appointed to arrange terms, but they had not yet met, and when complaints were made by the opposition of this delay of justice, no reason could be given why it should have been so long delayed. But the truth is, the Spanish court was not disposed to give satisfaction, pretending that most or all of the British merchants had been engaged in an illicit trade in the Spanish

Main, and were therefore not entitled to recompense for the injuries they had received. In opposition to the address, which, as usual, was but a mere echo of the royal speech, it was therefore urged that the nation—while the British merchants were left unredressed—had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs. The question of supply this year raised a formidable opposition. During the reign of George I., the sinking fund, established by Walpole and Stanhope, had been kept sacred; but since the accession of his son, a sacrilegious hand had from time to time been laid upon it. This year Walpole proposed to take half a million from it for the service of the country. The iniquity of such a proposal was apparent to every one. Sir John Barnard, member for London, who was a practical economist and financier, denounced it in the most emphatic language. He held that the deposit was so sacred, that it ought never to be touched except in cases of extreme necessity; and that to ease themselves by burdening posterity would bring down the curses of posterity on their heads. But Walpole was not to be turned aside from his purpose. To obtain his ends he now acted the terrorist. If he was not allowed the half million from the sinking fund, he said, he must move for a land tax of two shillings in the pound; and, alarmed at this threat, the country gentlemen rallied round him, and his proposal was adopted. This was a dangerous precedent, which was followed year after year, so that the sinking fund became almost a dead letter. In truth, during the next year the whole of the produce, amounting to 1,200,000*l.*, was taken from it, and in the two succeeding years it was even anticipated and mortgaged.

But such was the power of ministerial influence at this period, that nothing could check it but a popular commotion. And in this session such a storm was raised by one of the financial measures of Walpole, as threatened to shake the monarchy of the House of Hanover to its very foundation. It has been seen that in the previous session the salt duty had been revived. It had met with stern opposition, and had been carried only by a narrow majority; the chief reason of which was that the measure was a step towards a general excise. Coming events cast their shadows before them. Walpole, in truth, must have mooted a measure which he had in contemplation for the consideration of the parliament of 1733; for while the proposal of taking half a million from the sinking fund was under consideration, his indomitable antagonist, Pulteney, exclaimed: "But, sir, there is another thing, and a very terrible one, impending. A monstrous project. Yea, more monstrous than has ever yet been represented. I mean, sir, that monster, the excise! That plan of arbitrary power which is expected to be laid before this House in the present session." Had Walpole been wise, he would have been warned by this outburst of indignation. But he had been so long accustomed to carry everything before him, that he seems to have had no fear of sustaining a defeat. And Walpole might have been warned by the outcry which had commenced out of doors against the coming measure, an outcry of which Johnson's definition of excise is but a faint echo: "A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid." It had been represented by the press that everything was to be taxed, and that the people were to be ground to the dust, that a tyranny might be established upon the ruins of the constitution. "Every excise," said Pulteney, "is a general excise, if the whole body of the people, the poor, the needy, the most wretched, are obliged to contribute thereto. If this be granted and tamely submitted to by the people, it may be an encouragement to ambitious and wicked ministers in future times to proceed a step further, and lay another excise upon some other commodity used by the generality of the people; and that again will give an encouragement to a third attempt, and so on; till at last the people of this country be subjected, as well as some of our neighbours, to a general excise in the most extensive sense; that is, upon every person and upon almost everything that can be converted to the use of man." But Walpole, despite the storm which he knew had been raised, on the 14th of March brought forward his plan. Such at least was his professed object. In his speech, which was temperate, he first alluded to the wild reports which had been spread abroad to prejudice the people against his plan before its details were really known, and affirmed that many of these prejudices had arisen from fraudulent dealers and smugglers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public. And that Walpole had some grounds for these remarks is certain. In 1732 a committee of the House of Commons had demonstrated that in the article of tobacco alone the government was defrauded of one-third of the import duties by perjury, forgery, and collusion. It was also demonstrated that smuggling in the articles of tea and brandy was equally extensive. It had been even dangerous to collect import duties, for during the years 1723 to 1732 two hundred and fifty custom-house officers had been beaten and abused, and six murdered; while during the same period two thousand persons concerned in the illicit trade had been prosecuted. It was plain that a remedy was required for such evils, and Walpole desired to apply that remedy. At first he confined himself to the tobacco trade, observing: "If there is one article of taxation more obvious than another, more immediately within the direct aim of fiscal imposition than another, it is such an article of luxury as depends for its use on custom or caprice, and is by no means essential to the support of real comfort or human life. If there is a subject of taxation where it is more immediately the province of the legislature to suppress fraud, and strictly to insist on the payment of every import, it must be that where the wrong is felt by every class of persons, and none are benefited except the most dishonest and profligate part of the community. Both these descriptions apply to the subject before us. For though the use of tobacco is perhaps less sanctioned by natural reason than any other luxury, yet so great is the predilection for it in its various forms, that from the palace to the hovel there is no exemption from the duty; and surely it must be considered an intolerable grievance that, by the frauds which are daily committed, the very poorest of the peasantry are obliged to pay this duty twice, once in the enhanced price of the article—for though the fraudulent trader contrives to save to himself the amount of the tax imposed by parliament, yet he does not sell it cheaper to the public—and a second time in the tax necessarily substituted to make good the deficiency which has been by these means occasioned." If there was a proper levy of duty on tobacco, he asserted that he should be enabled to alleviate those taxes which fell heaviest on the poor of the community, as those upon soap and candles. And no doubt this might have been done, for the gross produce of the customs upon tobacco was 750,000*l.*, but by complicated frauds, such as arose out of drawbacks, the net receipts were reduced to 161,000*l.* To effect this object, therefore, he proposed that the tobacco duty should be brought under the law of excise, and that the excise laws themselves should be remodelled and improved. The existing duty on tobacco was sixpence and one third of a penny, but he proposed to reduce it to fourpence three farthings. He proposed dealing with the duties on wine in a similar manner, and held out a hope that the increase of revenue arising from this charge would enable him wholly to abolish the land tax. He further suggested that a system of warehousing for re-exportation might be instituted, which would tend to make London a free port and the market of the world. Such was Walpole's famous excise scheme. There does not appear to have been any great cause for objections to it, and yet it drove the people almost to madness. Both in parliament and out of parliament the storm which was rising when the scheme was only in prospect, now it had been unfolded burst forth in all its fury. Cheap soap and candles, immunity from land tax, and the system of bonding or warehousing, which would have been of great advantage to the merchant, and, as Walpole had suggested, calculated to make England the emporium of the world, were as nothing compared with the dreaded army of excisemen which by the scheme would, it was maintained, be let loose upon society. In opposing it Wyndham declared that in all countries excises of every kind were looked upon as badges of slavery. He compared Walpole and his coadjutors in the ministry to those "two noted ways and means men," Empson and Dudley, who had administered to the rapacity of Henry VII., but who had met their reward when his son came to the throne by being sent to the block. While the debate was proceeding an extraordinary concourse of people had assembled round the door of the House of Commons. All the approaches to the House were crowded; and in allusion to the circumstance, Walpole intimated that the people were drawn thither by the influence of the magnates of the city. It was an easy task, he said, for a designing person to raise tumult and disorder among them; adding, that gentlemen might give them what name they might think fit; that it might be said they came to the House as suppliants, but he knew whom the law called "sturdy beggars." This was a most unfortunate phrase. It was taken up by the patriots within the House, and was bandied about in the lobby, where it caused a great commotion. When, indeed, Walpole left the House, after carrying his motion by a majority of only sixty-one, he was roughly assailed, and was only saved from injury by the interposition of Pelham. The battle was not yet over. The report of the committee was brought up on the 16th of March, when the debate was commenced with increased acrimony. On this occasion Pulteney remarked: "It is well known that every one of the public officers have already made boroughs or corporations, on which they look as their properties. There are some boroughs which may be called treasury boroughs; there are others which may be called admiralty boroughs; in short, it may be said that nearly all the towns upon the sea-coast are already seized on, and in a manner taken prisoners by the officers of the crown. In most of them they have so great an influence that none can be chosen members of parliament but such as they are pleased to recommend. But as the customs are confined to our seaports, as they cannot travel far from the coast, therefore this scheme seems to be contrived in order to extend the laws of excise, and thereby to extend the influence of the crown over all the inland towns and corporations in England." This declaration was a telling blow against the measure; but upon a division Walpole had a majority of sixty. In the mean time the ferment throughout the country greatly increased. Pamphlets and ballads did the work for which they were designed effectually. Matters assumed the phase of a rebellion. The very soldiers had imbibed a notion that the scheme would raise the price of tobacco, and began to curse the administration and the parliament. They even murmured treason under the walls of the palace, and were almost as ripe for mutiny as the people. The throne was in danger, but Walpole still persevered in the measure. He appears, indeed, to have been encouraged by the king and the queen, who, says Lord Hervey, assured him that they would never forsake him, and would stand or fall together. A bill founded on the report of the Committee was read and passed on the 4th of April, after a long debate, but this time the majority dwindled down to thirty-six. Walpole's power was daily on the wane, for when he moved on the following day that the bill should be distributed to the members of the House his majority was only sixteen. And now it was that the people came before parliament resolved to oppose the minister. The common council of London, under the direction of the lord mayor, drew up a violent petition against it, and on the 10th of April it was presented to the Commons, attended by citizens, whose train of coaches reached from Temple Bar to Westminster. The petitioners prayed to be heard by counsel against the bill, and although it was a concession contrary to the rules and orders of the House, their prayer was only rejected by a majority of seventeen. Petitions of a similar character were sent from all parts of the country, and at length, warned by his dwindling majorities and the voice of the public, Walpole dropped his scheme. Having summoned a meeting of its principal supporters in the House, many of whom urged perseverance to the end, he declared that the Act, in the present inflamed temper of the people, could not be carried without an armed force; and that there would be an end of the liberty of England if taxes were to be raised by the sword. The dance, therefore, he said, would no further go, and on the morrow he intended to sound a retreat. Accordingly, on the 11th of April, Walpole moved that the second reading of the bill should be postponed till the 12th of June, when it was well known that parliament would not be sitting. This was carried without a division. The patriots scarcely liked this quiet mode of dropping the measure. It would have given them greater pleasure if they could have formally rejected it. At the same time they rejoiced at their triumph. But the greatest rejoicings were displayed out of doors. The joy at the defeat of the government measure was universal. But Walpole had his revenge on some of his opponents. As the court had acted with him, it was easy for him to chastise some of those who, holding office, had criticised the bill. Several were summarily dismissed; among whom were Lord Chesterfield, lord steward of the household; Lord Clinton, a lord of the bedchamber; the earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners; and other noblemen who held lucrative offices in Scotland. Even colonels of regiments were cashiered for their obnoxious votes, which was an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative, and loudly condemned, but to no purpose.

During this session, another Bill to prevent the practice of stock-jobbing passed the Commons, but was laid aside in consequence of some amendments proposed in the Lords. A Lottery Bill, to raise 500,000*l.* for the relief of those who had suffered by the Charitable Corporation, was more successful, for it passed through both Houses and received the royal assent. The sum of 80,000*l.* was also voted by the Commons for a marriage portion to the princess royal, who was affianced to the prince of Orange. The sinking fund was again touched this session. After a stern opposition in both Houses, his majesty was empowered to apply 500,000*l.* for the service of the current year. The king closed the session on the 11th of June, on which occasion he denounced the wicked endeavours that had lately been made, by false misrepresentations, to inflame the minds of the people against the Excise Act: an ungracious speech, which was long remembered by the opponents of the government.

The last session of the parliament, chosen in 1727, was opened on the 17th of January. In his speech, the king remarked: "The war which is now begun, and carried on against the emperor with so much vigour by the united powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia is become the object of the care and attention of all Europe; and though I am in no ways engaged in it, and have had no part, except by my good offices, in those transactions which have been declared to be the principal causes and motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the future consequences of a war undertaken and supported by so powerful an alliance. The resolutions of the British parliament in so nice a juncture are of too great moment not to be carefully attended to, and impatiently expected by all; and not the least by those who will hope to take advantage from your determinations, whatever they shall be, and to turn them to the prejudice of this kingdom. It must therefore be thought most safe and prudent thoroughly to weigh and consider all circumstances before we come to a final determination. As I shall have, in all my considerations upon this great and important affair, the strictest regard to the honour of my crown and to the good of my people, and be governed by no other views, I can make no doubt but that I may depend on the support and assistance of my parliament, without exposing myself, by any precipitate declarations, to such inconveniences, as ought, as far as possible, to be avoided. In the mean time I am persuaded you will make such provisions as shall secure my kingdom, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. Whatever part it may, in the end, be most reasonable for us to act, it will be necessary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourselves in a proper posture for defence." No objection could reasonably have been made to the sentiments contained in this portion of the king's speech. It unfolded a policy of neutrality which ought to have been unanimously applauded. It was essentially Walpole's speech, and not the king's; for although he uttered it, in heart he did not adopt its sentiments. Both the king and the queen were opposed to Walpole's pacific policy. Lord Hervey says that George used constantly to remind his minister that it was with the sword alone he desired to keep the balance of Europe; and that he could not bear the idea of growing old in peace and rusting in the cabinet, whilst other princes were busied in the field and shining in war. The interests of Germany and the honour of the empire were dear to him as his right eye, and it redounds to the credit of Walpole that he was thus able to restrain his warlike propensities. The address, therefore, to such a speech ought to have passed both Houses *nem. con.*, but as usual there was much cavilling to no purpose. It would seem, however, that the opposition in all their movements in this session were actuated by motives of animosity against the minister, rather than by any sound objection to his policy. Men had not yet forgotten the Excise Bill, and Walpole's phrase of "sturdy beggars" still rankled in their minds. The plans of attack formed by the opposition were soon found to be more formidable than in any previous session. Their attacks were first made on the foreign policy of government. Motions were made requiring a copy of the treaty of Vienna, and desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the Commons for inspection; and these failing, Mr. Sandys proposed that the House should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland some years before the death of the King Augustus, in order that they might be better able to judge of the causes which gave rise to this new war in Europe. This proposition was the harbinger of a fierce debate. Pulteney sarcastically compared the ministry to an empiric, and the constitution to a patient, and Pulteney or some one of the patriots was to be the physician to restore the health of the British constitution; but the empiric did not choose to give up his patient through a little sarcasm. The debate grew warmer. So warm did it become, indeed, that the members wandered wide of the question, and indulged in bitter, but at the same time ludicrous personalities. During the session, the druggists and dealers in tea petitioned against the excise regulations of an Act of George I., and Sir John Barnard moved that the petition should be taken into consideration by the whole House; a motion which renewed the strife of parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth was wielded against that mode of collecting the revenue; but the motion was rejected. In the course of the debate on this question, Pulteney hinted that "the wicked scheme of an honourable gentleman" might possibly not yet be laid aside; to which Walpole replied, "As to the wicked scheme, as the gentleman is pleased to call it, which he would persuade gentlemen is not yet laid aside, I, for my own part, can assure this House I am not so mad as ever to engage in anything that looks like an excise, though in my own private opinion I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interest of the nation."

The great question of this session was the repeal of the Septennial Act. A general election was at hand, and the party that advocated triennial parliaments were morally certain of obtaining much greater popularity. It was an awkward question for some of the opponents of government. The "Whig Patriots"—and especially Pulteney—had supported the Septennial Act of 1716. It was an opportunity, however, of a bid for popularity, which was eagerly embraced by him and his adherents. As for political tergiversation, that was not thought of, or if it was, it was deemed a virtue rather than a sin. Any weapon was lawful which would strike down the minister Walpole. But it would appear that there were some few Whigs who had voted for the Septennial Act who had scruples of conscience about voting for its repeal. They had once argued that it was necessary to secure the Protestant succession: how then could they now belie their argument? It was a vexed question; but Bolingbroke, that arch enemy of Walpole, was at hand, and by his sophistries he soon quieted their scruples of conscience. A proposal for the repeal of the Septennial Bill was made on the 14th of March by Mr. Bromley, son of Queen Anne's Tory secretary of state. The proposal, therefore, emanated from the Tory side of the House; although it was warmly supported by the disaffected of the Whigs, with whom they had long acted in concert, to overthrow Walpole's cabinet. The debate was made memorable for a portrait drawn of Walpole by Wyndham, and a portrait drawn of Bolingbroke in reply, by Walpole. Both were masterpieces of invective, and as they well illustrate, not only the eloquence of the orators of those days, but also the bitterness of the adverse factions, we lay before our readers some of the more racy portions of their speeches. Hypothetically, Walpole was described by Wyndham as the prince of villains. Having supported the arguments against the Septennial Act, which have been unfolded in a previous page, he remarked, "We have been told, sir, in this House, that no faith is to be given to prophecies, and therefore I shall not pretend to prophesy. But let us suppose a case which, though it has not yet happened, may happen. Let us suppose a man, abandoned to all notions of virtue, or honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be the chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour; ignorant of the true history of his country, pursuing no aim but that of aggrandising himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who from the nature of their education cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation by such means neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular instance by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families; over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen—a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur, but as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised and solely advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent, as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force than if it were repealed. Therefore I am heartily for its being repealed." Smollett says that this conclusion of Wyndham's speech marked him as an unrivalled orator, an uncorrupted Briton, and an unshaken patriot. This is hyperbole. It was not Wyndham's wont to rise to such a height of eloquence. It would appear, indeed, that he had taken his lesson from Bolingbroke. Hence it was, that without scarcely noticing the orator who delivered this galling invective, Walpole, like a stag at bay, treated the attack made upon him as Bolingbroke's inspiration. Pelham followed Wyndham against the motion, and Pulteney delivered a brief but embarrassed speech in its favour; and then, in obedience to the call of Onslow, the Speaker, Walpole rose, and as all eyes were turned upon him, he thus replied to the taunts of his adversary in a calm, clear tone of voice, and in words which bespoke him also to be an unrivalled orator; and the more so because his oration was unpremeditated. "Now, sir, let me too suppose that no person that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose. Let me suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate country, an ante-minister who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation, and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the administration by the name of Blunderer. Suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons of really fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen with respect to their political behaviour moved by him, and him solely; all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of words put into their mouths, and a spitting out that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this ante-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring with all his might and with all his art to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with all the ambassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends—suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, 'I will get it you; tell me but what you want, I will endeavour to procure it for you.' Upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts; what he wants is moved for in parliament, and when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools by his advice spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, 'Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in defiances. Let us further suppose this ante-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was thinking himself the greatest minister, making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such as this?" When Walpole said he meant "no person now in being," it was not true. He plainly meant Bolingbroke, for his career and his character answered to his picture as "face answereth to face." His history, as jotted down in previous pages, demonstrates the fact. And he himself acknowledged the faithfulness of the picture which Walpole drew of him. In common language, "the cap fitted," and ashamed of wearing it in his own country, he retired to France. He is said to have remarked that his part was over, and that he who remained after his part was over deserved to be hissed off the stage. Walpole's triumph was of a twofold character: the motion for a repeal of the Septennial Act of 1716 was lost, and by his memorable invective he drove his arch enemy out of England—"a disappointed intriguer."

Nor were these the only triumphs which Walpole enjoyed in the last session of this parliament. In its earlier stages, when the Commons deliberated upon the supply, despite much opposition, an addition of eighteen hundred men was voted to the army. Towards its close a message was delivered from the crown, desiring that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require, between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another. It was an unwonted demand, and created great opposition, but an address was carried in the affirmative. A subsequent message of a more paltry character was complied with. George asked his parliament the liberty of settling an annuity of five thousand pounds—of course out of the national funds—on the princess royal for life, as a mark of his paternal favour and protection. The nuptials of the princess with the prince of Orange were solemnized with great magnificence on the 14th of March. The session closed on the 16th of April, and two days after parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a general election.

The elections took place in May. They were conducted with great heat and bitterness, and with very little regard to purity on either side. Political capital was made out of the excise scheme, the Riot Act, and the unsettled state of our commercial claims upon Spain; and the Tories proclaimed aloud that the neutrality of Great Britain in reference to the continental war now raging was disgraceful, although if war had been entered into by ministers they would have been equally loud in their exclamations against it. On the whole the opposition gained a few seats, but, as will be seen, when parliament met, Walpole still had a decided majority. There was a great cry on the part of the Tories and the "patriot Whigs," to very little purpose.

The events of the war on the Continent this year were various. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. Traerbach was captured by the Count de Belleisle, as was Philipsburg by the Marquis d'Asfeldt. The siege of Philipsburg was commenced by the renowned duke of Berwick, but he was killed by a cannon ball while visiting the trenches, and the marquis continued the siege till the governor, General Watgenau—who had made a brave defence —finding no hope of succour from the imperial forces under Prince Eugene could be reckoned upon, capitulated. The capture of Philipsburg was the limit of French conquest on the Rhine. The most important achievements of the war were effected in Italy. The combined forces of France, Spain, and Sardinia burst into the Milanese, and overran the whole of Lombardy. About the same time a strong body of Spanish infantry was landed at Genoa; a mass of cavalry was sent by land to Antibo; and a combined French and Spanish fleet rode triumphantly in the Italian seas. In the north of Italy the struggle was more obstinate and less decisive. In June a battle took place near Parma, between the French, under the Marshals de Coigny and de Broglie, and the Austrians under the Count de Meray, in which the latter was slain; but although his army was worsted it was not routed. The prince of Wurtemberg took the command, and was enabled to give battle again in September at Guastalla, but with similar results. Wurtemberg was slain: the French on this occasion claimed a victory, but they reaped no fruits from it. The results of the campaign, however, proved that despite this resistance of the imperialists, they were overmatched. In order therefore to give Poland a king, Austria had exposed herself to the attacks of the allies, and had this year been dismembered of territories which she could have but little hope of recovering by her own unaided power. The great ends of the war had been to avenge Stanislaus, and they were obtained.

The first session of the new parliament met on the 14th of January, 1735. Onslow was again elected Speaker. The relative position of the two parties was in effect the same as before. There were the same leading orators on either side, and similar measures were pursued as in the preceding parliament. The king expressed his concern at the commotions on the Continent. In conjunction with the States-General of the United Provinces (he said), he had concerted measures for their mutual safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. On the one hand they had considered the pressing applications made to them by the imperial court for assistance against the allies; and on the other the repeated professions of the allies that they were desirous of putting an end to the war upon safe and honourable terms. England and Holland (he continued) had concurred in a joint resolution to bring matters to a happy issue, and he hoped that their good offices would be accepted. He went on to say that he had used the powers vested in him by the late parliament with great moderation; that he had concluded an important treaty in the present conjuncture with Denmark; and that he hoped his subjects would not repine at furnishing the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and tranquillity. As usual, the address produced a war of words. Several motions on a diversity of subjects were made during the session by the Lords in opposition, but to no purpose. Both in the Upper and Lower House Walpole still had an invincible majority, and he ruled triumphant. The session closed on the 15th of May, when the king made known that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States-General had proved a failure. He intimated his intention of visiting his German dominions, leaving as usual Queen Caroline regent during his absence. Accordingly, immediately after the prorogation George departed for Hanover.

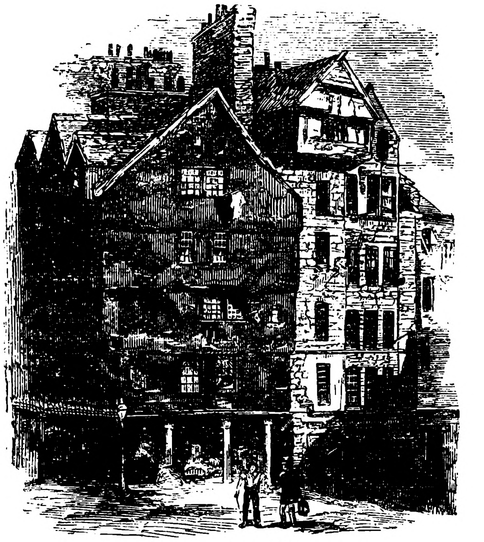
The powers in alliance against the House of Austria had rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the king of Great Britain and the States-General. There was therefore a prospect of the continuance of war on the Continent. In this emergency the emperor used his utmost efforts to obtain the assistance of England and Holland. It is related that he even offered King George the command of the imperial armies on the Rhine if he would espouse his quarrel. George was sorely tempted by this offer; but Walpole, foreseeing such a possibility of flattering his military ambition, had prepared him to say that he could not appear at the head of an army as king of England without having Englishmen to fight under his command. And Walpole was determined that no English troops should be engaged in the war if it could possibly be avoided. In order to compel England and Holland to draw the sword against his enemies, the emperor threatened to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands, and cede that country to the French. Such a measure would have been of serious consequence to both England and Holland, but, unmoved by the threat, and possibly feeling that it would never be realized, Walpole still continued his pacific policy.

During this year England was in danger of being involved in a war on behalf of her ally the king of Portugal. The danger arose from a quarrel between that monarch and the king of Spain. The court of Madrid had accused the servants of the Portuguese ambassador of rescuing a criminal, and had thrown them into prison. An apology and reparation were demanded, but sternly and proudly refused. Hostilities between the two countries seemed inevitable, and in view of them the court of Lisbon sent an embassy to claim the assistance of their ally King George. Such assistance could not by the faith of treaties be refused, and a fleet of twenty-five ships under Sir John Norris was despatched to the Tagus. Spain, however, had a wholesome dread of the power of the English navy; and his Catholic majesty being assured by the British resident at Madrid that it would act if hostilities commenced, gladly made peace. By the settlement of this quarrel and the treaty of Vienna, Europe was once more at rest; but only for the short term of four years.

George returned from Hanover in October. It is related by Lord Hervey that he came home in ill-humour, and dissatisfied with everything English. One Madame Walmoden had stolen his affections in Hanover, and after his return he solaced himself by sending a letter to her by every post. But love did not deter him from business. He met his parliament on the 15th day of January, 1736, on which occasion he adverted "to the happy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken," and added the gratifying announcement that it would enable him to make a large reduction in his forces by sea and land. He expressed a hope that this pleasing prospect of peace abroad would contribute to peace and harmony at home. By "at home" he more especially meant in parliament. And so it did for a moment, for, singular to relate, the address was carried *nem. con.* The voice of opposition was for the time being, hushed. Walpole and his cabinet and supporters fraternized with both the disappointed Whigs and their mortal enemies the Tories. But this blissful state of things was not of long continuance. There was a spirit abroad which in the month of February disturbed the harmony—that spirit was gin. The vice of drunkenness was not confined to the poor; it extended to all classes of society. This, however, was not touched upon by the legislators of this parliament. Their indignation was expressed against the vice as existing amongst the poor. A bill was passed prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors by unlicensed dealers, raising the duty to twenty shillings per gallon and the dealer's licence to fifty pounds, the provisions to be enforced by common informers. It created an intense sensation, and did harm rather than good. As was foreseen, the Act was universally evaded. Shops no longer existed where people could "get drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence," but still they obtained their beloved liquor. It was sold clandestinely, under the names of "Tom Raw," "Make Shift," "The Ladies' Delight," "Cholic Water," and the "Baulk," not only by pretended chemists, but by hawkers in the streets, and it was in vain that they were thrown into prison for defrauding the government. If fined, they either could not or would not pay, and whenever an informer was caught he was maltreated. Gin riots became the order of the day, and the sale of the article, so far from decreasing by the prohibitory duties, largely increased, so that in 1743 it became necessary to reduce them; but the sum of fifty pounds annually was still required for a license. In one respect, however, the Gin Act served the purposes of the opposition, for it greatly increased the unpopularity of Walpole. It was a foolish attempt to make people sober by Act of Parliament.

During this session Mr. Plumer brought forward a motion for the repeal of the Test Act. By that motion Walpole was placed in a dilemma. At the recent election both himself and supporters had been generally chosen through the votes of the dissenters, who were deluded with the hope that they would be favoured by them with religious toleration. But Walpole had another party to please or offend, and if he adopted the latter course his tenure of power would not have been worth many days' purchase. This was the church party, who were still omnipotent in the state, and to please them the vote was negatived. But if Walpole opposed the motion for the repeal of the Test Act, he warmly supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers, which was first mutilated and then rejected. This parliament, however, did prove itself more enlightened than many which had preceded it, for it repealed the statutes against witchcraft, which had so long disgraced the nation. It also passed an Act restraining the devising lands by will in mortmain or under the pretext of charitable uses; an Act which was intended to guard against the evils which had prevailed before the Reformation, when a large proportion of land throughout the kingdom was held by monastic establishments. The session closed on the 20th of May, and the king again left Queen Caroline regent, and departed for Hanover.

This time the regency of the queen was not so tranquil as it had commonly been. Gin riots were still of frequent occurrence in London, and had to be quelled by the strong arm of the law. But these riots were trifles compared with an outbreak which took place this summer at Edinburgh. The tale has been told in an enchanting manner by Sir Walter Scott in one of his best novels, but it still belongs to the pages of history. He has thrown a halo of romance about it: we record naked facts. The riot arose out of the unlawful trade of smuggling. In England the smuggler was not a recognized member of society. The merchant and the fair trader were opposed to smuggling; and the wealthy consumer was troubled frequently with qualms of conscience about encouraging it. But it was not so in Scotland. There, according to a report as quoted by Burton in his "History of Scotland," "The smuggler was the favourite. His prohibited or high-duty goods were run ashore by the boats on whatever part of the coast he came near. When ashore they were guarded by the country from the custom-house officer. If seized they were rescued; and if any seizure was returned and tried, the juries seldom failed to find for the defendant." The truth of this is exemplified by the Porteous tragedy, which may be thus briefly related. The most noted haunts of the systematic smugglers of Scotland were the small seaports on the coast of Fife. Many a daring band frequented those ports, and two noted persons of those bands—Wilson and Robertson—having had some goods seized, in concert with two associates entered the custom-house of Pittenween, and in retaliation carried off a large sum of money. Wilson and Robertson were apprehended, tried, and condemned to die. It is related that Wilson at least conceived that he had done no wrong; that as the officers of the revenue had in their possession goods of greater value than all the money which had been taken from them, the act was not only justifiable, but they were still in his debt. Nor was Wilson singular in his opinion, for such an opinion prevailed not only among the mob of Edinburgh but among many who moved in a higher sphere of life. Holding this opinion, and feeling that he was therefore unjustly condemned, Wilson, together with Robertson, determined upon making an attempt to escape from the Tolbooth. Having procured a file, they removed their fetters and cut through the bar of a window. Wilson made the first attempt to escape, but being a bulky man he stuck fast in the iron bars of the cell. An alarm was raised, and the jailers rushed in to secure their prisoners. There were four of them, and there was a desperate struggle. Wilson held two



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with his hands and one with his teeth, and Robertson felled the fourth to the ground. Robertson escaped, but Wilson was secured. He had urged his friend to fly while he held his three keepers, and his heroism and friendship created a general feeling in his favour among the people of Edinburgh. It was hoped that he might be respited, but no respite came. Wilson was executed on the 14th of April. There was no attempt at rescue, for it would have been useless, as the place of execution was surrounded not only by the city guards but by a detachment of the Welsh Fusiliers. But any one looking at the stern countenances of the gazers at the execution might have seen that they were brooding revenge. They had been silent when the body was hanging, but no sooner was it cut down than they began to curse and swear and throw stones at the hangman; some of which also were aimed at the city guard. The guard were under the command of John Porteous, a man of fierce passions, over which he had no control. Seizing a musket, he fired at the mob, and his example was followed by the guard. The Fusiliers also fired, but without intending to do mischief. They fired over the heads of the mob, but in doing so shot several persons who were looking on from adjacent windows. Several persons were killed or wounded, many of them being passive spectators. As no Riot Act had been read, or any legal formality gone through, Porteous was arrested, tried, and sentenced to death for having caused citizens to be slain without authority from the civil magistrate. His execution was fixed for the 8th of September. In the mean time, the council of regency in London being led to believe that he had acted in self-defence, he was reprieved by the secretary of state. He was respited for six weeks, it was said, that time might be given to inquire into the circumstances. But the people had their suspicions about the six weeks' respite. It was remembered that one Captain Bushell had been promoted, instead of being hanged, for firing upon the people of Glasgow; and it was apprehended that if Porteous was not thus rewarded he would be certainly pardoned and set at liberty. This they resolved should never take place. The doom of Porteous was to be irrevocable. If government would not hang him, they would. Measures were secretly taken to ensure his destruction. Porteous himself had interpreted the respite as a preliminary to his pardon, and on the eve of the day when, according to his sentence, he was to be executed, he entertained a party of his friends in his cell in the Tolbooth with wine and whisky. He was in high spirits in the expectation of his deliverance, but about ten o'clock a drum was heard in the lower suburbs of Edinburgh, and at every roll the people gathered thicker and thicker together. It was evidently a well-organized plan. Under skilful leaders the infuriated multitude seized and barricaded the west port, and the ports of the Canongate and Netherbow, by which means they cut off a regiment of infantry. The city guard were next attacked and disarmed, no violence being further offered to them. They had fired upon the citizens when Wilson was executed, but it was on the chief offender they sought to wreak their vengeance. Armed with the weapons they had taken from the guard, they rushed toward the Tolbooth, the name of Porteous ringing from every lip. It was a difficult task to gain an entrance into the Tolbooth, for its walls were strong, and its low gates barred and bolted even beyond the power of forcing. While the mob was in vain thundering at them there were some attempts made to collect forces to the rescue. When the outbreak commenced, indeed, and while yet the mob was collecting, Lind, captain of the city guard, made it known to the worthy magistrates of Edinburgh, in the hope of arresting their progress. But these worthies were scarcely in a condition to do anything effectually. Lind found them all drinking at a tavern in the Parliament Close. The provost was there, and so was Lindsay, who represented the good city of Edinburgh in parliament. Lind was directed to go and draw out his men, and the provost promised to follow him and put himself at the head of the guard to face the mob, but before the captain arrived his men were disarmed. That hope was cut off: what was to be done? In the Canongate there was a regiment under the command of Major-General Moyle, and at the request of the provost Lindsay undertook to carry a message to him to send a force to his aid. But Moyle would not act upon a verbal message. He remembered that a jury of Edinburgh had convicted Porteous, and as he would have been compelled to break through the barrier raised by the mob at the point of the sword, he refused to move in the matter without explicit orders from the magistrate. The governor of the castle followed Moyle's example. He might have descended with his garrison upon the High Street, but as no written order was sent he would not act against the insurgents. Thus left to themselves, the magistrates sallied out of the tavern to go to the Tolbooth, but they were soon told by the mob that they must not pass, and that they had better go back and remain quiet in their tavern. The mob were still thundering at the gates of the Tolbooth, which resisted all their blows from crowbars and sledge-hammers. But what crowbars and sledge-hammers could not effect was done by fire. Tar-barrels and other combustible materials were heaped before the iron-bound gates, and as the old oak began to burn, the jailer capitulated. The gates were opened, and the mob rushed in. There were many prisoners there, but only one was wanted. Leaving the rest to go out or stay in as they pleased, the mob rushed to the cell of Porteous. It was apparently empty. Porteous had concealed himself in the chimney. But he was soon discovered, pulled down by the legs, and told that he must die. It was in vain that he offered them money, and begged for mercy. He was carried to the Grass Market, where Wilson had suffered, and which was the usual place of execution. On they went in stern silence, the glare of torches lighting up their stern brows and the pallid features of their struggling victim. As they went along they provided themselves with a rope, but they found no gallows erected. Near the spot, however, on which the gallows had stood on which Wilson was hung, there was a pole projecting from a dyer's shop, which was made to serve the horrid office. His execution was attended with the most revolting circumstances, for he was long a dying; but there he hung until he was dead and cold, and then the mob dispersed to their homes, and all that was seen in the morning, as witnesses of the fury of the mob, was the suspended body of the unfortunate victim, and the halberts and Lochaber axes, which, having no further use for, they had thrown away.

The government might well be astounded at this daring act of mob vengeance. But it was not an isolated case in the history of Scotland. Major-General Moyle, in relating the circumstance by letter to the duke of Newcastle, asserted that Porteous was the third prisoner within the memory of man who had been taken from the Tolbooth and murdered by a mob. But what is most remarkable is that no clue could be obtained to any of the leaders of the rioters. They appeared and vanished like spectres in a dream. Queen Caroline as regent felt that the event was an insult to her authority, and her first impulse was to take revenge by an armed soldiery. She vowed that she would desolate the country. But such a proceeding would have brought about a civil war. Such a result to such a measure was plainly hinted by the duke of Argyll, and the queen's rage soon cooled down. The only way of proceeding was if possible to bring the offenders to justice. To that end, Lord Hay, brother of the duke of Argyll, was sent into Scotland, entrusted with full powers by the government. But Lord Hay's mission was fruitless. He offered rewards and held out threats, but to no purpose. The whole population of Edinburgh seems to have considered the violent death of Porteous a great national measure, and not one would turn informer. In writing to Walpole a report of his investigation, Lord Hay remarked: "The most shocking circumstance is that it plainly appears the highflyers of our Scotch church have made this infamous murder a point of conscience. One of the actors went straight away to a country church, where the sacrament was given to a vast crowd of people, as the fashion is here, and there boasted what he had done. All the lower ranks of the people who had distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity talk of the murder as the hand of God doing justice."

The king remained in Germany during the whole of the summer and autumn of this year. Madame Walmoden had greater attractions for him than Queen Caroline. His long absence gave great offence to the nation. Before his departure, on the 27th of April, the prince of Wales had been married to the princess of Saxe Gotha, his marriage with his lively cousin of Prussia having long been set aside. The prince at this time was as popular as the king was unpopular. He was the more popular because it was known that he was hated both by the king and the queen. The differences between the father and the son became more notorious after King George had returned from Germany. He came back in December, much it would appear against the wishes of the people. In that month there was a terrible storm at sea in which many ships were wrecked; and it is recorded that the public hopes rather than fears were excited that the ship in which he sailed was one of that number. In what light he was held by the people at this period is indicated by a pasquinade stuck on the gate of St. James's Palace during his absence. It was to this effect:—"Lost or strayed out of this house, a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish. Whoever will give any tidings of him to the churchwardens of St. James's parish, so as he may be got again, shall receive four shillings and sixpence. N. B. This reward will not be increased, nobody judging him to deserve a crown."

If the king did not perish in the storm he had encountered on his voyage home, it caused him an attack of illness. To enable him to open the session, parliament was prorogued from the 21st of January, 1737, to the 1st of February. But even then it was opened by commission, the lord chancellor being his mouth-piece. The speech represented foreign affairs as being in a state of tranquillity, although it was still necessary to exercise prudence in order to bring the new settlement to a final conclusion. Of affairs at home it did not speak so hopefully. Referring to the Edinburgh riots, it was observed that if such practices were not timely suppressed there was a melancholy prospect before the nation; private persons would be affected in the quiet enjoyment of their property, and the general welfare would be endangered. This was a matter, it was said, which would require attention; and accordingly after voting ten thousand men for the navy, and the usual number maintained in times of tranquillity for the land service, the cost of which was provided for by the land and malt taxes, and 1,000,000*l.* to be taken from the sinking fund, the subject of the Edinburgh tumults came under notice. A bill was brought in for disabling the provost from holding office; for razing the gates of the Netherbow port; for disbanding the city guard; and for the abolition of the city's charter. The provost, also, was to be thrown into prison. This bill gave great offence to the Scottish members both in the Lords and Commons. Indeed, had such a fierce and vindictive bill been carried, there is every reason to believe that it would have led to a civil war. Its introduction caused great animosity, and during the parliamentary inquiry that animosity was increased. Among those who were summoned to give evidence were three Scotch judges, who were required to stand at the bar of the Lords. To this indignity the duke of Argyll warmly objected. They ought, he said, to sit on the woolsack, as the English judges were permitted when *they* were required to assist in the councils of the House of Peers. Argyll was supported by other lords, but the objection was overruled for want of precedent, and all Scotland was outraged by this distinction. The evidence given was by no means condemnatory of the conduct of the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh. All that could be proved against them was that they had been somewhat careless; that they had disregarded some indirect warnings; and they had been taken by surprise. The duke of Argyll, in the debate which followed, denounced the bill as contrary to law and justice. There was, he said, no instance on record of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation—for such he called a proceeding by bill *ex post facto*—falling upon any single person, far less upon a community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice. If the lord provost and citizens of Edinburgh *should* suffer as the bill proposed, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial self-interested administration. He sat, he said, in that parliament when that part of the treaty of the Union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the same footing as religion; that is, they were made unalterable by any subsequent parliament of Great Britain. But notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of Argyll's remonstrance, the bill passed the Lords, and was sent down to the Commons. In the Commons it was vehemently opposed by the Scottish members, and by none more so than the wise and patriotic Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate of Scotland. Many English members, as Sir John Barnard, Shippen, and Oglethorpe, joined them in their opposition. The bill was denounced in the most eloquent and forcible terms. It was "unequal dealing," a "partial procedure," and "an oppression to be resisted." It was a thrusting back a nation into that state of enmity out of which it had merged by the Act of Union. But in truth the measure soon became unpopular in England. Despite the old national antipathy, it was looked upon as a cruel piece of legislation. It was in vain that Walpole exerted his eloquence and influence in favour of the bill. He was compelled to give up its most obnoxious clauses. Indeed, when the bill was sent back to the Lords, it merely disqualified the provost from holding office, and ordained that the citizens of Edinburgh should pay a fine of 2000*l.* for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. A supplementary measure, however, was originated in the Lords, which compelled the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland to read a proclamation once a month from their pulpits for discovering the murderers of Porteous. But this proved to be a nullity. The Scottish clergy denounced it as an Erastian measure, which interfered with the spiritual authority of the kirk; as making the pulpit a "hue and cry," and, as the lords spiritual were mentioned in the document, as a call to them to acknowledge episcopacy, which they still held in utter abhorrence. The greatest effect which this bill of pains and penalties had in Scotland was to make Walpole unpopular, which he sensibly felt in the next general election.

By another measure introduced this session Walpole increased his growing unpopularity. This was obliquely levelled at the press, the influence of which was continually progressing. The press had been severe upon him. It had exposed his errors, the corruption in the state which he had reduced into a system, and the errors of his administration, not only in political periodicals ably written, but in numerous theatrical pieces, which met with the unbounded applause of crowded audiences. A play which fell foul upon the government Walpole produced in the Commons, and after descanting upon its insolence, malice, immorality, and seditious calumny, which he said was but a counterpart of theatrical exhibitions generally, he brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, to subject dramatic writings to the censorship of the lord chamberlain, and to compel them to take out a license for every production before it could appear on the stage. The earl of Chesterfield, after the bill had passed through the Commons, among whom there appears to have been but few friends of genius and literature, took up the gauntlet which Walpole had thrown down, and ably combated the measure. He remarked: "Our stage certainly ought to be kept within due bounds; but for this purpose our existing laws are sufficient. If our stage players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately presented. A new law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present case it would be dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs—a shackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy—which a people can enjoy—is liberty. But every good of life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I cannot touch but with a gentle trembling hand, lest I destroy the body and the eye, upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is sufficient to punish the offender. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained, as other subjects are, by the known laws of the country; if they offend, let them be tried as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, and inconsistent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; and therefore I must think we ought not to invest any such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain." A more noble speech than this in defence of genius and literature, and of the liberties of the people of England, was never uttered. It is said that the Lords admired Chesterfield's elocution, but at the same time they passed the bill, which received the royal assent. But while Walpole thus struck a blow at the liberty of the press, the blow rebounded upon his own head, for it increased his unpopularity in England, as the Bill of Pains and Penalties had in Scotland.

But the chief subject of contention connected with the session of 1737 had reference to the differences which existed between the king and the prince of Wales, and which greatly widened the breach between them. The allowance which the king made to the prince was 50,000*l.* per annum. He had this sum before his marriage with the princess of Saxe-Gotha, and his income was not increased by that event. The king had a civil list of 800,000*l.* per annum, and the prince was only allowed a sixteenth part of that sum to keep up his dignity. And as most people know, marriage, as a rule, increases expense. Such was the case with Prince Frederick. He became straitened in circumstances. After a long debate the motion for increasing the prince's income was lost in the Commons by a majority of thirty; and the question was subsequently tried in the Lords on the motion of Lord Carteret, where it met with a still more decided rejection, for when the house divided, one hundred and three voted against, and only forty for the measure.

The difference between the king and his son now became an open quarrel. Had not Walpole interfered, the prince and his household would have been turned out of St. James's Palace without any ceremony. The prince himself was equally enraged. His chief study appears to have been how he might best insult his father. And this feeling seems to have increased as his father's recovery from his really dangerous illness became certain. His undutiful conduct reached its climax on the 31st of July. At that time all the royal family were at Hampton Court. The princess was far advanced in pregnancy, and in the evening she was seized with the pains of labour. Against all remonstrance, the prince insisted that she should not be confined at Hampton Court; and at the hazard of her life she was forced into a coach with three ladies, and driven at full gallop to St. James's. The princess gave birth to a girl within one hour after her arrival at the palace. On discovering his son's imprudence, the king sent Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth, it being deemed necessary for some of the great officers of state to be present on such occasions. But they were too late. As was natural, the queen hastened up to town, and by four o'clock in the morning she was with the princess. According to Horace Walpole, the prince offered no word of apology for his rash conduct; he did not even speak to his mother; and all the notice he took of her was to lead her into the street to her coach, and as a crowd had assembled at the gate, to kneel down in the dirt to kiss her majesty's hand. The king's resentment now knew no bounds. A long correspondence between the king and his rash son followed. The prince avowed himself in the wrong, and made particular professions of his regard for his father, but he would not be appeased. At the baptism of the infant both the king and queen were represented by proxy, for neither desired to see their son again. George resolved, indeed, to dismiss him and his family from the palace, and it was in vain that some of his ministers endeavoured to prevent that extreme measure. A message was sent to that effect to the prince, and he retired with his family to Norfolk House in St. James's Square, which became the resort of all those who were opposed to the government. In truth, the prince, in his quarrel with the king and the queen, managed to increase his popularity. Numbers continually flocked to Norfolk House, and in retaliation, the king directed that none who went there should be admitted to his presence. It would appear, however, that the prince was careful not to impute the injustice which it was represented he had suffered to the king, but to Walpole. Against him he was ever ready to vent his indignation. As an example, when the lord mayor and aldermen of London presented their congratulations to him on the birth of a princess, he said that he knew the value of their friendship, and that *he* should never look upon them as "sturdy beggars:" a reminder of Walpole's rash speech in the debate on the Excise Act well calculated to keep alive the resentment of the citizens of London against him.

The summer and the autumn passed away, and the quarrel in the royal family, and the unseemly exhibitions which arose out of it, still continued. The prospect of death itself could not even appease the queen's resentment against her rebellious son. She had been long afflicted with a serious complaint, which from motives of delicacy she had concealed from her physicians, and on the 9th of November she was seized with a dangerous illness. The prince earnestly desired to see her, but the king forbade him to come to St. James's; and the queen said that she was so far from desiring to see him, that nothing but the absolute command of his majesty should ever make her consent to it. Her physicians were made acquainted with the nature of her disease on the 12th, but it was gone too far to allow of hope. Her heroic fortitude under her sufferings had shortened her days. She lingered till the 20th, and then all was over. Horace Walpole affirms that she did send her forgiveness and blessing to her son before she died; and although his veracity is frequently open to grave doubts, it is natural and charitable in this instance to believe that he records the truth, especially when her generally amiable character is considered. Pope too, and Chesterfield, and Ford, a correspondent of Swift, the bitter enemy of her majesty, all bear testimony that in her dying moments she said she heartily forgave the prince, although she steadily persisted in her determination not to permit him to approach her bedside. On the other hand, some authorities of the period assert that she was unforgiving to the last. But whatever was her conduct on her death-bed—whether she carried the one dark shade upon her character (her resentment to her son) to the grave or not—her loss was deeply felt by the king and the nation. As for Walpole, he felt that he had lost his best friend. On her death-bed she had recommended the king, his children, and his kingdom to his care. Walpole feared that such a recommendation of the sovereign to the minister, and not the minister to the sovereign, would leave a fatal impression; but with all his wanderings after "strange women," George really loved and respected Caroline, and he assured Walpole of his intention to follow his advice in all things, for he felt that the queen's recommendation was wise and just. Lord Hervey says that the grief he felt for the queen, as it was universally known, and showed a tenderness of which the world thought him incapable, made him for a time more popular and better spoken of than he had ever been before this. Not very long, however, after the death of the queen for whom he mourned he brought ove Madame Walmoden, whom in March, 1740, he created baroness and countess of Yarmouth. It was feared that Walmoden might dabble in politics—might either side with the Whigs or the Tories—but she shunned the rock on which her bark of prosperity might have foundered, and her only aim was to preserve the affection of the king, and, like her race, to enrich her family and her friends. She was as inoffensive as her predecessor, Lady Suffolk, but somewhat fonder of English gold. On the whole, the countess, though a guilty, was a wise woman. It would seem that she had a desire to use her influence with the king to become reconciled to his son; but Prince Frederick was warned that a reconciliation, or even the talk of a reconciliation, would scatter the friends by whom he was surrounded, and would spoil everything, and he continued his unnatural conduct.

By "spoiling all" was meant the overthrow of Walpole and his cabinet. This was the one great end and aim of Prince Frederick and his satellites. And indeed, in the session of parliament which commenced in January, 1738, there was a fair chance of accomplishing their purpose. The king opened that session with a brief speech recommending the dispatch of business with prudence and unanimity. And there was unanimity on the subject of the address, which in both Houses expressed warm condolence on the queen's death, with which the king was deeply affected. But this show of unanimity was like a morning cloud; it soon passed away. Walpole met with the sternest opposition throughout the session. He could do nothing right for "the patriots." As will be unfolded, they wanted to drive him into a war with Spain; and yet when he proposed 17,000 men for the army, they urged that 12,000 would be amply sufficient. On this subject Walpole scourged his opponents with unwonted severity. He sarcastically remarked that no man of common prudence would now openly profess himself to be a Jacobite, as by so doing he would not only injure his private fortune, but render himself less able to do any effectual service to his cause. "Your right Jacobite," he continued, "now disguises his true sentiments: he roars out for revolutionary principles; pretends to be a great friend to liberty and a great admirer of our constitution; and under this pretence sows discontent among the people. He knows that discontent and disaffection are, like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions; and therefore he hopes that if the people can once be rendered discontented, it would be easy to render them disaffected." Walpole so far triumphed as to carry his motion for an increase of the army without a division, but then came the "tug of war." "The patriots," although they had clamoured for a reduction of forces, resolved to push on a war with Spain, which Walpole had for years been endeavouring to avoid. Previous pages show that England and Spain had for a long period not only been commercial rivals, but commercial enemies. Walpole had for several years been called upon to seek redress for Spanish outrages upon British merchants, and he had by memorials and negotiations sought it, but in vain. It is clear that he did not take a bold stand in the matter. He did not offer peace or war as the alternative of a refusal, for which it would appear he had various reasons. It is said that he did not thus act, because by a war with Spain he would have to employ that treasure which kept the wheels of the machine in motion on which he had raised his influence in the state. In other words, in case of war, he would not have the means of bribing his supporters. There may be a dash of truth in this imputation, but it is clear from all his conduct in the administration of the government his policy was pacific. And at this time Walpole had every reason to avoid plunging the nation into a war with Spain, for the two branches of the House of Bourbon—France and Spain—were now united by politics as well as consanguinity, and if the one drew the sword against England, it was morally certain the other would do the same. But there was another reason why perhaps Walpole did not push matters to extremities. If the British merchants complained of the outrages committed on their trade and crews—for which they undoubtedly had good reason—Spain had an equally good reason for complaints that the British merchants carried on an illicit commerce from Jamaica and other islands with their subjects on the continent of South America. There were faults on both sides, which made the matter more difficult to deal with than if the wrong had all been on the side of the dons. There can be no doubt that the commercial policy of Spain was too restrictive, but by the treaty of Seville England had been a party to its restrictions, and her subjects were bound to act in conformity with its articles. By that treaty we were allowed to sell slaves and to send one ship only annually to the Spanish dominions in South America. The trade of Spain, therefore, with her vast possessions in South America, was essentially a monopoly. If any vessels beyond the one ship allowed by the treaty of Seville sailed near any Spanish colonial port, Spain asserted the right of search; a right which could scarcely be evaded, since Spanish guard-ships were always maintained in full activity. But British adventurers were constantly on the alert to infringe upon the terms of the treaty of Seville. When the annual South Sea ship sailed with its cargo, other vessels followed in her wake, the crews of which secretly supplied this one ship with fresh goods over her larboard side, so that her cargo became inexhaustible. Then again, as ships driven by stress of weather might put into Spanish ports to refit and refresh their crews, great advantage was taken of that privilege to do a little smuggling, to which the inconstant wind greatly contributed. Moreover, smuggling was carried on by pleasant trips of shore boats to English and North American vessels lying off the harbours which they could not enter. So that by various ways the treaty of Seville was set at nought. This it was that led to the outrages complained of by the British merchants, and for which Walpole was called upon to obtain redress. There was a great outcry against the cruel tyranny of the dons, but very little was said about the systematic offences against their commercial jealousy which led to those outrages. It was a difficult task to obtain reparation under such circumstances. The Spanish government was angry at the extent of illicit trade carried on in her colonial ports, and was not only indisposed to make reparation, but redoubled its efforts to check its growth. Yet Walpole was called into question by "the patriots" for his non-success. In support of their cause captains and seamen were examined before the bar of the House, and related stories of cruelties and oppressions exercised upon them by the Spaniards. One man's story especially appealed to the feelings of the House. Seven years before the English newspapers had related that Captain Robert Jenkins had been with his owners to Hampton Court, to lay before the duke of Newcastle a statement of the wrongs which he had received from the Spaniards. As he was homeward bound with a cargo from Jamaica, not far from Havanna, his ship was boarded by a guarda-costa, and rigorously searched. Jenkins asserted over and over again that he had no contraband goods on board, but the Spaniards would not believe him. They slashed him with their cutlasses, hung him up to the yard-arm till he was nearly dead; and finally they cut off one of his ears, and told him to carry it to his king, whom they would be pleased to treat in the same manner. Such a victim to Spanish outrage as this was worth a host of others to "the patriots." He was brought to the bar of the House as a witness of Spanish outrage on British subjects. He brought his ear with him wrapped up in cotton, which he exhibited as a proof of the wrongs he had endured. That ear became celebrated. Pope has immortalised it thus ;—

> "The Spaniards owned they did a waggish thing,
> Who cropt our ears and sent them to the king."

Burke subsequently called the story, "The Fable of Jenkins's ears." The exhibition of the captain's ear caused a great commotion in the House. Official sceptics exclaimed that it had been lost in the pillory. The House generally believed that it had been cut off by the Spaniards. But whether a truth or a myth, it served the turn of those Spaniards: it finally drove England to war with Spain. It seems evident that Jenkins had been instructed what to say when at the bar of the House. One member asked him how he, a free-born Briton, felt when subjected to such treatment by the Spaniards. "I recommended my soul to God," he replied, "and my cause to my country." That one sentence was sufficient not only to stir the parliament up to fury, but the whole country. Pulteney declared that we had no longer any need of allies or confederacies to enable us to command justice upon Spain—that the story of Jenkins would raise volunteers sufficient for the purpose. When the report of the committee was made to the House he drew a frightful picture of Spanish cruelties, derived from the witnesses who had been examined and the petitions which had been laid on the table. He argued that British traders had a right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to gather salt on the island of Tortuga; and that the British nation was free to navigate every part of the American seas, provided the ships did not touch at any Spanish ports. But the right to cut logwood and gather salt was exceedingly problematical. Spain had always opposed it, nor had the right been exercised except by British buccaneers and smugglers. Pulteney concluded one of his most eloquent speeches by denouncing the cowardice of Walpole, and the futility of his negotiations, and by moving for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation and the vigour of parliament. In reply Walpole admitted that English merchants and seamen were unjustly and inhumanly treated by the Spaniards, and that the honour and interest of the country required that there should be indemnity for the past and security for the future; but he urged that as he was negotiating to obtain redress in a peaceable manner, compliance with Pulteney's proposal would embarrass his endeavours. On these grounds he opposed it. If a treaty, he said, could do the business without the horrors of war, he was for continuing negotiations, however tedious they might be; but if not, he was ready to demand and obtain reparation by force of arms. Pulteney's proposal was rejected, but in both Houses addresses to the crown of a warlike tendency were carried, to which the king replied in a tone equally warlike. Pulteney, whose aim was to create a war, that he might obtain Walpole's seat, subsequently brought in a bill for securing the trade in America. By one of the clauses of that bill British sailors were to be empowered to seize and keep all property found under the Spanish flag. Had this bill passed it would have been a declaration of war against France as well as Spain, for French property was often as valuable as that of the Spaniards on board the Spanish galleons. Nay, it would have been even more belligerent than this, for as no reference was to be made to the rights of any of the trading nations of Europe, and British sailors were to keep all on which they could lay their hands, it would have been a gauntlet of defiance thrown down to every European power. It is strange that such a bill found any support in a British House of Commons, but there was an exercise of talent both for and against it, and it was eventually negatived by a large majority. The session closed on the 20th of May.

It was during this year, on the 4th of June, that George Augustus, son of the prince of Wales, who afterwards sat for sixty years on the British throne, was born. The birth of the young prince was a source of great national rejoicing. Addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. It might have been supposed that this event would have had the effect of softening the king's feelings against his son, but instead of this it seems to have widened the breach between them. A notice was now inserted in the London Gazette that no visitor of the prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. But the more the king exhibited his enmity or jealousy toward the prince of Wales, the more the opposition gathered round him. The rival establishments—Carlton House at one end of Pall Mall, and St. James's at the other—were the great scandal of the nation. It was now that William Pitt, the "terrible cornet of horse," as he was then called, who was in subsequent years one of England's most famous statesmen, made his appearance on the page of history. He became one of the gentlemen of the prince of Wales's bedchamber, so that from the time when George III. first drew his infant breath, to the day of the great statesman's death, he may be said to have been associated with the new-born prince.

The contest in parliament in reference to the outrages committed on British subjects had some effect. It stirred Walpole up to greater exertions to carry out his pacific policy. The king himself had taken up the war cry of the nation. He had no longer the wisdom and moderation of Queen Caroline to control him. Fond as he was of his German mistress, he longed to distinguish himself in war. His disposition was warlike, and he earnestly desired to prove himself a hero. But he had not yet forgotten that his deceased queen had committed him to the care of Walpole. He had not yet so far got rid of reverence for her memory. He allowed Walpole to strain every nerve to carry out his pacific measures. And this he did sincerely, although in the end all his efforts proved abortive. He now pressed his negotiations with the court of Madrid, but at the same time, in order to give his efforts for peace effect, he made a show of war. He sent a fleet into the Mediterranean; isolated ships to the West Indies; offered letters of marque and reprisal to merchants; supplied the colony of Georgia with troops and stores; and directed British merchants in Spanish ports to register their goods in case of rupture. These bold movements had a momentary effect upon Spain. The proud Castilians assumed unwonted humility. Some prizes which the Spaniards had made were liberated, and the captive sailors sent back to England. There was a willingness expressed to take the claims of the English into consideration forthwith. But a balance had to be struck. If Spain owed anything to England, England owed no small amount to Spain. But the debt of Spain preponderated. She finally acknowledged that there was owing to England 140,000*l.*, which sum it was agreed should be paid by assignments upon the revenues of her American colonies. But "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Walpole was advised that if the indemnity or debt was to be paid in that way years must elapse before it was received, and that in all probability it would never be received at all. It was therefore finally agreed by a convention, signed at Madrid, that if the sum of 95,000*l.* was paid within four months from the date of the ratification of the convention, then no further claim should be made upon Spain for past injuries. At the same time it was agreed that two English plenipotentiaries should meet two Spanish plenipotentiaries at Madrid, to regulate the rights of trade and navigation, and to settle the boundaries of Carolina and Florida. All seemed tending to a happy issue; but it so happened that the English South Sea Company owed, or was said to owe, 68,000*l.* to the government of Spain. The British government could have had nothing to do with the South Sea Company's debt, but the British negotiator, Mr. Keene, did go so far as to say that if it should be proved that the company did owe his Catholic majesty that sum, he would undertake that it should be honourably discharged. How he could have made such a promise is a marvel, for it was made without either the sanction of the British government or of the South Sea Company. It was undoing all that had been done, for the Spanish negotiator, La Quadra, chose to understand that the debt, real or assumed, should be paid before the execution of the articles; and when this was disputed he signed them under protest, purporting that his Spanish majesty reserved to himself the right of suspending the treaty which existed between the South Sea Company and Spain till his claims were satisfied.

The session of 1739 commenced on the 1st of February. In his speech the king informed both Houses that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, who had agreed to make reparation; and that plenipotentiaries were appointed to regulate within a given time all those grievances and abuses which had interrupted the commerce and navigation of Great Britain in the American seas. Warlike as his own disposition was, he breathed Walpole's pacific sentiments. "If," said George, "all the ends which are to be hoped for, even from successful arms, can be obtained without plunging the nation into a war, it must be thought by all reasonable and unprejudiced persons the most desirable event." But the nation was not disposed to listen to reason. There was a wild dream of conquest and revenge abroad in the country. The addresses in both Houses were the signal for violent debates. The convention was considered anything but a peace, or even a security for peace. As it was hampered by a protest, it was denounced as a dead letter. Under such circumstances it could not, it was urged, lead to a treaty. Hence Wyndham moved that everything in the address which expressed approval of the convention should be cancelled. In its best sense, he said, it was only a preliminary, and in all probability it was a bad preliminary. He supposed, he remarked ironically, that Walpole had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might now do it if they wished. In reply, Walpole warmly defended his convention. The opening of a peace, he argued, was better than the beginning of a war. He considered that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained; that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interests; that this peace was attended with all the advantages that the most successful arms could have procured; and that future ages would consider this as the most glorious period of our history. There was exaggeration on both sides of the question; but the nation was madly urging Wyndham to demand higher terms of Spain, which became a stumbling-block to successful negotiation. When the terms of the convention became known, there was a loud clamour raised throughout the country against them. Petitions poured in from all quarters, denouncing them as unjust to the sufferers from Spanish outrage, and derogatory to the honour of the nation. There were violent debates in both Houses. In the Upper House Lord Cholmondeley moved an address of thanks to his majesty for concluding the convention; to express a reliance that in continuing the negotiations care would be taken to secure our trade and navigation in the American seas; and to promise that if these negotiations should not answer his expectations, then the House would support him in vindicating the rights of his people and the honour of his crown. This was, after a long and violent debate, carried, but only by a majority of thirteen. It was a hard-won victory. On this occasion the duke of Argyll, who had long been wavering, sat on the opposition benches, and denounced the convention as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation. But the narrow majority appears to have chiefly arisen from the fact that the prince of Wales, the mortal enemy of Walpole, was there to record his first vote against the minister. His example was followed by six dukes, twenty-two earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons, and four bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen proxies. But the eyes of the nation were directed more to the Commons than to the Lords. It was by them that the battle was really to be fought. As usual, the patriots had cavilled at the amount of land and sea forces required by Walpole, which were continued in the same ratio as before, yet their voices were lifted up for war with greater violence than ever. An address of a similar character to that of the Lords was moved in the Commons by Walpole's brother. His explanation of the convention was fair and honest; but Sir Thomas Sanderson, treasurer to the prince of Wales, and afterwards earl of Scarborough, took up the war-cry. "The court of Spain," he remarked, "being resolved to grant nothing that might in any way contribute to our future security, resolved not to allow the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in this treaty." Young William Pitt and Lyttelton put forth all their oratorical strength against the convention. It is indeed from this date, the 8th of March, that Pitt's fame as an orator commenced. Pitt declaimed against the convention as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to the nation. By it he contended that we had lost our nationality. Spain had imposed her conditions in the most absolute and imperious manner, and England had submitted to them tamely and abjectly. He wished we could hide our infamy from every court in Europe. He denounced the convention as "a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England, a suspension as to Georgia of the first law of nature, self preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; and on this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but repugnant to the resolutions of parliament and the gracious promise of the throne. The complaints of despairing merchants," he added, "and the voice of England, have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser: God forbid that this committee should share the guilt by approving it." "The terrible cornet of horse," as Walpole had designated Pitt, was followed by Lyttelton, who argued that the ships of England should never be searched by the Spaniards, or by any other power upon any pretence whatever. He called upon the House to reject the convention with scorn, that to all the nation had suffered before, to all the accumulated insults heaped upon it, a worse dishonour might not be added—the dishonour of a British parliament. Walpole's reply demonstrated the fallacy of such a cry. He urged that the convention really laid a foundation for a solid treaty. He held it to be his greatest boast at present, as it would be his greatest honour in succeeding times, to be named as the minister who had endeavoured to prevent a rupture with a nation with whom it was our interest to be at peace, especially when there was no hope of receiving assistance from any power, but, on the contrary, fear of being attacked by several. He maintained that peace was better than war, and that England, being a trading nation, should make the prosperity of her trade her principal object. Upon a division the House agreed to the address, but only by a narrow majority of twenty-eight. It was still hoped by the opposition, therefore, that they might yet triumph, and a motion was made for a recommitment of the address, on which occasion Pulteney and Wyndham poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain and the pusillanimity of the British cabinet. That motion was negatived, and Wyndham, chafed at the result, announced the determination of himself and his friends to secede in a body from the House of Commons. "This address," said he, "is intended to convince mankind that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and honourable treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight (the number on each division) in such a full House should fail of that success, if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this House, what will be the consequence?" Turning to the Speaker, he finally remarked: "I here, sir, bid a final adieu to this parliament. Perhaps when another parliament shall succeed, I may be at liberty to serve my country in this capacity. Meantime I may conclude with doing my duty to my country while I am still able to perform it—to pray for its preservation. May, therefore, that Power which has so often and so visibly interfered in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation continue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture; whilst the insolence of enemies without and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution." The insinuation which Wyndham made in his pious prayer, that the ministerial majority was a corrupt faction, moved Pelham's ire to the utmost. He rose to move for his commitment to the Tower, but Walpole interfered. He was glad to get rid of Wyndham and his Jacobite coadjutors. Such a clearing of the House gave him no uneasiness. "The House," he said, with bitter sarcasm, "were obliged to them for pulling off the mask by this declaration. It could be upon its guard against open rebellion, but it would be difficult to guard against secret traitors." Sixty members had left the House, and Walpole, in the conclusion of his speech, remarked: "I am only afraid that they will not be as good as their word, and that they will return." This secession left Walpole at his ease for the rest of the session. He was evidently glad to get rid of them, for he was thereby enabled to carry a very questionable measure without any opposition, that of granting a subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum for three years to the king of Denmark, not for the interests of England, but of the electorate of Hanover. In order, says Smollett, to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken, Walpole allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of woollen manufacture, and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies—one permitting them for a limited time to export their produce to foreign ports under certain restrictions, and the other making more effectual provision for securing the duties laid upon the importation of foreign sugars, rum, and molasses, into Great Britain and his majesty's plantations in America. Another measure, which would have been acceptable to one section of the community, was opposed by the minister. Taking advantage of the secession of the Tories, the dissenters renewed their petition for the repeal of the Test Act. Walpole was embarrassed by this motion, but the Whigs, incensed at the conduct of the Tories with whom they had so long acted, helped him out of his dilemma by generally voting against the motion. But even if the bill had passed the Commons it would have been rejected by the Lords, amongst whom religious toleration was, as in times past, scarcely to be named. The parliament was prorogued on the 14th of June.

The denunciations which had been so freely made against Spain in the British parliament had the effect which "the patriots" who uttered them desired. They put a negative upon all amicable arrangements between the two countries. The convention might not have resulted in harmony without them, but they certainly went far to prevent such a result. Enraged at them, the dons made a stand upon their national honour. When the plenipotentiaries met, the Spaniards complained of the presence of a British squadron in the Mediterranean, and boldly announced that they would not treat at all unless the right of search was admitted. At this time his Catholic majesty had seized the effects of the South Sea Company, and suspended their trade in negroes, because of the debt which it was alleged they owed him, and this conduct was warmly justified by the plenipotentiaries. It would appear that at first the grand point of the English plenipotentiaries was to insist on the money payment of 95,000*l.*, as stipulated in the convention. Had this been paid, it is probable that the right of search would have been admitted. But that was just what the dons did not want to do, and would not do, while the English fleet was in the Mediterranean. If the fleet were withdrawn, Cardinal Fleury, who offered the mediation of France, guaranteed that the money should be paid forthwith. But to that Walpole would not consent. He now saw, indeed, that peace-loving as he was, he must, if he wished to retain power in the state, speak out boldly, let the consequences be what they might. There could no longer be any compromise. The nation was for war, and now more heartily than ever was the king. Walpole therefore demanded from Spain an utter and final renunciation of the right of search, and an express acknowledgment of all the British rights and claims in North America. To enforce these demands the squadron in the Mediterranean was strengthened, and two other fleets, one of which was sent to the West Indies, were put in motion. But proud Spain was not thus to be frightened. The demands were imperiously rejected, and the hope of peace, in which Walpole had so long indulged, was at an end. On the 19th of October there were great rejoicings in London. Heralds went forth, and at the sound of the trumpet proclaimed war against Spain. It is related that the leaders of the opposition followed the heralds through the city in procession; and that the prince of Wales stopped before the Rose Tavern at Temple Bar, to drink with the assembled mob "Success to the War." All the bells in London were set ringing, and as Walpole heard their merry peals he muttered prophetically, "They may ring the bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands." There was also, a few days after, great rejoicing in Italy. Scarcely had the heralds finished their trumpeting when the Jacobites sent off messengers to the court of the Pretender, who with all the exiles threw up their caps with joy, for it was conceived by them that when the fleets and armies of England were engaged in distant countries, France and Spain would unite in restoring the Stuart dynasty to the throne of England.

Parliament met on the 15th of November. In his speech the king said that he had in all his proceedings with the court of Spain acted agreeably to the sense of both Houses of Parliament, and therefore he had no doubt he should meet with a ready and vigorous support in the war in which he had engaged. He called that war "just and necessary." Affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses with but slight opposition. Indeed opposition could scarcely have been made, for the seceders who had clamoured for it had returned to their seats, and they could not for shame oppose the war. On the contrary, Pulteney, in supporting the address, declared that, by the declaration of war, their conduct in seceding, which had been loudly condemned, was fully justified. He heartily approved of the war, and he would give his full support to the ministry to carry it on with vigour. It was believed, or pretended to be believed, that even now, when war was proclaimed, Walpole would get out of it as soon as he could; and as a barrier to such a measure, Sir William Wyndham moved an address to the king, beseeching him never to admit of peace with Spain unless the right of British ships to navigate the American seas without being searched, visited, or stopped under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary. This was a subtle motion, a trap in truth wherein to catch the minister. Wyndham thought and hoped Walpole would oppose it, but understanding its meaning, he expressed his hearty concurrence in it, and the motion passed without a division. The promised support of Pulteney to enable the ministry to carry on the war with vigour was scarcely given before it was discovered, that though war was proclaimed, England was not fully prepared for it. This was especially the case as regards sailors. They too had joined in the cry for war. They wanted to have a brush with the Spaniards, but when their services were required they stood aloof. Merchants paid them better than the king, and they were unwilling to serve him. There were ships enough, but it was difficult to get them fully manned. Meanwhile Spanish cruisers were making havoc among our trading vessels, and merchants were clamouring for fleets and squadrons to protect them. At the same time they denounced the system of impressment. This was a grave difficulty at the outset of a war which promised to become general. The matter was referred to a committee of the House of Commons, who recommended a general register of all seamen and watermen capable of service, out of which men might be drafted when required. A bill to that effect was brought in by Admiral Sir Charles Wager, but it was opposed by Pulteney and his party as a greater hardship upon seamen than impressment, and such an outcry was raised against it by the nation, as a system tending to despotism, that on the second reading it was rejected. Walpole conceived that of the two evils impressment was the greater. It was neither eligible, he said, nor legal. He represented also that the delay in procuring sailors by proclamations and press-warrants was a great obstruction to offensive operations. To encourage seamen, the opposition, who considered themselves the parents of the war, and therefore had a right to manage it in their own way, brought in a bill which would give them all the prize money taken in the war; and although Walpole opposed it, the bill passed into law. The minister was thwarted more than ever both in the Lords and the Commons. His power was fast dwindling away. In the Lords the duke of Argyll had deserted him, and both by his eloquence, and the influence which he possessed over other Scottish lords, he became a formidable opponent. When he first went into opposition Pulteney dared Walpole to strip Argyll of his posts, and soon after the king was prevailed upon to dismiss him from all his employments. According to Keith, a Jacobite, when the order for his dismission came, the duke exclaimed, "Fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people;" which, says Keith, might be interpreted to imply both master and man, or only the latter.

While parliament was still sitting—on the 13th of March, 1740—advices were received that Admiral Vernon had, with six ships only, taken Porto Bello on the isthmus of Darien, and had demolished and levelled all the ports and castles belonging thereto. This was a perfect god-send to the opposition. Vernon was Walpole's bitter enemy, and it had been only on the principle of concession that he had received his appointment. His exploit, therefore, was exalted to the highest pitch of glory. It was a wonderful triumph! Admiral Hosier, fourteen years before, had hesitated to attack Porto Bello with twenty ships, but Vernon had taken it "with six ships only." Both Houses joined in an address of congratulation upon the success of his majesty's arms in the West Indies, under the command of Vice-admiral Vernon. The exploit quickened the pulse of the nation for war. By this time it had become infectious. Adventurers, both French and Dutch, hoisting Spanish colours, had commenced a profitable business in plundering our ships. To check this evil, Walpole granted letters of marque and reprisals, which, however, only had a tendency to increase it. He also fitted out several cruisers of the royal navy. And although the opposition thwarted him in every other measure, they voted him the public money with a liberal hand. They had repeatedly asserted he had so impoverished the nation that it could not possibly bear any further burdens; but they now consented that the land-tax should be raised from two shillings to four shillings in the pound, and that his majesty should deduct 1,200,000*l.* from the sinking fund—that fund which they had hitherto maintained should be held sacred from the kingly touch. The expense of the war amounted this year to more than four millions. The session was closed on the 29th of April.

The winter of 1739-40 was one of great severity. A frost set in at Christmas, which continued to the end of February. The Thames was frozen so hard that tents and booths were erected upon it for the habitation and entertainment of the populace. Navigation was stopped, and watermen and fishermen were unable to earn a livelihood. So severe was the frost, that the fruits of the earth were destroyed by it, and many persons perished from the cold. The calamity was rendered the more fearful to the poor as the cost of fuel rose far beyond their ability to purchase it. The very manufactures were laid aside because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The effects of this frost were felt throughout the year in the distress and suffering which the people endured. In many places the riots created by the general distress were so formidable, that the military were obliged to be called out, and many persons were killed.

While his kingdom was thus half disorganised George was in Hanover. He had gone thither in May for the purpose of concerting measures for distressing the enemy. A few days after his departure the espousals of the Princess Mary, to whom parliament had granted 40,000*l.*, with Prince Frederick of Hesse were celebrated by proxy, and in June the princess embarked for the Continent. While at Hanover the king concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish six thousand troops in consideration of an annual subsidy of 250,000 crowns. His absence was marked by fierce dissensions in the cabinet. The duke of Newcastle began to aspire to the premiership. He had grown jealous of the man who had so long treated him as a subordinate. He complained that measures were resolved upon before others were consulted. He conceived that he and not Walpole was the proper person to have the management of the war. He wanted every ship that could be spared to be sent to the West Indies and South America; but Walpole objected to leaving our own coasts defenceless. Newcastle maintained his own views, and Walpole in a querulous humour then threw the whole responsibility of the war upon him. "The war is yours," he said; "I wish you joy of it. I oppose nothing; I give in to everything; am said to do everything; and to answer for everything; and yet God knows I dare not do what I think is right. I am of opinion for having more ships of the squadron left behind; but I dare not, I will not make any alteration. Let them go." In the autumn Commodore Anson was detached with a small squadron to assist Vernon, and to commit depredations in the South Seas. Vernon had followed up his renowned exploit at Porto Bello by bombarding Carthagena, and taking the fortress of San Lazaro, on the river of Chargre in the neighbourhood of his victory, "with six ships only." Anson was to co operate with him across the narrow Isthmus of Darien. But the most formidable armament sent out by England sailed in the autumn for the northern coast of Spanish America and his Catholic majesty's settlements on the Atlantic. The forces which composed this armament were to be joined by four battalions raised in the British colonies of North America and Jamaica, and were all to be under the command of Lord Cathcart. A fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle was to co operate with him, and the whole armament being well equipped, the duke of Newcastle indulged himself in a dream of glory arising from this expedition: the empire of the Spaniards in the western world would surely be subverted.

Meanwhile diplomatists were busy at work on every hand. France had, as it was expected she would, concluded a family compact with Spain, and was exerting all her influence against Britain. Even before the declaration of war, the Dutch had been frightened by France into neutrality by a threat that if they joined Britain an army of 50,000 Frenchmen would be poured into their provinces. After the war had commenced, the French court employed its accomplished diplomatists in every quarter to undermine the influence of Britain. On the other hand, Walpole had his agents at all the courts of Europe to counteract French intrigue and to gain support for England. And in some instances they were successful. Russia was detached from the French interests, and Denmark, Sweden, Hesse Cassel, and other German states were subsidized. But there was one power which stood aloof from both Britain and France. This was Prussia. In May the throne of Prussia had become vacant by the death of Frederick William of Prussia, and had fallen into the hands of a prince of far greater ability than he was—his son Frederick, afterwards called "the Great." When Frederick came to the throne he found himself in possession of a well-disciplined army and a well-stored treasury, and he resolved to use them to his own aggrandisement, and this chiefly by an attempt to subvert the throne of Maria Theresa.

The king having returned from Hanover, opened parliament in November. In his speech he spoke hopefully and even boastfully of the exertions of our arms in the West Indies and South America. The court of Spain, he said, had already felt some effects of our resentment, and had become somewhat "sensible that they should be no longer able to defend themselves against the efforts of the British nation." Adverting to the compact between France and Spain, he remarked:—"If any other power should interfere and attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against my declared enemies, the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms must call upon us to lose no time in putting ourselves into such a condition as may enable us to repel any insults." In such a case he expressed a hope that our allies would be inspired with a true sense of the common danger, and would unite with us in the support of the common cause. But the truth is, when parliament met and this speech was delivered, England had no allies of any great significance on whom she could depend. In conclusion, George took notice of the death of the Emperor Charles. That event, he said, opened a new scene in the affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or eventually concerned. The threatening aspect of affairs produced no unanimity in parliament. Wyndham, one of Walpole's most formidable enemies, was now dead, but he was surrounded on all sides by men who hated him. Wyndham's loss to the opposition, indeed, was now scarcely felt, for their numbers had increased. The addresses were fiercely opposed in both Houses, and though they were eventually carried, the opposition were by no means disheartened. There was not a measure introduced by Walpole that was not severely criticised. Some of these measures were designed to distress the enemy; such as the prohibition of the exportation of corn and provisions for a limited time out of Great Britain, Ireland, and the American colonies, and the laying of an embargo on ships sailing from Ireland laden with beef and pork, large quantities of which had been contracted for by the French. A bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning of his majesty's fleet, gave rise to a violent contest. This was a revival of that scheme which had been rejected in the previous session: a scheme by which justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headboroughs to search out all seafaring men as should reside within their several jurisdictions. All those discovered were to be dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the navy or admiralty office. Every exceptionable clause of this bill, which as a whole certainly savoured of tyranny, produced a warm debate; and though the bill finally passed, its severer clauses were omitted and its general character modified. In both Houses, also, ministers were harassed by motions and calls for papers. These trifling motions chiefly related to the instructions given or sent out to Admirals Vernon and Haddock.

So bitter did the spirit of opposition become, that it finally broke out in a personal attack on Walpole. On the 11th of February, 1741, "the motion maker," Mr. Sandys, informed the House that he would on the 13th bring forward articles of accusation against the minister, and expressed a hope that he would be present.' Walpole politely thanked Sandys for his notice, and assured him that as he was not conscious of having committed any crime he would certainly be present. On the 13th, Sandys prefaced his motion by a long speech, throughout the whole of which he endeavoured to blacken Walpole's character beyond the hope of redemption. Therefore to get rid of such an evil-minded minister Sandys moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and counsels for ever." After the "motion maker" had sat down, it was proposed that during the debate Walpole should retire from the House; but this unfair proposition was overruled. He was to stay and hear all, both for and against him, but he was not to speak till all the rest were silent. Bitter accusations were uttered against him by his enemies, and when all was silent he rose. His speech was a masterpiece of eloquence, of which we can only give a few examples. The disaffected Whigs considered themselves their country's patriots, and on them he poured forth his bitterest contempt. "These patriots," he said, "are such from discontent and disappointment, who would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. They have laboured at this point for twenty years, and unsuccessfully; they are impatient of longer delay. They clamour for change of measures, but mean only change of ministers." He continued: "Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable word when duly practised; but I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling to pieces. The very idea of patriotism is lost; the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots, but I disclaim and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice, and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man amongst them whose peculiar aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition." Walpole next proceeded to descant on the articles of accusation which the opposition had brought against him; not in specific charges, indeed, but in general terms. He complained bitterly of the injustice done to him, as if he were responsible for the errors of others. As the part which Walpole had taken in European politics is before the reader in previous pages, his justification need not be narrated. Our readers can judge for themselves as to whether the part he had taken was such as to entitle him to the character of a patriot and statesman. It must at least be acknowledged that the great merit which he claimed for himself at the close of his speech fairly belongs to him:—"If my whole administration is to be scrutinized and arraigned, why are the most favourable parts to be omitted? If facts are to be accumulated on one side, why not on the other? And why may I not be permitted to speak in my own favour? Was I not called by the voice of the king and the nation to remedy the fatal effects of the South Sea project, and to support declining credit? Was I not placed at the head of the treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived, and does it now flourish? Is it not at incredible height, and if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved both at home and abroad, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has the true interest of the nation been preserved, or has trade flourished?" The motion of Mr. Sandys was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one; and a similar motion made by Lord Carteret in the Lords was rejected by a majority of a hundred and eight to fifty-nine. This attempt, therefore, to ruin Walpole signally failed, but Walpole himself felt that his fall was only delayed for a season.

At this time the British parliament was approaching its natural term under the Septennial Act. Before it was prorogued, in April, the king, in a speech from the throne, announced that Maria Theresa had made a demand on England for the 12,000 troops which, by treaty, we were bound to supply for the support of her throne. In compliance with that demand he had, he said, required of the king of Denmark and of the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse Cassel their respective bodies of 6000 men, each to be in readiness forthwith to march to the assistance of her Hungarian majesty. George further intimated that other measures were concerting to disappoint the designs carrying on against the House of Austria, and he expected that he might be compelled to enter into still greater expense for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction. The very throne of Maria Theresa was at this time threatened. Not only were the troops of Frederick in arms against her in Silesia, but there was a confederacy of selfish princes banding together to despoil the fair heiress of the emperor of her hereditary dominions. They had not yet openly declared their base intentions, but they were ready to do so should victory declare itself in favour of the Prussian arms in Silesia. Even France, bound as it was alike with Britain to support the Pragmatic Sanction, was watching her opportunity to share in the spoils. Britain alone was left to aid the queen in her hour of danger. And this aid was accorded willingly, for a subsidy of 300,000*l.* was granted to Maria Theresa without a division. Towards the expense of this year 1,000,000*l.* was deducted from the sinking fund, and the land tax was continued at four shillings in the pound. Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of April, and soon after it was dissolved writs were issued for a general election. Having appointed a regency, the king, on the 7th of May, embarked for Hanover.

The war between England and Spain this year brought no glory to our arms. Even that great hero of the day, Vernon,—the man who had captured Porto Bello "with six ships only,"—reinforced as he had been, proved to be after all but a doughty warrior. Party spirit had built for him on the foundations of that single exploit what they considered to be a strong castle of renown, but he this year destroyed it himself as though it had been built up with cards. It has been seen that in the previous year, during the summer and autumn, ministers—obeying the popular voice rather than their own inclinations—had sent out an armament to aid this hero in his exploits. If there were military skill and valour inherent in him they were determined that he should have an opportunity of displaying them to the world. In one of Vernon's ships there was a surgeon's mate named Smollett. This was Smollett the historian and novelist. In his history, the author of "Hume's Continuation" in narrating the assault upon Carthagena has only dealt with vague generalities, but he has elsewhere given a vivid picture of the scene. According to the surgeon's mate, there was one narrow entrance to the harbour called the Boca Chica: an entrance which was fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British troops were landed on an islet, called the Tierra Bomba, near that narrow entrance. The principal fort of Boca Chica was the first object of attack. Batteries were erected to fire upon it on the land side, whilst the large ships attacked it on the other. The surgeon's mate thus describes the attack and results:—"Our ship, with others designed for this service, immediately weighed, and in less than half-an-hour came to an anchor before the castle of Boca Chica with a spring upon our cable; and the cannonading, which was terrible, began. The surgeon, after having crossed himself, fell flat on the deck; and the chaplain and purser, who were stationed with us in quality of assistants, followed his example, while the Welshman and I sat upon a chest, looking at one another with great discomposure, scarce able to refrain from the like prostration. And that the reader may know it was not a common occasion that alarmed us thus, I must inform him of the particulars of this dreadful din that astounded us. The fire of the Spaniards proceeded from eighty-four great guns, besides a mortar and small arms, in Boca Chica, thirty-six in fort St. Joseph, twenty in two fascine batteries, and four men-of-war, mounting sixty-four guns each. This was answered by our land battery, mounted with twenty-one cannon, two mortars, and twenty-four cohorns, and five great ships of seventy or eighty guns, that fired without intermission." From all these instruments of war there was no doubt plenty of noise. And there was considerable execution. There was plenty of work for the surgeon and his mates in the cock-pit. One poor fellow who had his hand shot off gave it as his opinion that the attack would prove a failure, for that the ship lay at too great a distance to damage the walls, and there was scarce anybody on board who understood the pointing of a gun. The Spaniards, however, eventually abandoned the Boca Chica, and the men-of-war entered the outward harbour. Elated with this success, Vernon wrote home, that "it was astonishing;" that he could not but cry out, "It is the Lord's doing, and seems marvellous in our eyes." People believed that Carthagena had fallen, and Vernon was again pronounced to be the greatest of all commanders. The rich city, hitherto deemed impregnable, it was believed, had been taken by him; and Voltaire says a medal was struck in his honour. But all this was premature: Carthagena had not fallen. While men were singing Vernon's praises at tavern dinners and about the streets, he was retreating with a dishonoured flag. The author of "Roderick Random" says:—"After having put garrisons into the forts we had taken, and re-embarked our soldiers and artillery—a piece of service that detained us more than a week—we ventured up to the mouth of the inner harbour, guarded by a large fortification on one side, and a small redoubt on the other, both of which were deserted before our approach, and the entrance of the harbour blocked up by several old galleons and two men-of-war that the enemy had sunk in the channel. We made shift, however, to open a passage for some ships, that favoured a second landing of our troops, at a place called La Quinta, not far from the town, where, after a faint resistance from a body of Spaniards who opposed their disembarkation, they encamped with a design of besieging the castle of St. Lazar, which overlooked and commanded the city." An attempt was made to take Fort St. Lazar by storm. A detachment of twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise and guided by some Spanish peasants, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort, but "the enemy gave them such a hearty reception that the greatest part of the detachment took up their everlasting residence on the spot." Smollett says that Vernon, "not relishing this kind of complaisance in the Spaniards, was wise enough to retreat on board with the remains of his army, which, from eight thousand able men landed on the beach near Boca Chica, was now reduced to fifteen hundred fit for service." The non-success in the attack upon Carthagena appears to have been more the result of disunion between the two commanders than from want of power. Had Vernon, who was a vain man and indifferent to any success in which he should not have the chief honour, sent early assistance to Wentworth in his attack upon Fort St. Lazar it might have been captured, but instead of that no effort was made by him until the failure was irretrievable. A few days after this failure the wet season commenced, and disease spread among those who were still living with fearful rapidity. A council of war was therefore called, and it was resolved to give up the enterprise and sail to Jamaica. Accordingly, having demolished all the fortifications which had been taken, the fleet set sail, and, says Smollett, "on board there was nothing heard but complaints and execrations, the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead; nothing was seen but objects of woe and images of dejection." Subsequently Vernon and Wentworth received orders to sail for the island of Cuba and make the capture of the town of St. Jago, but they returned to Jamaica without accomplishing their task. In their attack upon Carthagena, combined with losses by disease, their land army had been reduced from twelve to three thousand men, and on their return from Cuba they had only two thousand remaining. Salted provisions, in a putrid state, and rum had proved as fatal to their troops as a fierce campaign.

Nor were Vernon's failures the only occurrences of the war which cast a gloom over the nation. In the Mediterranean Admiral Haddock, whose courage was never questioned, was compelled to retreat before the combined fleets of France and Spain; for although there was no war between France and England, a French squadron from Toulon had received orders to join the Spanish fleet on a joint expedition, and to defend the Spaniards if they were attacked. In September, 1740, Commodore Anson had been sent with a squadron of six vessels to sail round Cape Horn to attack the shores of Peru. It was not a very formidable armament, for the only land troops on board consisted of out-pensioners of Chelsea: old men who had done good service in their time, but were now growing feeble. It is said, indeed, that some of them were actually wounded! It was against this expedition that Spain despatched the fleet which sailed under the protection of France. It was under the command of Pizarro, who fell in with one or two ships of the British armament near the Straits of Magellan. But there was no battle. Pizarro could not weather a long and furious tempest, and after having lost some of his ships, he bore away to the Rio de la Plata. The French fleet had returned to Toulon, its mission being to see the Spaniards safe past the British fleet under Admiral Haddock. But the same storm which scattered the ships of Pizarro scattered those of Commodore Anson. His own ship, the Centurion, became separated from her companions, and he sailed under stress of weather for the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez. Here he was joined by the Trial sloop; but on their passage both ships were fearfully thinned of their numbers by the ravages of the scurvy. The out-pensioners of Chelsea on board all perished by that fell disease. Two others of his ships, the Pearl and Severn, put back to the Brazils, while the Wager, commanded by Byron, was wrecked on a desert island. Anson was subsequently joined by the missing vessel, and in the autumn he sailed from Juan Fernandez, and, after making prizes of several Spanish vessels, attacked and captured the town of Paita, which, after being plundered, was burnt to the ground. A large amount of public treasure was obtained at Paita, and this was the chief exploit of this year's warfare.

Some of these events had become public before the general election, and they had a tendency to render Walpole more unpopular than ever. Vernon was not the admiral of his choice, but he had to bear the blame of his incompetency. The war was not the war of his seeking, and yet every failure was attributed to his management. He had to bear the blame of every event that appeared pregnant with danger. His failures was the battle cry of his opponents on the hustings. Bribery was also resorted to, to an unprecedented extent, to secure his downfall. Even the prince of Wales ran into debt by the purchase of boroughs that he might have his revenge on Walpole. Hence the ministerial candidates were defeated in many places, and it was easy to foresee the results of the next parliament. Walpole himself seems to have had his forebodings.

The king returned from Hanover in October, and on the 4th of December he met his new parliament. In his speech he took especial care to remind both Houses that the war with Spain had been undertaken on their own responsibility. They had advised it, and he had acted upon their advice. He reverted to the confederacy formed against the queen of Hungary. The former parliament, he said, had formed the strongest resolutions in her favour for the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, the preservation of the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; but other powers that were under the same engagements as Britain had not performed the promises to which they had solemnly subscribed. He had used all his endeavours to unite his allies in the common interests of Europe and to reconcile the other princes and claimants, and although he had not succeeded, he still hoped that a just sense of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. Meanwhile he represented that there was a stern necessity of putting the kingdom in such a posture of defence as would enable him to improve the opportunity of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions. To that end, he recommended unanimity, vigour, and despatch. But unanimity was almost out of the question while the hated Walpole was prime minister. On the choice of a Speaker, which again fell to the lot of Onslow, there was no division; but no sooner was the address moved, than the battle of parties, which had been carried on for so many years, recommenced. The mode of attack had been organized by the opposition beforehand. Shippen, one of Smollett's "incorruptible patriots," moved an amendment to the effect that his majesty might be entreated not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. Shippen boasted that he held the same opinions now unchanged and unchangeable as he had thirty years ago, so that if he was a patriot he was not one of mushroom growth. He was growing old, he said, and time had verified his early predictions: his conjectures had ripened into knowledge. "If my country," he added, "has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may perhaps fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and once more be treated as a criminal for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny: for maintaining that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots who framed the Act of Settlement, and conferred upon the present royal family their title to the throne." Shippen multiplies instances in which *he* conceived Walpole's cabinet had acted in direct opposition to that necessary constitution; and insisted on taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who were under an impression that they were being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. But all this was mere political claptrap. "The people" were under no such apprehensions, and the whole drift of Shippen's patriotic speech was to subvert Walpole's cabinet. This was the one sole end and aim of all who supported Shippen's amendment. Gibbon argued in another strain. He expatiated on the folly of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. And perhaps it had; but if so it could not be laid to the charge of Walpole. His heart was not in war. He had utterly repudiated it, and had handed it over to his rival the duke of Newcastle. But nevertheless he must be the scapegoat! Pulteney, having the goal of his wishes full in view, according to Smollett "seemed to be animated with a double proportion of indignation!" by which we presume he meant "ambition for place and power." The discontented Whigs and reunited Tories were impatient for a division, but he reminded them that division was not multiplication. He was not yet quite sure that opposition might not be defeated if they pushed the amendment on other questions, and he desired to exert his eloquence to avert such a catastrophe. He charged Walpole with not only being guilty of isolated errors, but of deliberate treachery! He charged him with always having co-operated with the enemies of his country, and with having sacrificed the happiness and honour of the British nation to his individual interests. He even went so far as to insinuate that he was purposely seeking its ruin to serve the Pretender. Never was there a baser insinuation made within the walls of the British parliament. Smollett himself, the great admirer of Pulteney and all his party, is obliged to confess that by accusing Walpole of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom he was transported by an overheated imagination. The baseness of the accusation was clearly demonstrated by Walpole in reply. If at this time he sat still at the festive board he could yet make the walls of parliament ring with his stinging eloquence. The extravagance of Pulteney's declamations restored him to his pristine vigour. So far from his being in the interests of the Pretender, he more than hinted that Lord Chesterfield, one of his most consistent and inveterate opponents, had been on a secret mission to the Jacobites at Avignon! He demanded to know whether he, as minister, had raised the war in Germany, or advised the war in Spain; whether he had killed the late emperor and the king of Prussia, whose deaths had led to the former war; and whether he was the counsellor of the ambitious monarch who now sat upon the Prussian throne. Hopes had been entertained that the Czarina of Russia would join our arms in defence of Maria Theresa, but she was at war with Sweden; and Walpole wanted to know if he had been the cause of that war, for the purpose of setting aside the Czarina's assistance. In the course of the debate, Walpole had offered to strike out the clause in the address which thanked "his majesty for his royal care in prosecuting the war with Spain:" a concession that was interpreted as a sign of weakness, but which was finally accepted, and the address, with this omission, passed unanimously.

Towards the conclusion of his speech, Walpole declared that he shrunk not from a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, and that if any member would name a day for that purpose he would himself second the motion. Pulteney accepted the challenge. He named the 21st of January, and Walpole performed his promise. This interval was employed by his opponents to his disadvantage. No stone was left unturned to insure his defeat. There were several trials of strength on minor points. Walpole was defeated by a majority of four in the election of chairman of committees, but Pulteney was beaten by ten on a motion for papers on the German negotiations. But the strife became more animated when the subject of elections fell under notice. There had been corruption and bribery on both sides. Well-filled purses had become emptied of their contents to secure adherents. Hence there were many disputed elections, and it became a great point on either side to thin each other's ranks.

Parliament reassembled on the 18th of January, 1742, and three days after—the appointed time—Pulteney made his promised motion. In doing so he protested that his motion was not pointed against any particular person, but was simply made to assist his majesty. So said Pitt, and others of the "disinterested patriots;" but a new member, who had been returned for Westminster on the re-election, gave the lie direct to their protestations. Lord Perceval declared distinctly that it was especially aimed at Walpole, for he would, he said, vote for a committee of accusation. The speech which Walpole made on this memorable occasion was one of the noblest and most eloquent that ever fell from his lips. He laid bare the malice of his enemies; taunted them with their varied failures and defeats; and told them that after having in vain attacked him for twenty years, in order to insure success they had now resorted to a disgraceful subterfuge. He defied them to substantiate the charges they had alleged against him, and declared that he wanted no other favour at their hands but to be made fully acquainted with their articles of accusation. Bubb Doddington, who had been a member of the administration for sixteen years, and who had long been wavering as to whether he should support Walpole or declare against him, now joined the opposition, and both he and Pulteney came in for a severe castigation at the hands of the "old man eloquent." But it was not with eloquence or even argument that this struggle was to be decided. Both sides came ready to vote without appeal to either, and on a division Walpole had a majority, but of *three* only. After this there was no opposition to an address to the king which had been previously rejected for copies of the correspondence with his Prussian majesty; but Walpole tried another division on a disputed election, that of Chippenham, and being defeated by a majority of one, he at length resolved to retire from the helm of the state. This was on the 28th of January, and four days after, at a private audience, he tendered his resignation to the king he had so long, and so well, and so faithfully served. It is related that George was deeply affected at the inevitable separation; and that as Walpole knelt to kiss hands, he fell upon his neck, wept, kissed his cheek, and expressed a wish to see him frequently at court. But Walpole did not quit his post on that day. On the 2nd of February he again appeared in the House. The prince of Wales had received an intimation of Walpole's downfall, and on that evening the opposition assembled in full strength. On the final decision respecting the Chippenham election, the majority against him amounted to sixteen voices, on which he declared that he would never again sit in that House. Accordingly on the following day the king adjourned both Houses of Parliament for a fortnight. In this interim, Sir Robert Walpole formally resigned all his employments; and, instead of being sent to the Tower, he was raised to a peerage under the title of the earl of Orford.

The downfall of this able minister was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the people. In their enmity against him they had forgotten the great things he had done for his country. Burke has well said of him, that though not a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, a prudent, and a safe minister. Walpole was in truth for twenty long years one of the most successful, and perhaps most useful rulers of Great Britain. During that period he had secured the constitution and confirmed the Hanoverian succession; the country had made rapid strides in wealth and civilization; and the general condition of the people had been vastly improved. And yet this was the man on whose head the nation from one end of it to the other were pouring their bitterest maledictions.

Smollett says that at no time of life did Walpole acquit himself with such prudential policy as he displayed on his retirement from office. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those of his keenest adversaries. The king had evidently lost no confidence in the minister whom he had created an earl. Queen Caroline had committed him to Walpole's care, and notwithstanding she had now long been dead, and he had been dallying with mistresses, her dying words still sounded in his ears. It was under Walpole's guidance that he formed his new ministry. Nay, he allowed him to form it, and to bargain with his successor for security of the past. The friendship which George displayed towards his old and able minister is one of the few bright spots in his character. Lord Wilmington—the Sir Spencer Compton who might have been prime minister on the king's accession, and for whom Walpole had written the first royal speech—was his successor in the treasury. But in this appointment Walpole had acted with the most consummate tact. He had recommended the king first to offer the treasury to his old enemy Pulteney, and if he refused then to confer it on Wilmington. It was offered to Pulteney, and refused, because he was to accept it on the condition that he should resist and defeat as premier any attempt made to prosecute his predecessor. Pulteney's price, as will be seen, was higher than first lord of the treasury. He had a game to play, and he played it well. Lord Carteret thought that he ought to have that post, but Pulteney opposed it. If Wilmington was not allowed to take it, he said he would accept it himself. Carteret became secretary of state, and was thankful for that office. Then came the duke of Newcastle. He had aspired to the premiership, but finding that there was no hope, he was resolved to keep his seat in the cabinet if possible. Newcastle was commissioned by the king to conciliate Pulteney. He was implored to give a promise that if any prosecution were attempted against Walpole, if he could not oppose it he would not inflame the debate. Pulteney was somewhat softened. He was not a man of blood, he said, and that in all he had done or said he had not sought the destruction of Walpole's person, but his power. Some parliamentary censure ought, in his opinion, to be inflicted, but he must consult his friends and his party about the matter. He was asked if he had any objection to the duke's remaining in the cabinet, and also the lord chancellor, and he replied that he had none, but he must insist that some obnoxious persons should be forthwith dismissed, and that he and his friends should have a majority in the cabinet, and the nominations to the boards of the treasury and admiralty, and the disposal of the office of secretary of state for Scotland. These demands were conceded. Sandys, the "motion maker," became chancellor of the exchequer; Carteret, secretary of state; the marquis of Tweeddale, secretary for Scotland; and the duke of Argyll, master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse guards, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces of South Britain. But what was Pulteney's price? With very peculiar modesty he said all he desired for himself was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet, and that Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton have seats at the new board of admiralty.

The new cabinet, therefore, was composed of a few of its old members, with some of those discontented Whigs who had combined with the Tories to effect a change of ministry. The Tories were wholly ignored in the arrangement, and as a natural consequence they were thrown into a paroxysm of rage. They had helped to gain the victory; why not then be allowed to share the spoils? Nor were all the leading Whigs satisfied with the arrangement. While the few among them were rewarded the many got nothing, and there soon arose as loud a cry against Pulteney and Lord Carteret, who had the chief hand in bolstering up the cabinet, as they had formerly raised against Walpole. They had been deceived, and their wails of disappointment were loud and bitter. But there were yet some offices vacant, and there was therefore still some hope that Pulteney and Carteret might do them justice. At a conference between them and some of the discontented Whigs and Tories in the presence of the prince of Wales, some degree of harmony was restored. It was now that the duke of Argyll obtained a seat in the cabinet; and Lord Cobham, who had been dismissed from the command of the Grenadier Guards on account of his opposition to the Excise Bill, not only had it restored to him, but was also made field-marshal. Others, as Gower and Bathurst, obtained promises which for the present satisfied them. On the 17th of February parliament reassembled, and the voice of opposition seemed to be mute.

But harmony was of short duration. "It soon appeared," says Smollett, the warm admirer of the patriots, "that those who had declared the loudest for the liberties of their country had been actuated solely by the most sordid and even the most ridiculous motives of self-interest. Jealousy and mutual dis trust ensued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained that, instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition, and the same interest in parliament predominating with redoubled influence. Then again there was a loud clamour, by petitions from counties and towns, for the punishment of Walpole, some demanding even that his blood should be shed upon the scaffold; and Pulteney must have been vindictive indeed, if he had joined in a cry so violent and utterly devoid of reason and justice. On the 9th of March Lord Limerick moved for the appointment of a secret committee, to inquire into the administration of affairs during the last twenty years. The principal object was farther to implicate Walpole, but all attempts utterly failed.

During this session Sir Robert Godschall, lord mayor and member for the city, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Act for Septennial Parliaments. On former occasions Pulteney had warmly advocated the repeal of this Act, but he now as warmly opposed it. He had also declaimed with the greatest eloquence against granting subsidies and aids to foreign potentates, but he now moved that 500,000*l.* be granted to the queen of Hungary, and the sum was readily voted. It was men and not measures that were changed when Walpole was displaced. In truth, more liberal supplies were granted than ever. The reduction of the army and navy had been one of the standing motions for the uprooting of Walpole's power, but this year their numbers were largely increased. Forty thousand seamen and sixty-two thousand five hundred landsmen were voted for the current year. Subsidies also were willingly granted to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel. The expenses of the year amounted to nearly 6,000,000*l.*, and they were raised by the land tax at four shillings in the pound; by the malt tax; by a million from the sinking fund; by annuities granted upon the same source for 800,000*l.*; and by a loan of 1,600,000*l.* from the Bank of England. Altogether the new ministers and their chief supporters had served the king and the earl of Orford to their satisfaction, and towards the close of the session some of them received their rewards. John Lord Gower and Allen Lord Bathurst had, before the reassembling of parliament after the change of the ministry, been promised something for themselves and their friends, and they at least were gratified; for Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's privy seal, and Bathurst was made captain of the band of pensioners. The duke of Argyll had been promised that Sir John Hynde Cotton, a declared Jacobite, should have a seat at the new board of admiralty, but in this instance the king would not ratify the promise made by Pulteney and the friends he had put in office, on which the duke resigned, and the earl of Stair succeeded him as field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, as well as ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. It was at this time that Pulteney received his reward, by "a fall upstairs." He was sworn of the privy council, and created earl of Bath. It is related that when Lord Orford met my Lord Bath in the House of Peers, he congratulated him with this cutting sarcasm, "Here we are, my lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England!" This was true of Pulteney, but not of himself, for Orford was consulted by ministers to the day of his death. The king closed the session on the 15th of July.

In closing this session King George exulted in the success of his endeavours to bring about an accommodation between those princes whose union was most necessary in this critical conjuncture. "The treaty lately concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia," he said, "must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause." George had successfully mediated between these belligerents, but not till after there had been a renewal of warlike operations. After the elector of Bavaria had captured Prague and been crowned king of Bohemia, he went to Frankfort, where he reached the summit of his ambition by being chosen emperor of Germany as Charles VII. But the great quarrel of the Austrian succession was not determined by this success. In the spring of this year the levies of Maria Theresa, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, held the French in check in Bohemia, while another army under General Khevenhüller defeated the French and Bavarians at Luiz. The Austrians entered Bavaria, and occupied Munich, the capital of the elector, on the very day he was chosen emperor. The struggle continued, with various turns of fortune on either side, and in the midst of reverses and successes Frederick prince of Prussia advanced to battle. When he entered Bohemia the French forces were in a critical position. Had he not entered before they were attacked, they must have fallen a sacrifice. But Frederick did not advance with reinforcements so much to aid his allies the French as to serve the ends of his ambition. He had indeed at this time, in common with the minor princes who had joined or looked upon the confederacy with favour, doubts and misgivings as to the intentions of France. If he could but gain Silesia, they might be beaten for aught he cared. But this could only be done by a victory for Maria Theresa, the "king," as the Hungarians had called her in their celebrated war shout, but she was not yet willing to give up any part of her dominions for the sake of peace. Frederick again negotiated, but again he could not obtain his demand. There was no alternative but a battle. That battle was fought on the 17th of May at Czaslau. It was severely contested, but the Prussians were victorious. Both sides had suffered so greatly, that Frederick became tired of the war, and Maria Theresa less tenacious about Silesia. It was therefore at this moment that England urged her mediation, which was accepted. All obstacles to a peace were removed, and on the 11th of June a treaty was concluded between the two powers at Breslau. Frederick obtained both Upper and Lower Silesia and the country of Glatz in Bohemia, but he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor on the Silesian revenues. Frederick stipulated to withdraw his troops in fifteen days after the treaty was ratified, and to obtain a strict neutrality during the war; and, left to themselves, the French soon found that the brave Hungarians were more than a match for them. They had penetrated into Bohemia and other territories of Austria, but were in a brief space of time so pressed on all sides that they were compelled to retreat. The retreat of the French under the command of Marshal Belleisle is represented in history as a masterpiece in war, but it was in reality very disastrous; for when he recrossed the Rhine, he found that of the thirty-five thousand men whom he had conducted into Germany only eight thousand remained; while all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy, who pursued him on his march, through broken and unfrequented roads often blocked up by snow, with relentless fury. The French had paid dearly for their breach of faith as regards the Austrian succession; a breach against which the peace-loving minister, Cardinal Fleury—now dead—had lifted up his voice in vain.

In order to make a diversion in the Netherlands, King George had in April despatched sixteen thousand British troops to that country. The old earl of Stair was appointed to the command, and with Lord Carteret he was employed to urge the Dutch to cooperate with them. At one time during the summer the king and the duke of Cumberland thought of proceeding to take the command of the troops in Flanders, but before they embarked it was found that the embassy to the States was a failure. The Dutch were reaping a rich harvest from the war by trade, and they were not willing to draw the sword in the general quarrel. On the contrary, England had now become a party to all the continental squabbles, by which she eventually brought upon herself the burden of a long and expensive war.

The war with Spain this year may be briefly related. In the West Indies Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth planned a new expedition, which, like their former enterprises, was a failure. But the arms of Britain were not everywhere this year so inglorious. In June, the Spaniards with four thousand men invaded our new colony of Georgia, and marched towards Frederica, the capital; but with a mere handful of men the brave General Oglethorpe defeated them in two encounters, and drove them out of the country with terrible loss. Nearer home—by sea—there were also some signal displays of British courage. It has been seen that the queen of Spain had obtained Naples and Sicily for her son Don Carlos. At this time she was seeking to acquire some other sovereignty for her younger son Don Philip. But this scheme raised a new enemy against Spain. Alarmed at the progress of the Spaniards in Italy, the king of Sardinia, who had contributed by his alliance with France and Spain to the conquest of Naples, now openly espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary against the Bourbons. By this timely alliance Maria Theresa was enabled to rid Lombardy of the Spaniards, where Montemar, who commanded them, was utterly defeated. In the meantime Don Philip had made an irruption into Upper Italy. His brother Don Carlos had already sent him some troops to aid him in his enterprise, and was preparing a still larger force for that purpose; but he was circumvented by the British government. With five ships of the line, Commodore Martin suddenly entered the bay of Naples, and without firing a salute he lay to off the city, and sent a messenger to Don Carlos with this alternative: that if he did not engage to withdraw his troops from Upper Italy, and maintain an absolute neutrality, then his city should be bombarded. Naples was vulnerable at all points, and ill defended by a garrison, and Don Carlos and his court were thrown into the utmost consternation. They wanted time to consider, but Martin would only give them two hours; if by that time they did not accede to his demand, the bombardment would commence. There was no help for it: a written promise of strict neutrality was forthwith given, and orders were sent to Upper Italy to recall the Neapolitan forces.

When parliament met on the 16th of November, in his speech the king told them that he had sent sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries to reinforce the British troops in the Low Countries. He extolled the magnanimity of the queen of Hungary, and the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia. He mentioned that Sweden had applied to him for his good offices in procuring a peace with Russia, and the defensive alliances which he had formed with the Czarina and the king of Prussia as events which could not have occurred, if Great Britain had not manifested a proper spirit and vigour in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and maintaining the liberties of Europe. It was still, he added, necessary to maintain that spirit and vigour in order to ensure success in the war with Spain, and to re establish the balance of power and tranquillity of Europe. There was some slight opposition to the address in both Houses, but matters went on with a considerable degree of harmony till the 10th of December. On that day, Sir William Yonge, as secretary at war, proposed a grant of 657,000*l.*, to defray the expenses of the Hanoverian troops from the previous August till December, 1743. His proposition was supported by Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer, who had hitherto been loud in his denunciations against the employment of foreign mercenaries. But if his jealousy of them had abated, that of the nation in general was still as rife as ever. Despite the king's relations with his hereditary state, the secretary's proposal was bitterly denounced. Yet the ministers commanded a majority, as they did likewise in the Lords, where Earl Stanhope moved for an address to his majesty, beseeching him, in compassion to his English subjects, who were already loaded with heavy taxes, to exonerate them from the burden of maintaining the Hanoverian mercenaries. Stanhope's motion was warmly supported by the earl of Sandwich and the duke of Bedford, both of whom spoke with the utmost contempt of Hanover. But though ministers in both Houses gained a majority, the invectives which had been uttered from lips eloquent with the true spirit of patriotism—though party strife may in some instances have inspired them—sank deep into the heart of the nation. As Smollett observes, the victory of the ministers was not an eligible victory, for what they gained in parliament they lost with the people, "who began to think that public virtue was an empty name."

Nothing was done this session except passing the

Mutiny Bill, and others of but little importance, and granting supplies. The sum of 6,000,000*l.* was voted for the support of 40,000 seamen, 11,000 marines, 16,000 troops to serve in Flanders, and 23,000 for garrisons at home. This sum was to be raised by the land and malt taxes, the duties on licenses and spirituous liquors, and a loan from the sinking fund. The session was closed on the 21st of April, when the king informed the House that, on the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance; and, as usual, he made a declaration that it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interests and happiness of his kingdoms.

But if there was no other way of securing the "interests and happiness of his kingdoms" than by rushing into war, it was morally certain they could not thus be secured. And yet this was evidently "the purpose of his heart." As war had not yet been declared between Britain and France, the old earl of Stair—who knew that if the British and French armies met they would fight, and as he was not altogether prepared for a battle—retreated, with a view of establishing communications with the main body of Austrians behind him under Charles of Lorraine, and of obtaining reinforcements from Hanover. But in retreating he placed his army in jeopardy. Before the river Maine reaches Frankfort it turns almost at right angles. The English marched along its right bank as far as Aschaffenbürg, when the old earl found that he had committed an error. He found that the French, who had possession of the left bank of the river, had it in their power to cross the river and cut off his supplies and reinforcements. To redeem this error, a retrograde movement was made. But it was too late. The French had already passed the river and had occupied the village of Dettingen. The allies were caught as it were in a trap. They were cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Maine from Aschaffenburg to Dettingen. They were in this situation when King George, with the duke of Cumberland and Lord Carteret, arrived from Hanover. At that time the allies were reduced to thirty-seven thousand men. They had but two days' provision, and there was no alternative but to march forward and fight, or surrender. The king, who was in reality no coward, chose the former. But it was a hazardous step to take. The marshal de Noailles was no common commander. He had a keen eye, which took advantage of every movement of his enemy. And he was the better enabled to do this as he had a force under his command far superior in numbers. No sooner did he see that the allies were moving upon Dettingen to force their way, than he altered his position so as to point on their flank and rear, and sent the duke de Grammont with twenty-three thousand men to secure the defile of Dettingen, and threw up batteries on the opposite bank of the Maine to play upon the British as they advanced towards the ravine. The duke de Grammont's orders were to remain firm and concealed until the enemy should advance and be surprised. De Noailles himself recrossed the river to hasten the passage of the rest of the army, and a division of twelve thousand men soon pushed into Aschaffenburg, which the British had just deserted. There were therefore French forces behind and before them, and French cannon playing upon their flanks. In recrossing the river, the chief object of De Noailles was to bring up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine to make the pass of Dettingen still more terrible. But while he was gone, his nephew De Grammont thought he would snatch a victory. Disobeying his orders not to move, he gave the word to pass the ravine, and by so doing he placed his troops in the very position in which Noailles thought to place the British. The battery on the bank of the river, which had been playing successfully on the flank of the British, was now useless, for had it not been silenced it would have swept off the troops of Grammont. As the French advanced from the pass into the valley, King George, who occupied the post of danger—the front—exclaimed, "Now, my boys, now for the honour of England! fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!" And they soon did run. The British cannon opened upon the French with fearful effect, while the British infantry, formed into one dense column, charged De Grammont's squadrons with irresistible fury, and pushed both horse and foot before them. The duke de Noailles had from the opposite side of the river witnessed his nephew's mistake, and he hastened to redeem it, but before he could reach Dettingen the battle was over. De Grammont and his troops were in full retreat towards the bridges on the Maine. Many were killed before they reached the bridges; others rushed into the river and were drowned; while others, throwing down their arms, endeavoured to escape over the hills on the opposite side of the valley, but were for the most part taken prisoners. The French lost in the battle of Dettingen six thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the British two thousand and five hundred in killed and wounded. About the time the battle of Dettingen was fought De Broglie had been driven across the Rhine near Manheim by Prince Charles of Lorraine, and the marshal de Noailles, who was marching to his assistance when he received this intelligence, burnt his magazines, retreated towards Worms, crossed the Rhine, and having joined De Broglie, returned in a miserable condition to France.

By these victories the Emperor Charles was compelled to prostrate himself before Maria Theresa. He signed a treaty of neutrality for his hereditary states, which were to remain in possession of the queen of Hungary, by whose armies they were already occupied, till the conclusion of a general peace. But peace was as yet only in the dim distance.

Previous to the return of the king to Britain a treaty had been signed under the auspices of Lord Carteret—who was virtually prime minister—between Britain, Austria, and Sardinia. It is called in history the "Treaty of Worms," and by it, while Britain agreed to subsidize Sardinia with the annual sum of 200,000*l.*, and Austria engaged to cede certain Italian districts, and both Britain and Austria agreed to concede to his Sardinian majesty the supreme command of the allied forces beyond the

Alps, on his part the king of Sardinia engaged to assist the allies with forty-five thousand men, and to resign all his pretensions, of which he had been very tenacious, to the duchy of Milan. His Britannic majesty also engaged by this treaty to keep a strong fleet constantly in the Mediterranean, to aid the king of Sardinia not only in his Italian, but in all his other wars. Finally, the contracting powers agreed that Final should be constituted a free port like that of Leghorn. But this latter clause in the Treaty of Worms only led to fresh complications. As Smollett remarks, "Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negotiated out of their property. They had purchased the marquisate of Final of the late emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great Britain."

Nominally, indeed, Lord Wilmington was at the head of the government when the change of ministry took place, but, as before hinted, in reality Lord Carteret, secretary of state for foreign affairs, was prime minister. Carteret, from his wit, humour, and accomplishments, was a favourite of the king and the prince of Wales. While on the Continent he was the king's guide in all things. He it was who conducted the fruitless negotiations at Hanau, and who counselled and brought about the Treaty of Worms. But at that time Wilmington, who had been a cipher in the state, was dead. This event led to some changes in the ministry. Pulteney, earl of Bath, now aspired to the premiership, which he had before refused; but the post was given to Pelham, who proved to be but little more powerful then his predecessor Wilmington. Pelham had been paymaster of the forces, which post he gave to Winnington, and "motion making" Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer, being honoured with a peerage, Pelham undertook the management of the treasury and the House of Commons himself, for which post he was better qualified than for the premiership. But the ministry was not popular. The winter of 1743-4 was marked by increasing political strife. Every day the incapacity of the administration became more and more apparent, while the nation at length began to feel severely the bitter consequences of the departure from the peaceful policy of Walpole.

Parliament met on the 1st of December. In both Houses attempts were made to defeat the ministerial address—though in vain—but it was when it became known that the Hanoverian troops were still to be continued in the pay of Britain that the opposition became most furious. Carteret was now the great object of attack. He was denounced both within and without the walls of parliament as "the Hanoverian minister," and "the wicked minister." Pitt called him "a flagitious task-master with sixteen thousand Hanoverian placemen;" and he was loudly accused of being ready to sacrifice his country for the king's favour. In both Houses motions were made for addresses beseeching his majesty to withdraw the Hanoverian troops in British pay; and these motions were seconded by the voice of the people. Night after night petitions were presented against the subsidizing these troops, and night after night members in both Houses declared against the practice. It seems probable, indeed, that but for an event which took place at this critical time, ministers would have given way to the popular voice, for they had already begun to think—Lord Carteret excepted—that it would be expedient to drop the question of the foreign troops, and to say nothing when the supplies were brought forward about foreign subsidies. That event was a projected invasion of Britain by France. On the 18th of February, 1744, his majesty informed both Houses that he had received undoubted information that the Pretender's eldest son, Charles Edward, had arrived in Paris, and that in concert with some of his disaffected subjects he was preparing to make an invasion, supported by a French fleet. This information caused a change of feeling among the members of the opposition, and this change was strengthened by a speech made in the Upper House by the aged ex-minister, Lord Orford. Although suffering under an acute disease, at the special request of his majesty, Walpole, who had never before opened his lips to address the Lords, came to the House and delivered a speech which had all the effect the king could have desired. There was now nothing more said against keeping the Hanoverian troops in pay, or the reduction of our army, or the weakening of our alliances by stopping the subsidies. With the exception of the Tories and Jacobites who withdrew from parliament, all were unanimous in their resolve to support the House of Hanover. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for two months, and a bill was passed, "to make it high treason to hold correspondence with the son of the Pretender to his majesty's crown, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain." So unanimous were the Commons in their determination to support his majesty's government, that they voted nearly ten millions as necessary supplies, out of which the Hanoverian troops were to be paid, and both Austria and Sardinia to receive subsidies. The session was closed in May.

The message which King George sent to his parliament was founded in fact. So many years had elapsed since the Stuart had advanced his claim to the throne of Britain, that his very existence was fast fading from the popular memory. But he still lived and held his little court at Rome. The ear of Cardinal Tencin, the minister of Louis, was more open to the invitation of the Jacobites of Scotland than that of his great predecessor, Cardinal Fleury. When they represented to him that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour, he readily listened to the tale; the more so, because it was felt that if such an expedition should fail, it would at least make a considerable diversion from the Continent, and embroil and embarrass the British government, which was the chief support of the House of Austria and its allies. The ambition of Cardinal Tencin was also flattered with the prospect of giving a king to Great Britain, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. Louis XV. fell in with the views of his bold minister. Accordingly, Drummond of Bochaldy, who was the accredited agent of the associate Jacobites of Scotland at the court of Versailles, at the desire of that court went to Rome to persuade James to send his son to France. Other agents were sent over to London and to different parts of England. But the mission of these agents was not attended by any great success. Lord Chesterfield had in the last session well described the existing faction of the Jacobites in England. In opposing the clause in the Bill of Treason which attainted the sons of the Pretender in case they should attempt to land, he did so chiefly on the ground that the politicians and patriots of the reign of Anne thought it necessary to end the extension of penalties to the descendants of traitors when the life of the Pretender was ended. Notwithstanding, every preparation was made by the French court with the most profound secrecy. And when everything was ready, James Edward promised to send his son Charles Edward to Paris, but not before. Great preparations therefore were made forthwith. There was a body of troops, all veterans, collected at Dunkirk and Calais under Marshal Saxe, and there was a fleet of men-of-war and transports at Brest and Boulogne for the enterprise. As war was raging on the Continent, it was not known for what expedition these preparations were being made. In truth, Charles Edward had joined it before the secret oozed out. It was on the night of the 9th of January of this year, that he stole out of Rome to join the expedition. He had with him a proclamation signed by his father, which he was to promulgate on his landing in England. He had with him also a commission appointing him regent, and patents of nobility to reward those of the Jacobites who were the most zealous in the cause. On his departure it was given out that he was, as his wont was, going boar hunting in the Pontine marshes and the wilds of the Maremma. He was disguised as a Spanish courier, and attended only by one servant, who assumed the guise and character of a Spanish cabinet messenger. He had many adventures on his journey to Paris, which he reached on the 20th of January. While at Paris he lived in retirement. Louis XV. would not even receive him at court, lest the secret should be divulged. He was, however, visited by the exiled earl marshal, Lord Elcho, and Drummond of Bochaldy, with one or two other Scots whose fortunes were bound up with those of the Pretender. But secretly as he travelled from Rome to Paris, and secluded as he lived there, his arrival became known to the British government, and the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne was at once comprehended. It was now, therefore, that King George, on being suddenly made aware of the danger, sent his ominous message to parliament. Sir John Norris, who commanded the Channel fleet, received orders to watch the enemy. At that time Charles Edward had joined the expedition. The French fleet, which was under the command of Admiral Roquefeuille, and which consisted of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, sailed up the Channel as far as the Isle of Wight, and seeing no signs of the British fleet, he sent a tender in all haste to Dunkirk, with a message to Marshal Saxe to embark his troops without delay. Roquefeuille then stole down the Channel as far as Dungeness, where he cast anchor and awaited the arrival of the marshal. But in the meantime the Channel fleet under Norris came in sight, which alarmed the French admiral. Had Norris engaged the enemy, it is probable that the French fleet might have been captured or destroyed; but instead of this, from the state of the tide and the approach of night, he deferred battle till next day, and cast anchor about two furlongs from Roquefeuille. But the morning came, and the enemy was gone. Under cover of the night, and favoured by the wind, the French fleet had sailed back from whence it came. But the wind that was favourable to Roquefeuille was adverse to the transports which had sailed from Dunkirk with Marshal Saxe and Charles Edward on board. While the gale from the north-west carried the fleet down the Channel with incredible expedition, it not only impeded the transports, but scattered them far and wide. Many were driven ashore and destroyed, and those which escaped were so damaged that they could not easily be repaired. The expedition was an utter failure. Charles Edward escaped and went to Gravelines, where he remained incognito during the spring, almost unnoticed by the court of France.

While England was all in commotion about this projected invasion, and preparing in every possible way for a stern defence, an action occurred between the British fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews and the combined squadrons of France and Spain. Those squadrons had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, but early in February they ventured out, and Matthews instantly prepared to engage them. In numbers their ships were nearly equal; but those of the British were foul from long cruising, while those of the enemy were fresh from port, in good sailing and fighting trim. Moreover, although the British may have had two or three more ships than the enemy, their crews were less numerous, and some of the enemy's ships carried greater weight of metal. It was on the 11th of February that Matthews gave the signal for engaging. But there was a division in the fleet. There were two admirals—Matthews and Lestock—the former of whom, although a younger man than the latter, had the supreme command. This gave rise to a feud between them; and when Matthews gave the signal for action Lestock kept aloof from the battle. After a hard-fought battle, the result was indecisive. Chagrined at his conduct, Matthews, as superior in command, had Lestock arrested and sent to England for trial; but he was soon after himself recalled and subjected to a court-martial. The proceedings were long and tedious, but in the end Lestock was honourably acquitted, and Matthews was dismissed the service.

We have related that in the year 1740 Commodore Anson had been appointed to go to the South Seas to harass the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. This year he returned to England, and his adventures were varied and romantic. The squadron with which he sailed was but small, and, what was worse, his ships were scarcely seaworthy, and both badly manned and ill-provisioned. In doubling Cape Horn, in March, 1741, as before related, his squadron was scattered by a storm, and with his one ship only—the Centurion—he sailed to the solitary island of Juan Fernandez. Here he was subsequently joined by the Gloucester, a sloop, and a pink laden with provisions. With these vessels, in the autumn, he sailed for the Pacific side of South America. His whole crew did not amount to more than three hundred and thirty-five men, for he had lost numbers on his passage from Britain to Juan Fernandez by the scurvy. But with this small force he performed marvels. He made prizes of several vessels, and burnt towns and villages on the Spanish American coasts, and became the terror of that region. But he had a richer prize in view than any he could find near those coasts. At that time a Spanish galleon sailed annually between Manilla, one of the Philippine Islands, and Acapulco, in Mexico. That galleon was always freighted with silver and other valuable commodities, and in the true spirit of a buccaneer he was resolved to take the ship as a prize, and with his crazy vessel he attacked and took possession of her. On reaching home he became the hero of the day. The treasure he had brought with him loaded thirty waggons, which travelled from Portsmouth to the Tower guarded by his ship's crew, and preceded by the officers with drawn swords, and music playing and colours flying, conspicuous among which were the flags taken from the Spaniards. Nor did the honours of Commodore Anson end with this hitherto unwonted exhibition. Smollett, in admiration of the hero, says, "His great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations, and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage."

The incidents of the war by land were this year manifold. King George was prevented from going to the wars by his subjects, and probably he was for the present satisfied with the renown which he had obtained in the battle of Dettingen. But while he remained at home, influenced by his mistress, the duchess de Chateaveroux, Louis XV. went into Flanders to animate the French armies by his presence. He placed himself nominally at their head; but Louis, immersed in amours as he was, knew as little of the art of war as he did of statecraft. The French army, amounting to ninety thousand men, was in reality under the command of Marshal Saxe. To contend with this force King George and his allies—Dutch, Austrians, and Flemings—could only collect together about twenty-five thousand men, so that for a time the French were victorious. Towns and fortresses surrendered to Louis on every hand, so that he began to think that, like King George, he was a hero. His career, however, was suddenly checked by the army of Maria Theresa, under Prince Charles of Lorraine. Taking advantage of the French retreat from Prague, and their defeat at Dettingen, Prince Charles penetrated into Alsace, punishing France in her turn with invasion. On discovering this, Louis hastened from Flanders to protect his invaded province, leaving Marshal Saxe with about half his army in Flanders. But the French monarch's warlike career soon received a check. At Metz he was taken seriously ill with fever, the consequence of fatigue and intemperance. But while Louis was thus checked in his warlike career, a more warlike potentate had again unsheathed his sword against the Austrians. Before the French monarch had set out for Flanders, Voltaire had been sent to Berlin to induce the king of Prussia to resume hostilities. Voltaire was successful in his mission. With an utter disregard to his pacific engagements, at the head of sixty thousand men, Frederick invaded Bohemia, and by his successes recalled the imperialists from their invasion of Alsace. Prague was captured by him, and about the same time the Austrians were driven out of Bavaria, and the Emperor Charles was reconducted from his place of exile, Frankfort, to his ancient capital, Munich. Meanwhile the French monarch had recovered from his dangerous sickness and had again joined his army. His army had passed the Rhine at Port St. Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, which was defended by General Demnitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. Louis arrived in the camp in October, and although the Austrian governor did all that a brave commander could do to save the place, it was reduced to a heap of ruins; and having lost half the garrison in its defence, he with the rest surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Louis now returned to Paris, and about the same time the warlike Frederick of Prussia was compelled to return to Berlin in disgrace, and relinquish the conquests he had made. But he resolved to retrieve his honour; for while he left the shattered remains of his army in winter quarters in Silesia, he hastened to Berlin to raise more men for the slaughter. The French army which had captured Fribourg was during the winter cantoned along the Rhine, under Marshal Mallebois; while Saxe, with his reduced army in Flanders, was strongly intrenched behind the Lys, from whence the allies, though superior in numbers, in vain attempted to dislodge him. The commanders of the allies, indeed, were incompetent for the task assigned them; for Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain man without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian general, the duke de Aremberg, was a glutton devoid of talents and sentiment. On the other hand, Count Saxe was a general skilled in the art of war—cautious and brave—and was more than a match for the allied generals. When they sought to draw him from his lines by encamping in the plains of Lisle, he refused to move; but no sooner had they returned to their camp on the Scheldt than he sent detachments, who ravaged the Low Countries to the gates of Ghent and Bruges.

During this year the dissensions in the ministry on the Hanoverian questions became more rife than ever. It was evident that its ill-assorted members could not long hold together. In the autumn Lord Carteret became earl of Granville. He was still in high favour with the king, but he was an object of envy to the duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham, and they resolved to drive him from office. Accordingly, having powerful parliamentary interest, these brothers engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in opposition against Granville and his measures. In November they informed his majesty, for themselves and other members of the cabinet, that he must choose between their resignations and Granville's dismissal. It would appear that George was very reluctant to part with his favourite minister, but on consulting the earl of Orford, to whom he still resorted for advice, he finally consented. With great reluctance the king consented that Lord Chesterfield should have the post of lord-lieutenant of Ireland assigned to him, but Pitt for the present got nothing. He wanted to be secretary at war, and when he was offered a minor place he indignantly refused it. But his voice, as we shall see, was hushed in parliament by the assurance of the duke of Newcastle and Pelham—who really considered that his services were indispensable to the "broad-bottomed" cabinet—that he would soon have what he wanted. After much contention among the different leaders, in which the king complained that he had not a will of his own, the earl of Harrington was reappointed to the place which Granville had vacated; and the other places which had become vacant by resignations when he retired were soon filled up. The Tory Sir John Hynde Cotton became treasurer of the chamber in the royal household; Lord Gower, also a Tory, but a changeling, was restored to the office of lord privy seal, formerly held by him; the duke of Dorset was made president of the council, which Harrington had held; the duke of Bedford became first lord of the admiralty, in which board also the earl of Sandwich and Grenville obtained seats; Lyttelton was admitted commissioner of the treasury; and even Bubb Doddington obtained office, he being appointed treasurer of the navy. The duke of Newcastle still remained one of the secretaries of state—Harrington being the other; Pelham, lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and Lord Hardwicke chancellor. The formation of the "broad-bottomed" ministry, therefore, must be attributed to the associated brothers—Newcastle and Pelham—and although it was a cabinet made up of discordant materials, it really did for a time, void of talent as it was, produce a considerable degree of harmony; for now they were in office, or, as in the case of Pitt, who was sure of coming in, they pursued the very measures which they had, while out of office, so loudly condemned. For instance, foreign powers were subsidized and foreign troops maintained, against which they had protested, with the same liberal hand as heretofore. It was a change of men but not of measures.

Parliament assembled on the 28th of November. It was a dove-like assembly. We read of no opposition. Money was wanted for the war, and money was granted. There was no longer anything said about sacrificing the interests of Britain for those of the petty electorate of Hanover. Their interests had become, as if by magic, one and indivisible. In January, 1745, a motion was made for continuing the army in Flanders. That motion was acceded to. So much had the accession of the "broad-bottomed" ministry to office cleared the political atmosphere, that Pitt said "he thought a dawn of salvation to this country had broke forth, and he would follow it as far as it would lead him." Even the farce of paying the Hanoverian troops in a left-handed manner was soon played out; for their numbers were increased by seven thousand men, and it was agreed that they should be paid by gold directly extracted from the English treasury. Without a murmur, also, the ministry, supported by the patriots, were allowed to subsidize the electors of Saxony, Cologne, and Mayence; and, altogether, the Commons unanimously granted about 6,500,000*l.* for the service of the ensuing year. Parliament was prorogued in May, 1745, and soon after the king set out for Hanover.

How Pitt could have thought he saw a dawn of salvation breaking forth at this period it is difficult to imagine. The evils which the pacific policy of Walpole had for so many years averted were, when he uttered these words, coming thick and fast upon the country. But before they came that statesman was laid in the cold tomb. When George summoned him to London to give his advice in his ministerial difficulties, the earl of Orford was sick and suffering, and he returned to Houghton to die. He expired on the 18th of March, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. By the treaty which was now made between the queen of Hungary and the elector of Bavaria, peace was restored to that part of the Continent, but it had the effect of increasing its fury in the Netherlands; for by that defection France turned all her efforts against the British and their allies.

Before the earl of Chesterfield entered upon his duties as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was sent upon a mission to the Hague, to concert military operations with the Dutch government. His mission was successful. The States engaged to have sixty thousand men in arms for the ensuing campaign, and agreed that the duke of Cumberland should be entrusted with the chief command of the confederate army. The campaign was opened by the French. In April, Marshal Saxe took the field at the head of 76,000 troops, and early in May invested Tournay. He took up a strong position on rising ground, with the village of Fontenoy in front, his right resting on the village of Antoine and the Scheldt, and his left on the wood of Bavré. His position was further strengthened by all the known resources of military science. The villages were fortified, redoubts were constructed, and abatis were formed in the wood. While in this position, Louis XV. and the Dauphin joined the marshal, to the great joy of the army. Saxe and his troops, animated by their presence, were eager for battle. Nor had they long to wait. Tournay was the strongest fortress in Flanders, and the States-General pressed for its relief. But the allies were not fully prepared to encounter the French in such a formidable position. England had furnished all the troops she had promised, but the Dutch had not sent half their sixty thousand men, and the Austrians only mustered eight or nine squadrons of horse. Altogether the allies did not count many more than fifty thousand men. Nevertheless, with this inferior force the duke of Cumberland advanced against the French. But although commander-in-chief of the allied forces, the young duke was under the tutelage of an old Austrian general, who was a mere pedant in the art of war, and he was in some respects controlled by the Dutch general, Prince Waldeck. The odds were against the allies, for not only were they outnumbered by the French, but they were opposed to a general whose very name gave confidence to his men, and whose skill ought to have inspired them with caution. It was on the morning of the 11th of May that the allies advanced to give battle. The French, it is said, were astonished that an enemy so inferior in numbers should attack them in a position so apparently unassailable. But on they came with bold intrepidity. And had they all been British troops the French would assuredly have been beaten. The duke of Cumberland with the British and Hanoverians advanced against the left of the French, and the Dutch General Waldeck against the right, to attack Fontenoy and Antoine. A detachment under General Ingoldsby was sent to clear the wood and carry a redoubt a little beyond it. The duke, however, was soon left to fight the battle alone with the English and Hanoverians. Finding the wood occupied by detachments of sharpshooters, Ingoldsby returned for fresh orders, and Prince Waldeck and the Dutch, after suffering severely in their first assault from the French batteries, retired to some distance from the field, and remained passive spectators of the fight. As for the Austrian horse, from the rugged nature of the ground they were not of the slightest service. Thus unaided, and being exposed to a cross fire from the right and left of the French, the duke resolved on the daring attempt to push on betwixt them towards the French centre. It was a movement of a similar character to the celebrated charge of the heroes of Balaklava. Formed in one dense and solid column, and dragging their artillery with them, the English passed between the French batteries, which swept away whole files of them in their passage. But these passed, nothing could resist them. As the guards of the rival nations approached each other there was a pause of politeness. There were even salutations made and returned. "Fire first, gentlemen of the French guards!" exclaimed the English officers. "Nay, fire you first, Messieurs!" replied the French. And the British did fire, and that with fatal effect. The French officers fell thick, and their troops became disordered. The French foot and the firm Swiss guards were swept away. The duke had triumphed over the left of the French position; but when they looked to the right they could see nothing of their Dutch allies. They stood alone as victors in the field. But the battle was not yet over. As they stood they were charged again and again by masses of French cavalry, but these charges were wasted upon them. With the view of taking Fontenoy in the rear, and cutting off the French from their bridge across the Scheldt, the British and Hanoverians pressed forward. The French were panic-struck. Old Marshal Saxe began to despair, and to give orders for a retreat. If the Dutch had moved to their aid, or the smallest aid of cavalry had been given at this moment, the victory would have been secured to the English. Louis and his son were advised to take refuge in flight, but they still remained in the field. But what could be done? The columns of the British remained unbroken; the French had failed to break them, and although they saw victory before them, they dared not of themselves break them to snatch it. What was to be done? Saxe, himself bewildered by this unexpected turn in the battle, could not tell, but Lally, who commanded the Irish brigade, composed of Catholic exiles, came to the rescue. Seeing the immobility of the English, he exclaimed, "Why not bring the cannon of the reserve to bear upon them!" This was a fatal suggestion to the hitherto victorious English. The ground they occupied between the wood and Fontenoy was hollow and narrow, and while in this condition, Saxe, who approved of Lally's suggestion, ordered four pieces of cannon to play upon them, and by enfilading the column fearful breaches were made in it. Then it was that the tide of victory was turned. The Irish brigade rushed against their English brethren, and the French rallied and returned to the attack, and soon all was over. Defeated in its turn, the almost victorious column was compelled to retreat in disorder, leaving the field, dearly purchased, in the hands of the French. The pursuit of the French was checked by the cavalry of the allies, and being joined by the cowardly Dutch, the remnant of the army retreated to the strong walls of Ath. In this battle the British and Hanoverians lost about six thousand, and the French about seven thousand men.

Austria and Prussia were still in arms. Lord Harrington, who went to Hanover with the king, endeavoured to mediate a peace between them, but in vain. Frederick scorned to treat until he could do so as a victor. And his arms having been victorious, the war in Germany was over, for by a treaty concluded at Dresden, Maria Theresa, on condition that Frederick acknowledged her husband as emperor, ceded Silesia to the conqueror, and he returned to Berlin to enjoy his triumphs.

But while peace was restored to Germany, the flames of a more fatal war were lighted up in King George's British dominions. After the dispersion of the French invasion by a storm in 1744, the young Pretender lived in seclusion in France. But his final resolution is thus expressed in a letter written in June to his father at Rome:—"I believe your majesty little expected a courier from me at this time, and much less from me to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the crown and them to their liberties. After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged in honour, and for my own reputation, to have flung myself in the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is, a horse that is to be sold, if spurred he does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him, even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if after such usage all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your majesty cannot disapprove of your son following the example of his father." All that Charles could do was to borrow 180,000 livres, and to send to Rome for his jewels, that he might pawn them. Even Spain would no longer favour the cause of the Stuarts. Application was made to the court of Madrid, but it was fruitless: Spain had neither money nor troops to spare for the adventure. The Highlanders had given Charles Edward to understand that it would be useless for him to unfurl his banner in Scotland unless he brought with him at least 6000 disciplined troops, 10,000 stand of arms, and a good supply of money. But having taken his resolve, he left Paris and repaired to the Chateau de Navarre, near Evreux, on the coast of Normandy. This chateau belonged to the Duke de Bouillon, one of his warmest friends, with whom, and some few Irish and Scottish adventurers, he made his arrangements. He had written to his friends in Scotland, to inform them that he should be with them in the middle of June, but there was a difficulty in obtaining shipping for his voyage. At length, however, on the 14th of July he sailed in a fast-sailing brig called the Dontelle, which had recently been employed as a privateer against the English. Off Belleisle he was joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war mounted with sixty guns, as his convoy. It is related that his person was unknown to the crews of these ships; but as he was surrounded by some Jacobite friends in the Dontelle, and as the Elizabeth had one hundred officers on board to aid in the enterprise, it is difficult to conceive that they were altogether ignorant of his person. The design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland, but on the fourth day of their voyage they were encountered by the Lion, a British ship carrying fifty-eight guns, under the command of the brave Captain Brett. There was a desperate sea-fight, in the midst of which the Dontelle hauled off, leaving the Elizabeth to sustain the combat single-handed. The fight continued for several hours, and it was not till both ships were disabled that it ceased. Unable to pursue her voyage, the Elizabeth with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest, and the Lion was so shattered that it floated like a wreck upon the water. Meanwhile, the Dontelle pursued her original course, and after narrowly escaping another encounter by an English ship of superior force, Charles Edward landed on the islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist, two of the Hebrides. As they approached the rocky shore, an eagle hovered over their ship, as if watching the unwonted disturbance of those solitary regions; on seeing which, Lord Tullibardine, one of the adventurers, exclaimed: "Here is the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness to Scotland."

But if the king of birds welcomed Charles Edward, the Highland chiefs were for some time chary of their welcome. He brought no forces with him, and but very little money, and they were afraid of throwing up their bonnets in his favour. Macdonald of Boisdale, uncle and chief adviser of Macdonald of Clanronald, the lord of those islands, was the first to whom he applied. Charles wanted him to engage his nephew, who was deeply pledged to the Jacobite cause, in his enterprise, but the old Jacobite seeing only one ship flatly refused. He looked upon Charles Edward as little better than a madman, and earnestly advised him to return home, and not attempt to raise an insurrection unless he could command better means. But Charles Edward would not go back: Scotland, he said, was his home, and he relied on his faithful Highlanders. Again he put to sea, and came to anchor in the bay of Lochnannagh, between the district of Moidart and Arasaig. Macdonald of Clanronald was at Moidart, and he presently came on board at the summons of Charles Edward. With him also came Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, and several of his clan. All these took the same view of the enterprise as Macdonald of Boisdale. For three hours they argued against his project, but the prince was resolute. He entreated and implored, and he appealed to their warlike pride, their loyalty to the House of Stuart, and their hatred of the House of Hanover. But still he failed to move them. Without support from abroad it would be madness to take up arms. This was their grand argument. But there was one standing by listening to their debate, who, by his looks and gestures, showed that he at least was willing to engage in the enterprise. This was Ronald Macdonald, a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, who, on being appealed to by Charles Edward, exclaimed that if no one else in the Highlands would assist him, he would to the death. Young Ronald's enthusiasm was infectious. Without further deliberation, the two Macdonalds swore that they would join him, and would endeavour to engage every one who wore a tartan to espouse his cause.

In combating the objections of Macdonald of Boisdale, Charles Edward had assured him that Macdonald of Sleat and the laird of Macleod—two powerful chiefs in the isle of Skye, each of whom could raise more than his thousand followers—would readily join his standard. He wanted him to go as his ambassador to these chiefs; but the old Jacobite told him plainly that it was no use, for both had declared that if the prince should come, they would not join him unless he brought with him a strong body of foreign troops. And this was strict truth. On the 3rd of August Macleod wrote to Duncan Forbes, the lord president, telling him that "the pretended prince of Wales" was come on the coast with a few followers to raise all the Highlands, and assuring him that Sir Alexander Macdonald and himself would give no countenance to the movement, and would use all the interest they had with their neighbours to follow the same prudent course. Macleod added that Macdonald of Clanronald had just been with them, and had given them all possible assurances of his prudence. We have seen that Clanronald's prudence was undermined by the enthusiasm excited by Ronald's declaration that he at least would support Charles Edward. After this he became one of his warmest adherents. He went on a mission to Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod in the Isle of Skye, but these cautious chiefs still maintained that he ought not to have come without troops, arms, and money. They owned they had engaged to aid him, but it was only on those conditions, and as he had not fulfilled his engagements, they held that they were not bound to fulfil theirs. But Charles Edward was more successful with Cameron of Lochiel. Having landed with a train consisting of only seven persons—the marquis of Tullibardine, his old tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman, Eneas Macdonald, a brother to Kinloch Moidart, and Buchanan, who had been employed as a messenger between Paris and Rome—he took up his residence at the farmhouse of Borowdale, from whence he sent letters and messengers to almost every clan in the Highlands. Cameron of Lochiel was one of those to whom he sent a summons, and he resolved to obey it. He had been one of the associates who were in correspondence with the Pretender before the expedition from Dunkirk in the previous year, which had ended so disastrously. But although he obeyed the summons, when he set out he had no intention of joining in the enterprise. On the contrary, he was resolved, like the Macdonalds, to dissuade him from the enterprise and advise him to return to France. On his way to Borowdale his brother had advised him to send his sentiments in writing to Charles Edward, warning him that if the prince set eyes upon him he would make him do whatever he pleased. But Lochiel pursued his way with a full determination to resist Charles Edward's fascinations. His sword was a potent one, and he would not draw it in a cause so hopelessly forlorn. And so he plainly told Charles Edward, and for a time he was firm in his determination; but when the young prince solemnly declared that he would put all to the hazard, and that in a few days, with the few friends he had, he would erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart had come over to claim the crown of his ancestors or perish in the attempt, adding, that Cameron of Lochiel, whom his father had told him was true to his cause, might go home and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince, the chieftain's firmness gave way. As Charles ceased, he exclaimed: "No, I will share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power." It was on this interview with Lochiel that peace or war depended, for if he had persisted in his original intention, Charles Edward must have returned to France without striking a single blow for the throne of his ancestors.

Lochiel returned to his clan and despatched messengers to every Cameron, calling them to battle. They were to meet at Glenfinnan, a valley on the border. On the day appointed Charles Edward and his friends repaired to the general rendezvous of the clans at Glenfinnan. On his arrival the glen wore its usual aspect. Not a soul was to be seen, and not a sound was heard to indicate the storm of war. For two long hours in a shepherd's hut the Pretender sat waiting and listening; but at length the bagpipes were heard from the hills, and in a few minutes the Camerons were seen descending in martial array to join their prince. Before evening fifteen hundred Highlanders were assembled round the standard of red silk, with a white space in the centre, which Charles now first unfolded.

The rebellion was now fairly begun. By the manifesto of James, King George was declared to be a usurper. It called upon officers and soldiers to desert their colours and violate their oaths, since they could not but be sensible that no engagement entered into with a foreign usurper could dispense with the allegiance they owed to their natural sovereign. From the time Charles Edward embarked on board the Dontelle, to the unfurling of his standard at Glenfinnan, he had endeavoured to conceal his intentions from the British government. But he now no longer desired secrecy. It was on the 20th of August that the Highlanders began their march southwards. They were a mixed company of Camerons, Macdonalds, and Macleods; for some of the latter disclaimed their chieftain as a traitor and coward, and enrolled themselves under the banner of Charles Edward. As they marched along their forces gathered strength. They were joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, Stuart of Appin, and the younger Glengarry, each of whom brought followers amounting in the aggregate to five hundred and fifty men. The young Pretender was elated. He had now nearly two thousand men—brave and enthusiastic in his cause—and as he advanced, he had an assured hope that his army would gather and grow like a snow-ball set in motion.

Meanwhile government, which had at first been incredulous about this invasion, began to awake from its dream of security. When Charles Edward landed in Scotland, George II. was in Germany, and his government was carried on by a regency, and it was some time before its members could be made to believe that there was any danger. Bishop Forbes had written to the marquis of Tweeddale, the Scotch secretary of state in London, informing him of Charles Edward's arrival in the Highlands; and Tweeddale wrote in reply that he was not at all alarmed at the circumstance, for he considered it a rash and desperate attempt, that could have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it. Notwithstanding, Tweeddale deemed it necessary that some measures should be taken to nip the rebellion while yet it was in its bud. At this time there were less than three thousand troops in Scotland, of which number not more than about half were available to oppose the hostile clans. The commander-in-chief of these troops was Sir John Cope, an officer of the routine school, and ill-fitted for command in any great emergency. But if Cope was not prepared with a sufficient force when the hour of danger had arrived it was not his fault. He had written repeatedly during the month of July and the early part of August to the marquis of Tweeddale, respecting the necessity of providing against a rebellion, but in vain. Tweeddale did not want to do anything during the absence of his majesty. During the latter month, however, he found that he was compelled to take some steps. When he discovered that Charles Edward had really appeared in the Highlands, he wrote to Sir John Cope to urge him to be on the alert, and finally sent down express orders for him to march forthwith. Money, also, was forwarded to him, and other sums were placed at the disposal of Lord Milton, for procuring intelligence, and for other services necessary at this juncture. The regency also published a proclamation, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person or persons who should seize and secure Charles Edward; and the justice clerk of Scotland was authorized to issue proper warrants for seizing persons suspected of favouring his cause, without waiting for direct orders from London. Tweeddale expressed a hope that if Sir John Cope should speedily obey the orders he had received, there would soon be an end of the affair, but Sir John really could not obey them speedily. He hastened his preparations, and resolved to march his troops into the heart of the Highlands, and fight the rebels wherever he could find them, but he could gain no knowledge either of their whereabouts or their numbers. He sent out intelligent officers in various directions, but he could gain no tidings of the rebels on which he could rely. He marched on the 20th of August from Stirling to Crieff, where he expected hundreds would join him, but not one joined his standard. Cope intended to proceed to Fort Augustus, and he marched forward from Crieff to Dalnacardach. It was here that he first gained any certain intelligence of the movements of the rebels. He was met at Dalnacardach by Captain Sweltenham, whom Charles Edward had released on his parole, and sent with a message to Cope, that he was come to give him battle. Sweltenham informed him that when he left Glenfinnan, the rebels were only about fourteen hundred strong, but he had met numbers on the road going to join them, and that he had since heard that they now mustered three thousand men. Cope's orders were to march to Fort Augustus by Corriariac, a stupendous mountain, over which there was an alpine road ascending on the south side by seventeen traverses, and descending on the north to the valleys below by other traverses, and across deep glens and chasms and mountain torrents, over which narrow bridges were the only passage. But a few Highlanders could have barred Cope's way over this alpine road, and at the foot of the mountain there *were* three thousand. Charles Edward was there waiting to give him battle. Cope was a stickler for orders, and had he not been overruled by his officers in a council of war, he would have led his troops forward to destruction. But which way was he to turn? His wisdom would have been to have returned back to Stirling, and so to have covered Edinburgh; but instead of this he resolved to march for Inverness and Fort George, another of the three forts stretching from east to west, which had been erected for the express purpose of curbing the Highlanders. The forces of the Pretender had been increased on his road from Corriariac to Perth. Some of the minor clans, as that of the Grants of Glenmoristen, came to his aid, being partly induced by their affection to the House of Stuart, but chiefly by the hope of plunder in the south. At Blair Castle, also, of which Tullibardine the Jacobite duke of Atholl took repossession, after an exile of more than twenty years, several Highland gentlemen with their followers joined his standard. Tullibardine became the host of his prince in his ancient castle for two days, and he fancied that it was his own again. He summoned the tenantry of the Whig duke of Atholl, who had fled at his approach, to repair to the Stuart banner, threatening them with vengeance if they disobeyed, and they too joined Charles Edward. Yet when he entered Perth he was in a beggared condition. It is said that he had but one louis-d'or in his pocket. But he had entered on the borders of a land of wealth, and he did not despair of replenishing his treasury. As he showed his last dollar to Kelly, a nonjuring parson, he gaily remarked that he should soon get more cash. And so he did. While at Perth, the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, under the title of King James VIII.; and as king he was deemed to be entitled to the public revenues. Accordingly, all that could be found was seized as lawful prize, and duties and taxes due to the government, which it was imagined had now changed hands, were levied with considerable vigour. Added to this, Charles Edward, while he remained at Perth, received voluntary donations or loans from Jacobites at Edinburgh and other places, which he promised to repay when his work of conquest was fully completed. But there was little at Perth to excite his hopes. While there he was joined by James Drummond, styled duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray, but neither of these were of any great service to his cause. According to Horace Walpole, Perth was "a silly race-horseing boy," and he appears to have been inexperienced; while Murray, who had seen something of war, and was a man of ability, although at first entrusted with a high place in council and in military arrangements, was too plain speaking for Charles Edward. Murray could not frame his mouth to speak the language which hereditary right claimed as its absolute due, and even rebuked the prince when he uttered the antiquated sentiments of the seventeenth century, and therefore he soon became an object of suspicion. In truth, before the rebel camp broke up from Perth, faction had crept into it, which augured ill for its ultimate triumph. But for the present the breaches were healed, and Charles Edward marched forward to obtain his great prize in Scotland—its capital—Edinburgh.

It was on the 11th of September that the rebels renewed their march southwards. Charles Edward had scarcely left it when he was joined by Macgregor of Glenquille with two hundred and fifty of his clan, and by Macdonald with sixty Macdonalds. On reaching Dumblane he learned that Cope was returning with all haste from his quixotic march to Inverness for the defence of Edinburgh. Leaving Dumblane, therefore, he crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew, about eight miles westward of Stirling. Colonel Gardiner was there with a body of dragoons, but he left the passage undisputed and retired towards Leith. His march forward was unopposed. One or two cannon shots were fired at him as he passed Stirling Castle, but this was the only sign of hostility he encountered. This was on the 14th of September, on the evening of which he took up his quarters at Callendar House near Falkirk. Here he received the adhesion of the earl of Kilmarnock, the first Lowland man of rank who joined his banner. Continuing his march, on the 15th of September Charles Edward reached Linlithgow, about sixteen miles from Edinburgh. Cope was still on his road from Inverness, and the city was almost defenceless; and, what was worse, there was a division in the municipal councils of the Scottish capital. Some were for surrendering without fighting, while others were for organizing a vigorous resistance. But resistance would have been useless. The agile Highlanders could easily have clambered over its old walls, and when once over there would have been no force to resist such hardy warriors. All that could be mustered for the defence of the city was about eleven hundred men, two thirds of whom were rapidly-embodied volunteers. Of these latter Sir Walter Scott remarks: "Many doubtless were gallant young men—students from the university and so forth—but by far the greater part were citizens, at an age unfit to take up arms without previous habit and experience. They had religious zeal and political enthusiasm to animate them; but these, though they make a prodigious addition to the effect of discipline, cannot supply its place." It was on Monday the 16th of September that Charles Edward approached Edinburgh. He had sent a message before him that if the citizens received him peaceably all would be well; if not, they must make up their minds to undergo military execution. On came the Highlanders, and the bold dragoons retreated before them—both the advanced post and the main body under Colonel Gardiner. They galloped through the north part of the town towards Leith, nor did they stop till they came to Preston Pans, six miles beyond the latter town. The Edinburgh loyalists were now left to their own wretched means of defence. Divided by faction and distracted by fear, they knew not what to do. Their houses were high and strongly built of stone, and as their streets were narrow, they might have easily defended Edinburgh, even if their walls could not keep out the Highlanders. But no one thought of this, or if they did, such a mode of defence was not adopted. Indeed they made no defence at all. As Charles Edward neared the city, a formal summons to surrender was made, accompanied by a second threat of military execution if the summons was not obeyed. About the same time a messenger arrived with the news that General Cope, who had embarked his troops at Aberdeen, was in sight of Dunbar, and would speedily land for the relief of Edinburgh. Time, therefore, only was wanting, and the city might yet be saved from the "heathenish Highlanders." To that end the magistrates resolved to amuse Charles Edward with negotiations. A deputation was sent to the rebel camp to offer terms of capitulation. They were rejected; an unconditional surrender was demanded. A second deputation was sent to entreat for delay, but they obtained no hearing. This deputation was sent out of the city at two o'clock on the morning of the 17th, and day had now broke when they returned to tell their tale. They returned in their coach with heavy hearts, and were set down in the High Street, and as the Canongate was opened to allow the coachman to lead his horses to their stables in the suburbs—then separated from the town—Cameron of Lochiel and a party of Highlanders, who were waiting in ambush, rushed in, and Edinburgh was won. Having gained an entrance, the rest of the work was accomplished with ease. All the guards and sentinels on duty were made prisoners, and the Highlanders took possession of the city as quietly as one guard relieves another. Charles Edward entered it in triumph, and took up his residence in the royal palace of Holyrood, and "amidst the antique pomp of heralds and pursuivants, King James VIII. was proclaimed at the High Cross of Edinburgh."

The proclamation of King James was received with mingled feelings. Some of the mob huzzaed, and Jacobite ladies waved white handkerchiefs from the windows; but there were few gentlemen among those who greeted his accession, and many of the poorer classes kept silence. That night Holyrood House, so long deserted, was a scene of great festivity. Prince Charles gave a ball, and as he was an excellent dancer—almost the only accomplishment he possessed—the young Jacobite ladies were delighted with him. But Charles was called upon to fight before he could long indulge himself with the company of the Jacobite ladies. While these scenes were being transacted at Edinburgh, Cope was landing at Dunbar. By the 18th of September he had completed the debarkation of his troops; and being joined by the dragoons who had run away from Colt's bridge, on the following day he marched towards Edinburgh. Hume says that his little army made a great show, the cavalry, infantry, cannon, and baggage carts extending several miles along the road. With his usual fatality, Sir John Cope chose the very worst road he could have taken. Scott says: "He well knew that the high road from Edinburgh to the south lies along the coast; and it seems never to have occurred to him that it was possible the Highlanders might choose, even by preference, to cross the country and occupy the heights, at the bottom of which the public road takes its course, and thus have him and his army so far at their mercy, that they might avoid or bring on a battle at their pleasure. On the contrary, Sir John trusted that their Highland courtesy would induce them, if they moved from Edinburgh, to come by the very road on which he was advancing towards that city, and thus meet him on equal terms." In two days Cope reached the village of Preston, where he learnt that the prince had marched from Edinburgh to encounter him. The rebels were in full march towards him, not by the road and open country to the west, as Cope had expected, but by the ridge of the hills to the south. The English general, however, thought that the plain he had entered between Seaton and Preston was favourable for a battle-field, and he pushed forward to Preston Pans, where he awaited the attack. The great difficulty of the Highlanders was to get through the morass so as to attack the enemy in front. In the course of the evening, when the two forces confronted each other, there were various movements made in each army, but Cope clung to the supposed advantage of his position. Doubts were expressed as to the prudence of his troops being thus shut up, while the agile Highlanders could move freely about, watching for any opportune advantage; but still it was concluded that while the morass lay between them there was no danger. At nightfall it was determined by a council of war, held in the camp of Charles, that at daybreak an attack should be made from a field below the east of Tranent, and his army moved into this position. He had no intention of attempting to cross the morass under cover of the night, and if he had, it would have been an act of madness. Pickets of the royal army guarded it, fires were lighted, and all seemed safe. With the exception of the pickets, all gave themselves up to repose. Both armies wrapped themselves in slumber. The Highlanders lay down in their plaids, and Charles Edward and his chiefs reposed in a field of peas. But before the morning came they were up and doing. A proprietor named Anderson was brought to the pea-field, who offered to show the Pretender and his chiefs a more practicable way through the morass than their present position offered. He knew that way well. He had often crossed it when hunting, and he was ready to lead the way over it. Another council of war was held, and the plan laid down by this traitor to the House of Hanover was adopted. The Highlanders were awakened from their slumbers, and in the grey dawn of the early morning, concealed by a frosty mist, they successfully crossed the morass, marched northwards towards the sea, and then formed in line. There was a broad field of stubble—for the harvest had been gathered in—between the two armies, over which the Highlanders, with feet protected by shoes exacted from the citizens of Edinburgh, rushed with their wonted agility towards the enemy. The sun had then dispersed the mist, and the disciplined horse and foot stood before them in their firm ranks, their arms glittering in the morning rays, and their cannon threatening them with swift destruction. But no time was given for the cannon's roar. Swift as lightning the half-naked and terrible Highlanders rushed on, fired, cast away their muskets, and then threw themselves sword and scythes in hand upon both cavalry and foot of the royal army. Neither could withstand the fierce onslaught. The Highlanders had been instructed to cut at the noses of the horses, by which singular manœuvre the cavalry were thrown into confusion. As for the cannon, they were abandoned at the first rush of the Highlanders, so that that weapon which they had most dreaded was the least to be feared. Neither horse nor foot made any determined stand against their enemies. Hume says that none of the soldiers loaded their pieces a second time, and that not a single bayonet was stained with blood. The slaughter among the king's troops was terrible, and eighty officers were taken prisoners. With but one exception, all the king's officers acted with the greatest cowardice. This was Colonel Gardiner, who had recently been promoted from a well-disciplined regiment, the Scots Greys, of which he was second in command, to be colonel of a dragoon regiment newly raised, which may account for their various retreats from the enemy. Gardiner, who appears to have been as pious as he was brave, had a mansion close by the field of battle; and Dr. Doddridge thus records his conduct in the action and his death. He says: "The colonel at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast; but he said it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in the thigh. He saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to lead them; upon which he said, eagerly, in the hearing of the persons from whom I had this account: 'These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;' which, while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out: 'Fire on my lads, and fear nothing.' But just as these words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him so dreadful a wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time, several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broad-sword or a Lochaber axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw further at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand and waved it as a signal for him to retreat, and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, 'Take care of yourself.'" Early in the action, Sir John Cope had taken care of *himself* by galloping off as fast as he could, with the earls of Howe and Loudon, and about four hundred and fifty dragoons, by Soultra Hill and Lauder to the banks of the Tweed at Coldstream, where he halted. About one hundred of the foot soldiers escaped and got safe to Edinburgh Castle, while nearly an equal number fled to Berwick. Charles Edward was triumphant. He had not taken any part in the conflict—for personally he was far from being brave—nor does he appear to have taken any credit for the victory, for when a Scottish chaplain in the Highland army offered his congratulations, he replied: "Sir, the Highlanders have done it all." All the cannon, tents, baggage, and the military chest of the royal army, fell into the hands of the victors. The booty of the field of Preston, indeed, was so great that the Highlanders longed to return home with their spoils, without any more fighting; and many of them did escape the vigilance of their leaders and return to their mountains. For the clansmen were not as a body so disinterested as many of their leaders, who hazarded treason and death in obedience to what they considered the indefeasible nature of hereditary claims—

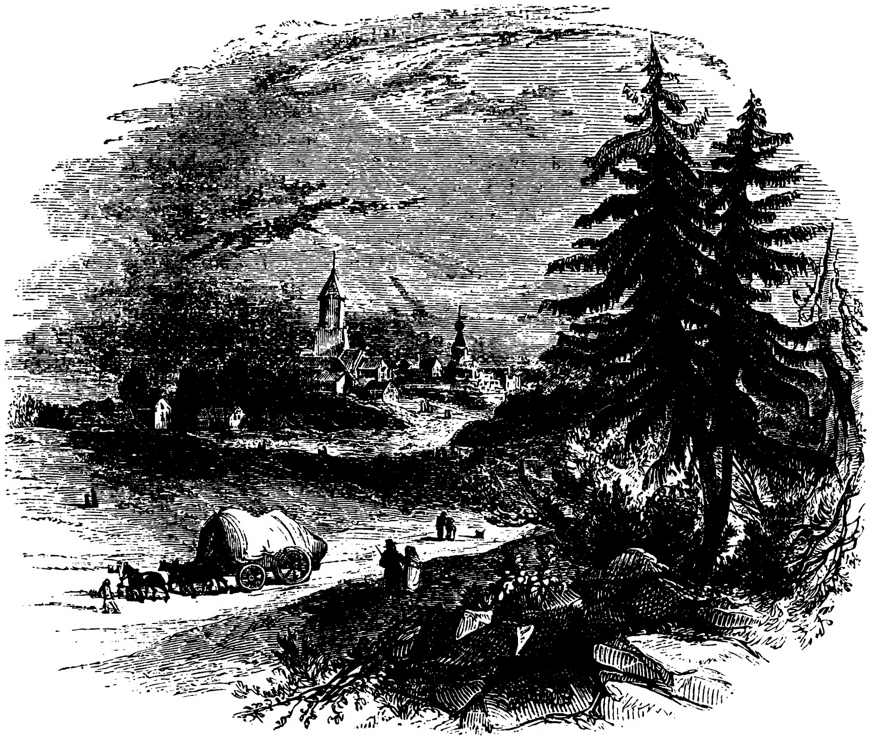
> "His right are those hills, and his right are these valleys."

Charles Edward slept on the night of the battle at Pinkie House, and on the next day he returned to Edinburgh with exulting followers, but with a diminished army. It is said that only thirty-four Highlanders had been slain in the battle of Preston Pans; but at a review a few days after the young Pretender had returned to Holyrood House, which he entered as the pibrochs were playing,

> "The king shall have his own again,"

not more that fourteen hundred Highlanders answered to the roll-call. The greater part of those who were missing had returned home with the fruits of their "liftings" and the spoils they had taken at Preston Pans.

But notwithstanding these desertions, Charles Edward was receiving fresh forces at Edinburgh, from the mountains, and that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands; but there was an ominous gathering of strength in England, to fight against him. Yet there was great fear and consternation throughout the country, and especially in London; but King George on his arrival from the Continent was not so greatly alarmed. He thought that Sir John Cope—Johnnie Cope, as he is called in Scotland—would be more than a match for Charles Edward; and then that the six thousand Dutch, and ten battalions of English would certainly be more than sufficient. But George was confounded by the opposing views of the politicians by whom he was surrounded; for men were base enough in this hour of real danger to manœuvre for place and favour, by which the one great object which all parties ought to have had in view, the crushing out of the rebellion, was far too long neglected. From the first, however, preparations were made to keep out the French and Spanish invaders, for the Channel was well guarded by men of war; and privateers, cutters, and even fishing-boats swarmed round the coasts, to guard the country from invaders. And good service was done by the English sailors, who proved themselves to be as brave as the dragoons of Preston Pans were cowardly. Several French and Spanish vessels with money, arms, and small bodies of troops, sailing to Scotland, were either captured or beaten back to their own shores, so that both France and Spain were kept in awe by our bold marines. It is related that Louis XV. designed sending the young Pretender's brother, who was styled the duke of York, with several regiments, among which was his famous Irish brigade, to Scotland; but although Charles Edward urged the expedition, it never sailed. All the aid he received was chiefly arms and money, carried to Scotland by small vessels that now and then successfully evaded the vigilance of cruisers.

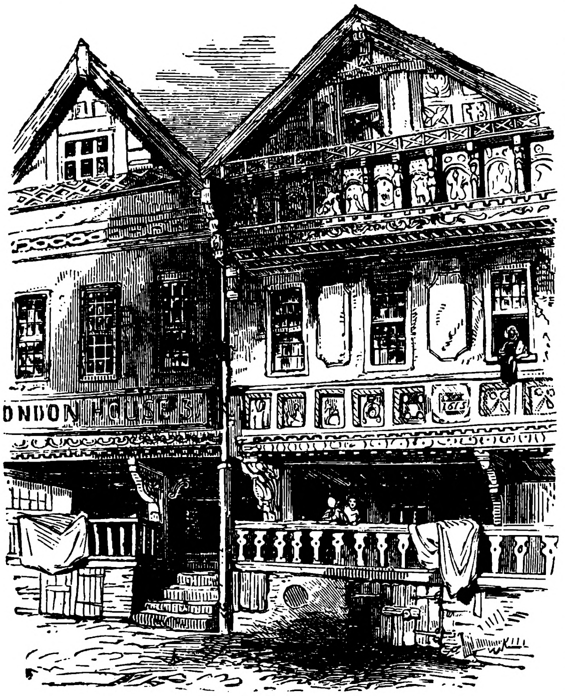


FALKIRK

Charles Edward had need of all the troops he got, and more, for the spirit of fear which had ruled in the south gave way to an outburst of patriotism, some really genuine and some mixed with selfish motives. Among the true patriots the merchants of London may be numbered, for they raised a subscription of 250,000*l.*, to be spent in troops for the defence of the country. But among the patriots, Doctor Herring, the archbishop of York, was on this occasion the most conspicuous. Herring was a man of gentle nature; but when the news arrived at York of Cope's defeat, his warlike ardour was aroused. Imitating his predecessors in the earlier ages, he assembled the leading men of his county, and harangued them with such eloquence, that under his auspices bodies of horse and foot were raised with remarkable celerity; and, as Horace Walpole remarks, not one gentleman in Yorkshire "thought of making a profitable job out of his courage and patriotism." The brave archbishop was personally present at review and muster, and constantly asserted that he would, when needed, go out and fight with the patriotic Yorkshiremen. Nor was this the only effect of the gentle bishop's exertions on behalf of the House of Hanover, and, as a natural consequence, of the cause of Protestantism. For this was still the question. It was the old, old story, which ought long ago to have been ended, whether the government of England should be papistical or Protestant. Incited by the example of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire, whose patriotism was called into existence by the fervid eloquence of Archbishop Herring, those of Lancashire and Chester banded together in the same true spirit of patriotism, and its noble flame extended even to Surrey, and to other counties in a more southward direction. But as before intimated, there were quasi-patriots, men who while they professed to be zealous for "their country's cause" sought their own individual interest and that of their family connections. These were "great lords"—the dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland,

and Montague; the Lords Herbert, Halifax, Monmouth, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and four others, who, to their shame be it recorded, professed to raise regiments at their own expense, but Whig magnates as they were, not only meant to be paid for their outlay, but desired to have their own relations and dependants as officers in their regiments at the expense of government.

It was under these varied circumstances that on the 18th of October parliament assembled. King George of course announced in form that an unnatural rebellion had broken out in his dominions. The nation, he said, and that truly, was exposed to the dangers of popery and arbitrary power. There were but few Scotch members present, for nominally the Union was dissolved. The power of Charles Edward was for a time all-potent in Scotland. He had threatened that if any of the Scots should attend this parliament their estates should be confiscated, and as they were at the positive mercy of the Highlanders, they dared not take their seats. The bold invader even threatened to treat as traitors all the English members that might meet at Westminster—a threat which inspirited the Jacobite members, who had probably been secretly instructed to attend, but which roused the ire of the loyal supporters of the House of Hanover. The King craved the advice and assistance of his parliament to crush the rebellion, and in both Houses he found great zeal and attachment to his person and his government. The Jacobite members opposed the address, and offered many obstructions to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but they were too weak to venture upon a division.



STREET IN CHESTER

In the mean time solid preparations were made to resist Charles Edward. Troops—Dutch, Danes, and the veteran English, from Flanders, came over, and the duke of Cumberland arrived in England to take the chief command. The duke, with the flower of that brave army which had fought so valiantly at Fontenoy, took up his quarters in the centre of England, about Lichfield and Coventry, while old Marshal Wade marched forward to the more northern counties. It was time that these movements were made, for Charles Edward had set his face towards London.

The intention of the Pretender to cross the Border was formed immediately after his victory at Preston Pans. A person named Hickson was commissioned to repair forthwith to England, to give intelligence to his friends of his great success, and to assure them it was his intention to move towards them in a few days. It was, however, nearly six weeks before he carried his intention into effect. Meanwhile in the midst of his dalliance with the Jacobite ladies of Edinburgh, he was busied in making preparations for his advance. Among his first acts, after his victory at Preston Pans, was to have his father proclaimed in almost every town in Scotland. In the Lowlands, however, the people lent no willing ear to his proclamations. There was no resistance; but still they exhibited but few signs of approval. In truth, while at Edinburgh, Charles Edward was not free from enemies. The castle and its garrison still defied his power. He was very desirous of obtaining possession of the castle, not merely as a place of defence in case of need, but because the banking companies had deposited their money within its walls. At one time he was in hopes that it would be put into his hands by the treachery of some of its garrison, but he found no traitors there. Thus disappointed, he cut off the supplies of the garrison by a blockade; but the brave old General Guest threatened to bombard the city if he did not withdraw his troops; and as this was not done, and the Highlanders fired at some people who were carrying provisions up the Castle Hill, he put his threat into execution. Several of the Highlanders and some of the inhabitants were killed or wounded; and Charles was compelled to revoke the order, "which made it death to carry provisions to the castle." It is said that the order was given out of compassion to the people; but it would appear that it was as much from fear of the consequences of this bombardment to his own troops, for if it had continued, and if Guest had fired with ball instead of round shot, he would have made Edinburgh too hot to hold the Highlanders. As the news of his victory reached that part of Scotland which lies nearest to the Highlands, many of the nobility and gentry, with their followers, came to his aid. Thither came Lord Ogilvie, son of the earl of Airlie, and Gordon of Glenbucket, each with four hundred men; and thither came Lord Pitsligo with six companies of infantry, and others from Aberdeen and Banff, with followers well armed and mounted. The adhesion of Lord Pitsligo was of great service to the young Pretender, for he was known to be prudent and cautious; and it was conceived that as he had so readily joined the cause, it was good in itself and promised to be prosperous in its issue. Hence, many who would otherwise have stayed at home followed his example, and joined Charles Edward at Edinburgh. But there were others whom the young Pretender was most anxious to range under his banners, who, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties by special messengers, still refused to gather together their clansmen. These were those powerful island chiefs, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod, and the still more powerful nobleman, Lord Lovat. But while this latter nobleman refused openly to take up arms in favour of the House of Stuart, and constantly expressed to Duncan Forbes his attachment to the House of Hanover, he covertly allowed his clansmen to join his son-in-law, Macpherson of Clunie, to aid Charles. His oldest son "also, losing all fear of God and of his father," carried off his vassals from the allegiance of King George to aid "the false prince;" and he very devoutly wished that every fifth man of them were hanged, and that all of them were seized and severely punished for their treachery. But Lord Lovat was biding his time. As yet he could not see his way clear to join the rebellion. Moreover he was watched by the great Whig lords of the Highlands, as Duncan Forbes and Lord Loudon, whose clansmen were in arms for King George. It was his interest to deceive these noblemen, for had they even suspected his loyalty to the House of Hanover, at the word of either of them he would have been placed under arrest. Charles, having no fear of danger in his rear, and having at length collected about five thousand men under his standard, and obtained some cannon from Louis XV., together with five thousand stand of arms, on the last day of October, 1745, left Holyrood House, and set forward for England, leaving Lord Strathallan to command in Scotland during his absence.

According to the chevalier de Johnstone, his march into England was not regarded with any great favour by the Highland chiefs. He says that he was told by some that it was ridiculous to invade England with such a handful of men; and by others, that they had taken up arms to seat him on the throne of Scotland, but wished to have nothing to do with England. But he overruled all their objections. Had he not issued a proclamation, promising in the name of Almighty God, and upon the faith of a Christian and the honour of a prince, liberty of conscience, and to England, Scotland, and Ireland, the enjoyment of the religions, or forms of worship, at present established in those countries respectively, and also full security of property of all kinds? Had he not also, by another proclamation, denounced the pretended parliament of the elector of Hanover? Moreover, had he not received a fresh assurance from the French king, by a special envoy, who brought a letter of congratulation, penned by his own royal hand, that a powerful diversion in his favour would be made on the southern coast of Britain? But, above all, Charles was sanguine that after he had crossed the Border there would be a great insurrectionary movement in his favour.

It was on the 6th day of November that Charles Edward first set his foot on English ground. On his march he had been joined by Macpherson of Clunie and Menzies of Sheen, who together brought about nine hundred Highlanders. But in his route small parties from time to time deserted. His army crossed the Border in two divisions, but afterwards united. On the 10th Carlisle was invested. The garrison of Carlisle Castle consisted of only one company of invalids, commanded by Colonel Durand; but the besieged were not wanting in artillery, and within the walls, by which the city was surrounded, there was the militia of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The siege was conducted by the duke of Perth with a small force, Charles Edward having marched forward to Brompton in expectation of giving battle to Wade, who, however, remained at Newcastle. Walpole says that the mayor of Carlisle wrote to the secretary of state that he had fired on the rebels and made them retire; but if this was true, their retirement was only for a brief period, for in three days the town authorities and garrison of Carlisle capitulated. It would appear, indeed, that the Cumberland militiamen did for a time keep up a brisk fire all along the walls, which did but very little execution; but that when they saw the duke of Perth erecting a battery, from whence he threatened to deluge the city with red-hot balls till it was reduced to ashes, the white flag was hung out, and Carlisle was captured without a shot being fired by the rebels. The capture of Carlisle was a matter of great triumph in the rebel camp. It appears, indeed, greatly to have influenced Charles Edward and his council to adhere to their resolution to march towards London. And yet at this time there were circumstances which ought to have made them pause in that resolution. During the siege of Carlisle there had been a violent quarrel between the duke of Perth and Lord George Murray; and as the duke was allowed the honour of signing the capitulation, the strife between them became more violent. Their quarrel was taken up by their followers. Lord George Murray was so incensed that he resigned his commission of lieutenant-general; and then a petition was presented by several officers who took his part, praying Charles not only to reinstate him, but to dismiss all Roman Catholics, of whom the duke of Perth was at the head. This quarrel was healed to some extent by the duke offering to resign his commission as lieutenant-general, and serving as a simple colonel at the head of his regiment; but the jealousies and dissensions to which this quarrel had given rise among the clans were still too bitter to admit of their acting in perfect unison in their future operations. But there were other circumstances more potent than these which ought to have induced Charles to return into Scotland, as some counselled, rather than to have advanced into the heart of England. No longer kept in awe by the Highlanders—although Strathallan, who had been left in command at Perth, had received some reinforcements of considerable importance from the Highlands—the large commercial towns of Scotland were arming for King George. Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries had each raised their militia, and the coward citizens of Edinburgh had returned to their allegiance. Even in Perth itself—the head-quarters of the Jacobite army of reserve—the populace insisted upon celebrating the birthday of King George, which led to a fray between them and their Jacobite garrison. Similar demonstrations took place at Dundee; and added to all this, General Wade had sent two regiments of cavalry to support the forces at Edinburgh, and the earl of Loudon and Duncan Forbes were coming down with their Whig followers from the mountains. Before and behind him, therefore, the Pretender had troops brave as his own, and far greater in number, to encounter. His choice lay between two dangers, and he chose the greater. His command was "Forward!"

Accordingly, on the 20th of November, the Highlanders marched from Carlisle; the main body, commanded by the prince, following shortly after. Two hundred men were left to garrison Carlisle; and the whole force that advanced did not number more than four thousand five hundred men. General Wade had advanced to Hexham to raise the siege of Carlisle, but finding that it was captured, had returned to Newcastle. Charles advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb at the head of his forces, and from thence through Kendal to Preston. It was at Preston that the two divisions of the Highland army united. No forces on this side of the Border joined his standard. Walpole says that the country was so far from rising in his favour, that the towns—which were then mere villages compared with the vast abodes of manufacturing industry at present existing in those localities—were left desolate on his approach, and that the people concealed their effects, even to their pewter. But Manchester, to which town the rebel army next came, was more populous.

Charles entered Manchester on the evening of the 29th of November. A regiment of about two hundred men was collected in that town, which was placed under the command of Colonel Townley. But this regiment was the only one that the young Pretender could raise in England. In every place they passed through, De Johnstone confesses that they found the English people were very ill-disposed towards the Stuarts, *except* at Manchester. There, he says, were illuminations, bonfires, and bell-ringing, for joy at the prince's coming; but it would appear that these signs of popular favour were the effects of compulsion, for the bellmen were sent round the town to order them, and there was no alternative but to comply. The said bellmen, also, were directed to go about the town to require all such as had money to bring it in, so that the Manchester men had to pay for their rejoicings. The young Pretender stayed two days at Manchester, and then marched forward to Macclesfield. But before the rebels proceeded, there was again a council of war held as to whether such a step would be prudent. At that time General Wade was marching through Yorkshire to attack them in the rear; the duke of Cumberland lay in their front with a well-disciplined army of five thousand men, besides some regiments of militia and new levies; and behind the duke there was a third army assembling on the borders of Hertfordshire and Middlesex. The city of Chester, and the important town of Liverpool had also been secured by government, aided by the magistracy and the population; so that as he advanced, Charles Edward, instead of receiving the succours on which he had implicitly relied, found that the opposition to his progress was at every step he took becoming more and more formidable. It was the opinion of the most resolute Highland chiefs that it would be wise to retreat and cut their way back to Scotland through the forces of Wade, if they were encountered by him, rather than advance. But the young prince was resolute in his design to penetrate to London; and Lord George Murray seconded his views, asserting what he must have known was untrue, that as they approached the Trent they would be joined by thousands. So on they marched towards Derby; fording the Mersey near Stockport, they came to Macclesfield. Here, in the expectation of a battle, they put their fire-arms in order and sharpened their claymores. In order to deceive the duke of Cumberland, the van, under Lord George Murray, moved from Macclesfield to Congleton, which was the straight road to Lichfield, the duke's head-quarters. This movement was designed to make him believe that they were marching to attack him; but, deceived by it, his royal highness imagined that the Highlanders intended to get into Wales, where the young Pretender might have found many Jacobite adherents. To prevent them marching into Wales, the duke of Cumberland marched to Stour, by which the road to Derby and London was left open. Lord George Murray gained intelligence of the motions of the royal army by the capture of Captain Weir, one of Cumberland's spies, who, to save his neck from the rope with which he was threatened, revealed them without much compunction. Acting upon Weir's information, Murray suddenly altered his course, and passing through Leek and Ashbourn, entered Derby at noon on the 5th of December, when he was joined in the evening by the prince with the main body. The rebels had now advanced within about one hundred and twenty miles of London; and Smollett says that if the prince had advanced with his usual expedition, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would assuredly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach. This is more than doubtful. Smollett himself says that he could not have reached London without hazarding an engagement, and running the risk of being enclosed within three armies, each greatly superior to his own in numbers and artillery. In truth, nearly all London was arming against him, so that instead of being joined by "well-wishers" in great numbers he would have found himself surrounded by enemies. It is true there might be a few Jacobites in London; but government was providing against their adherence to the rebel cause by causing them to be apprehended. These were chiefly Romish priests. The great body of the Londoners were loyal to their heart's core. The practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, laid aside their briefs and their quibbles to fight; the weavers of Spitalfields threw aside their shuttles for the sword; "the jolly butchers," those bold hearts who hated the Papists because they eat no meat on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and during Lent, and other communities swelled the number of combatants ready to fight for King George; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for his service. But the spirit of Charles Edward's dream of final victory was broken while he was at Derby. On the evening he entered the town there was a council of war, in which debate ran high and augured ill for future operations. But nothing was then agreed upon, except levying the public money. Meanwhile, the well-disciplined troops of King George were concentrating to put down this insane enterprise by some signal act of vengeance. The duke of Cumberland, finding that he was on the wrong scent, had made a retrograde movement, and was marching on towards Derby, while General Wade was coming up the east road by forced marches. "And we knew," says Lord George Murray, "that an army, at least equal to any of these, was forming near London, consisting of guards and troops brought up from the coasts where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies made up of regular troops that would surround us, being about thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many." A pretty dilemma this for Charles Edward, with his exploded notions of hereditary right, to place the poor deluded clansmen in—their chiefs, however, sharing in his awful responsibility! Still, surrounded with dangers as they now were, *they* did not lose heart. The duke of Cumberland was expected on the night after the hot debate of the Highland chiefs—the 5th of December—to be at Stafford, but not a heart among them quailed at his approach. On that night, when the duke was expected at Stafford, there was another council of war held at Derby. Mad as ever, Charles Edward still clung to his motto, "Forward!" But his chieftains had followed him far enough. They insisted, and that truly, that they had not shown any want of alacrity and daring; and as truly that they had run hazards equal to their ardent love for his cause; ergo, they argued that they could not in common sanity go farther, and that they ought not and could not leave their brave clansmen to certain destruction. It was a hard necessity; but Charles Edward was compelled to yield to the circumstances in which, by his own rashness, he had placed himself. Averse as he was to going backward instead of forward, he was obliged to turn his face toward the north. It is related that he said he would rather be buried twenty feet under the earth than go back, and that it was only at the entreaty of his old tutor Sheridan, and his secretary, Murray of Broughton, that he consented, which he did with a sullen brow, and with a solemn declaration that he would hold no more councils nor ask advice of any man, except his father. And this may readily be believed, for obstinacy and self-complacence were characteristics of his ill-starred race.

It was before daybreak, on the morning of the 6th of December, that Charles Edward and his little army marched out of Derby. Lord George Murray, at his own request, occupied the post of danger—the rear. Regarded as a military operation, the retreat was creditable to those by whom it was conducted. On the day the retreat was commenced the duke of Cumberland had retraced his steps to Lichfield; from whence he moved to cover the high road to the capital and to take post at Northampton. Wade was at Weatherby, with his horse and dragoons thrown forward to Doncaster. According to De Johnstone, the Highlanders, who had sharpened their swords for the battle, thought they were advancing to attack the duke of Cumberland, and that when day broke, and they found they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard but expressions of rage and lamentation. Lord George Murray represents that the young Pretender moved with the greatest reluctance. There can be no doubt that he moved with a heavy heart on his road back to Scotland. His high hopes had been destroyed. He had been deceived into the belief that the friends of his House would rally round his standard; and since he had crossed the Border not one of the great Jacobite and Tory families in the north had come to his standard. This must have been a bitter reflection to Charles Edward. At the same time he ought to have been thankful that he had some hopes of getting back to Scotland. Such was the want of correct intelligence at the headquarters of the English generals, that the rebels had been two days on their retrograde march before it was known that they were not advancing towards London. On discovering this, the duke of Cumberland sent forward from his camp at Meriden near Coventry all his cavalry to pursue them, while an aide-de-camp was sent across the country with orders to Wade to hasten his march so as to intercept them in their route. Wade, who on the 10th of December was at Wakefield, despatched his cavalry under General Oglethorpe in pursuit of the rebels. Oglethorpe joined the duke of Cumberland at Preston on the 13th, and four days after their united forces of cavalry were at Kendal. They were now almost on the heels of the retreating Highlanders. At this time their van and rear were some distance from each other; for on the 17th Lord George Murray had been detained at Shap, from the difficulty of getting his waggons over a stream, where there was a narrow turn and a steep ascent. This difficulty overcome, on the following day Murray reached the village of Clifton near Penrith, where he was encountered by a party of volunteers, whom, however, he easily dispersed. As the Highland rear was toiling along across Clifton Moor, the light horse of Cumberland and Oglethorpe came in view. Thus threatened, Murray resolved to prepare for defence. Leaving some of his hussars at a farm-house on the edge of the moor, with about three hundred infantry and a troop of horse, he marched through Clifton, and from thence to Lowther Hall, the residence of Lord Lonsdale. Here a footman of the duke of Cumberland was taken prisoner, from whom he gathered that the duke was close at hand. He would sleep at Lowther House that night. The duke, he was told, had four thousand horse under his command, and a numerous body of infantry was in his rear. Murray had only about one thousand men, horse and foot, but he resolved to make a stand. As night was approaching, he took up a position between the hedges near the village and the stone walls of Lord Lonsdale's park. Here, by the faint light of the moon, he awaited the approach of the English. The van of the dragoons dismounted as they approached, and crept along amongst the enclosures, hoping to take the Highlanders by surprise. Their main body was on horseback at some distance. Those dismounted had already lined the bottom of the inclosures, and some of them had come up to two hedges that lay north, when on a sudden they were attacked by a cross fire, and at the cry of "Claymore!" from the lips of Murray and Clunie, the Highlanders rushed upon the dragoons sword in hand, many of whom were slain, while the rest took to flight. By this skirmish—for it was nothing more—in which lives were lost on both sides, Murray secured a safe retreat for the van; and indeed after that affair the dragoons left off their close pursuit, and on the 19th both van and rear, with baggage and artillery, reached Carlisle without further molestation.

But the rebel army did not remain long at Carlisle. The Highlanders boasted that after the affair of Clifton Moor the English never came in sight again. It would appear, however, that they ran away too fast for the English to overtake them. The duke of Cumberland had certainly not given up the pursuit, for he was still advancing towards Carlisle. But before he reached there Charles Edward and the rebel army, on the morning of the 20th, marched out of the city; and so rapid were their movements, that they crossed the river Esk, and so got back into Scotland. In order to march the faster they left all their cannon behind them except three, together with their colours, and a great deal of their baggage. The duke reached Carlisle on the 21st of December; and the garrison, even with its small means of defence, at first showed signs of making a stern resistance. They fired their cannon at everybody that appeared. But resistance was worse than useless. Lord George Murray had told the young Pretender that as soon as cannon could be brought up from Whitehaven the place would not be tenable. Large guns, as Murray expected, were brought up from Whitehaven, and when on the 28th the bombardment commenced from six 18-pounders, "the rebel garrison were as much surprised as if they had felt the shock of an earthquake, wondering from whence the roaring guns came." But though thus terrified, the little garrison held out for two days, when the white flag was hung out from the walls. The garrison capitulated, but it was on the duke's own terms. They were not to be put to the sword, but reserved for the king's pleasure. The number of prisoners was a hundred and fourteen English, two hundred and seventy-four Lowland Scots, and eight Frenchmen. Among the prisoners were seven men that had deserted from Cope's army at Preston Pans, who, with four others of the same sort, were summarily hanged. The rest were sent to different gaols in England, there to await a similar fate. The duke returned to London, leaving a portion of his army, under General Hawley, to advance into Scotland.

The appointed place of reunion for the rebel army was Glasgow, where by the 26th of December they all assembled. Glasgow was a loyal city. It had not only raised a regiment for King George, but had made other exertions of an important character in his favour. The Glasgow regiment, under the earl of Howe, had joined the king's troops at Stirling, and therefore the city was defenceless. And as the rebels had done to Dumfries, so now they did to Glasgow. Dumfries, which was "full of fanatical Calvinists," who when Lord Elcho entered the town were actually dancing round bonfires for joy that the rebels had been defeated, was heavily fined; and the people of Glasgow in like manner had to pay for their disloyalty to the House of Stuart. Once before, indeed, they had smarted for their contumacy. When the rebel army was in its vicinity in September, under the sign-manual of Charles Edward, that scion of "a heaven-born race," they had been called upon to pay 15,000*l.* to save themselves from confiscation, and had compromised the matter by the payment of more than one-third of that amount; but now, when they had shown themselves to be so rich as to raise a regiment for King George and to do other great things for him, he therefore imposed heavy exactions on the inhabitants. Thence they marched to Stirling, where, notwithstanding the sturdy opposition of the people, they took up their quarters. At this time the Pretender had been joined by Lord Strathallan with a numerous body of Highlanders, and by some refugees who had come over from France. That sly old fox, Lord Lovat, who had lamented his son's defection from the House of Hanover, and who had wished every one of his clan who had followed him might be punished even to hanging, had now thrown off the mask which he had worn, and had sent to the Frazers to join that section of the rebel army which was under the command of Strathallan. The combined rebel forces at Stirling amounted to nine thousand men; a greater number than had hitherto been assembled. It was no wonder, therefore, that they were enabled to take possession of that town, more especially as the king's troops and the volunteers under the great Whig lord had, on the first news of their return from England, not being strong enough to keep their ground on the river Forth, fallen back for the defence of Edinburgh. The governor of the castle, however, still defied the power of Charles. General Blakeney was not a man who would willingly surrender that stronghold. He treated the summons which called upon him to do so with scorn; and although Charles must have known that there were English troops continually marching along the coast from Berwick and Dunbar to Edinburgh, to join General Hawley, he resolved to lay siege to the castle on the rock. There was much powder spent in vain, and a great many lives lost in this siege to no purpose; and while it was progressing Charles was turned aside from it by the intelligence that General Hawley had marched from Edinburgh through Linlithgow, and that he had reached the neighbourhood of Falkirk.

General Hawley had reached Edinburgh on the 6th of January, 1746, "breathing fire and destruction." It would appear that he was appointed to the command more from his ferocious character than for his skill in the art of war. At his approach the young Pretender, leaving about a thousand men to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle, advanced with the rest to Pleanmuir, about two miles eastward of Bannockburn. The Torwood lay between the two armies. In numbers they were nearly equal; but the Pretender's forces were for the most part fresh in the field. But Hawley should never have forgotten the prowess of the Highlanders, and that their mode of attack was so terrible that the best troops in Europe could not well withstand its first shock. He did not, however, only forget these things, but he seems to have worked himself into the belief that they would run away at the mere fame of his approach. At all events, although some Highland horse and foot were seen moving about, with colours displayed, upon the high road from Stirling to Falkirk, which traversed the Torwood, he made no preparations to meet them. In truth, he had no occasion to prepare to meet them on that road, for the appearance of the Highlanders there was a mere stratagem. Their main body was coming stealthily along another road on the southern side of the Torwood. It was almost one o'clock when two English officers who had climbed up a tree descried their approach. The general was not in the camp. He was spending a pleasant morning at Callendar House; and when a messenger arrived to tell him that the Highlanders were coming, he was not disposed to let them interrupt his pleasures. By a strange infatuation, he said that his soldiers might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity to be under arms. But there was a necessity, and a very stern one. On the Highlanders came, marching in two columns. Crossing the river Carron near Dunnipace, they made for Falkirk Moor and some high ground on the left of the king's army. The troops became alarmed. The general was still feasting; what was to be done? With steady tramp the Highlanders were continually advancing. In the continued absence of the general, therefore, the commanding officers formed their regiments in front of the camp. At that moment, when there was nothing but Falkirk Moor between the two armies, Hawley arrived, cursing and swearing like a madman. In the middle of the moor there was a rising ground, which was of importance for either army to occupy. Hawley ordered his three regiments of dragoons to take possession of that spot, at the same time commanding his infantry to follow with their fixed bayonets. But the Highlanders were equally aware of the importance of this rising ground, and they too pressed forward to occupy it. There was a sort of race between them and the dragoons, but the Highlanders won it. Three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of the columns to the north, got to the top of the hill first, and the battle was in effect won. The Highland army was favoured further by the elements. As the English dragoons and infantry were approaching the hill a storm of wind and rain beat directly in their faces, and wetting their muskets, rendered them almost useless. The Macdonalds occupied the height and formed along its ridge with their backs to the storm, and having a morass on their right flank. The army of the young Pretender was formed in two lines; the first consisting of the brave Highland clans under their several leaders, and the second of troops mainly composed of Lowland levies, who were neither so brave nor so passionately attached to the cause of the Stuarts as the Highlanders. There was a reserve in the rear on a mound, amongst which the young prince was stationed. The royal army was also formed into two lines; the dragoons being in the front, and the infantry behind; while the Glasgow regiment and the Argyllshire Highlanders at some distance formed a body of reserve. The troops on both sides were formed in haste, and the ground being unequal and the storm raging with unabated fury, there was a scene of confusion rather than a battle. It was now four o'clock, and the storm was still raging. It was so dark that the movements of either army were scarcely perceptible. The Highlanders pursued the dragoons with broadsword and dirk, and the rout appeared to be complete. Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing. Burrell's regiment, however, still remained steady, and being joined by part of two other veteran regiments, it moved to the left wing of the Highlanders, upon which it fired with fatal effect. As a ravine lay between them the Highlanders could not charge with the claymore, and they fell back in disorder. At this time, indeed, both armies as a body fancied themselves defeated. The greater part of the king's army was flying to the eastward, and a considerable part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. When the Macdonalds returned from the pursuit of the dragoons to the ground which they had occupied at the commencement of the battle, they found that the left wing had vanished. Hawley, believing that the battle was over before it was quite dark, tried to set fire to his tents, but they would not burn, and he retreated through Falkirk to Linlithgow. He left his guns and his baggage behind him, together with much provisions, all of which were taken possession of by the Highlanders. He retreated to Edinburgh unmolested, and with no great reduction in numbers, but as a general degraded. Had it not been for Major-General Husk, who in the battle acted with judgment and courage, and who conducted the retreats of the rear with equal judgment and courage, the battle of Falkirk Moor would have been more disastrous than that of Preston Pans.

The duke of Cumberland, who had full powers to finish the war in his own way, arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th of January. Although the rebels still kept the field, there was neither unity of command nor discipline, while Charles Edward pertinaciously continued the siege of Stirling Castle, although he could have had no hope of taking it. In truth, instead of destroying the fortress, the besiegers had a prospect of being destroyed by it, for the fire from the castle was so continuous and so well aimed, that many perished from its deadly effects. Such was the position of the rebel army, when the duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh. He was received by the troops with joy; for although his temper was hasty, harsh, and often tyrannical, he was popular with the army. The duke slept one night at Holyrood House, and on the following morning he set out on his march to raise the siege of Stirling. But before he marched, the Highland chiefs had recommended that the siege should be raised and that Charles Edward should retreat. A paper addressed to him on the 29th of January, signed by Lord George Murray, Lochiel, and six other chiefs, represented that the army had been much reduced by desertions, and that if the enemy should march before the reduction of Stirling, from the inequality of their numbers they anticipated speedy destruction. Hence they counselled an immediate retreat, and the prince had no choice but to yield to their advice. It is said that he was for protracting the siege and remaining to fight the duke of Cumberland, and that his three favourite counsellors, his old tutor Sheridan, his secretary Murray, and his quartermaster-general O'Sullivan, argued against a retreat; but if so they must have been wofully blind to the danger with which they were threatened, for they were far outnumbered by the troops of Cumberland, who, notwithstanding their late disaster, marched on with ardour to victory or death.

That night the duke came to Linlithgow. There were still many of the rebel forces at Falkirk, but they now retired, giving out that they would await the English at the Torwood, or at that far-famed spot where Bruce once so signally chastised them—Bannockburn. But the duke did not find them at either of these places, or anywhere south of the Forth; for the rebels fled before him over that river with the utmost precipitation. They passed the Forth at Frew; after which they marched rapidly in two divisions, one by Blair Athol and one by the coast—*en route* for Inverness. As the English troops advanced towards Stirling, they became aware that the siege of the castle was raised, by a loud report of an explosion of gunpowder. Before the besiegers retreated, they had, in their haste to get away, blown up six thousand pounds of gunpowder which was kept in the church of St. Niniaus, by which the church and the adjacent houses were destroyed, and several of the townspeople and Highlanders were killed. The duke entered Stirling on the 2nd of February, and two days after he crossed the Forth with his army over Stirling Bridge in pursuit of the enemy. But before he left Stirling he had obtained possession of many of the rebels; for a whole company of the Irish brigade had deserted from Lord John Drummond, and delivered themselves up, while others had been searched out in places where they had concealed themselves, and brought to headquarters.

The Highland army reached Inverness on the 18th of February. Meanwhile the duke of Cumberland was marching forward much more slowly. He reached Perth on the 6th, where he stayed a few days; and then he continued his march to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 26th, and where he remained inactive for nearly six weeks. When Charles Edward arrived at Inverness, he found himself strong enough to attack Lord Loudon, who lay there with a little army in arms for King George, and preparations were made for it; but Loudon, with whom was Duncan Forbes, the lord president, retreated into Ross-shire. Charles and his Highlanders entered Inverness, and then laid siege to Fort George, which in two or three days surrendered. The possession of Fort George was of considerable importance to the rebel army. In it there was found sixteen pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and, what was much needed, a store of provisions. The character of the war now underwent a change. Provided with artillery, the Highlanders marched to Fort Augustus, thirty-two miles distant, and in a few days the Stuart flag waved over its ramparts. Fort William and Blair Castle were subsequently assaulted, but they defied the heavy guns of Fort George. Protected by the weather, however, which by its severity prevented the advance of the English, the hardier Highlanders obtained other minor triumphs. Thus Lord Loudon was driven by them from Ross-shire into Sutherland, and from Sutherland to the Isle of Skye, where with Duncan Forbes he arrived with only eight hundred men, the rest of the independent companies having dispersed in different directions. The Highlanders, also, under Lord George Murray, came down from the mountains of Badenoch into Athol under cover of the night, and surprised some advanced posts of Cumberland's regulars and detachments of Argyllshiremen, who were cantoned in farm-houses, killing some, and taking many prisoners. But the advantages gained by the Highlanders were of little importance to the Pretender. The issue of the struggle was approaching. The close of the rebellion was at hand.

The interval which elapsed between the young Pretender's arrival at Inverness and the time when the duke advanced to attack him—the 8th of April —notwithstanding his partial successes, was by no means favourable to his cause. Cut off from the abundance of the Lowlands, his followers were straitened for provisions; for the king's ships watched the coasts so narrowly, that the supplies both of food and gold, which were occasionally despatched from France, were captured. On board of one of these ships, the duke of Berwick's brother was taken; and on another, more than one hundred men and twenty officers, chiefly Irish in the service of Spain, were made prisoners. But it was the loss of gold and food which was chiefly felt by Charles. Hungry men are in no condition to fight, and the Highlanders were on the very verge of starvation. Charles was compelled to pay his troops in oatmeal, and his troops were compelled to sell some of their oatmeal for their other needs, "at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly." They were, moreover, suspicious that the officers kept back their pay, not from necessity, but from greed. When the duke of Cumberland therefore advanced against them, the Highlanders were not in good fighting condition, either as regards strength or heart. When the duke commenced his march, his army consisted of about nine thousand men. He was abundantly supplied with provisions, for he marched by the sea coast, transports moving along shore with a gentle breeze and a fair wind laden with everything necessary for the sustenance of his troops. His route lay through Meldrum, Banff, Cullen, and Fochabers, where he came to the banks of the Spey. His line of march was marked by summary executions, for many a rebel spy was taken and hanged without mercy. The chapels of the Episcopalian Scots—who were noted favourers of Jacobitism—were all along his road burned to the ground. It was on the 11th of April that the duke reached the Spey. On the left bank Lord John Drummond was posted with a party of rebel hussars to dispute the passage of the river, but a few cannon-shot cleared the way.

The Spey, which may be considered to be the

Rubicon of this fatal war, was passed on the 13th of April, and from thence the duke of Cumberland advanced to the muir of Alves, where he encamped. Many rebels came to his camp at the muir of Alves and laid down their arms. On the 15th he reached Nairn, and there he halted. At Culloden Moor, twelve miles distant, the rebel army was encamped, awaiting the shock of battle; Charles taking up his lodging on the previous night in Culloden House, the seat of Duncan Forbes, and his troops resting among the heather. In the morning, as they rose from their rough bed, they formed in order of battle about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden House. It was a spot unsuited to their tactics, for there were no mountains from which they could as in their previous battles surprise the enemy. But on this flat moor, which is now a vale of moss land, but which was then covered with heather and rushes, they resolved to make a stand. For several hours they watched the approach of the English. But they came not. It was the duke's birthday, and they were celebrating it in drunken revels. A night attack was proposed and attempted by the rebels, but which utterly failed. It is related that the duke had been apprised of the night attack from several people in his pay wearing the Highland dress, and moving along with the rebels; and if so, both himself and his troops must have known that they had them at an advantage. They marched assured of victory; even the dragoons, who had thrice fled before the fierce onslaughts of the brave mountaineers, joined in the general feeling. It was about five o'clock in the morning that the Highlanders returned to Culloden, and only three hours after the English were seen approaching. Charles and his principal officers were taking rest in Duncan Forbes's mansion; and his fatigued and thinned regiments were reposing in the heather 'round about. The Philistines were upon them, and there was scant time for making preparations to meet them. The sleepers in Culloden House, however, being aroused from their slumbers, hurried orders were issued to form at a place about half a mile to the west of the place where they had been drawn up in battle array on the day previous; a position far more favourable to the Highland tactics, as it was hilly and boggy, so that the enemy's horse and cannon could be of no great service to them. The Highlanders formed in two lines, with a body of reserve in the rear. They had scarcely formed when the English arrived to attack them. They approached with a resolute step, each man resolved to do his duty. Before the battle commenced they had been instructed to remain steady under such a rush as that which had been fatal at Preston Pans; and when the Highlanders charged, to direct their bayonets against their right breasts, so as not to be met by their targets. While making their dispositions for battle, and each army was trying to outflank the other, there was a violent storm of driving hail and sleet; but this time the English had the advantage, for it pelted full in the Highlanders' faces. The English, like the Highlanders, were formed in two lines, with a body of reserve in the rear. Cannon were placed between the battalions, and the cavalry on their flanks. When within about six hundred paces of the enemy the English came upon boggy ground, and the horses and artillery stuck fast in the mire. Recollections of Preston Pans and Falkirk Moor came over them; but slinging their firelocks behind them, the soldiers dragged the cannon across the bog by sheer physical force. While thus employed the Highlanders commenced a cannonade from behind an old wall; but their pieces were so ill served that only one common soldier was wounded. But it was not so with the cannonade of the English. It was about one o'clock that the roar of their guns commenced, and it was well calculated to renew in the Highlanders that awe of artillery which they had once felt. The execution was fearful. So well were the guns of the English served that there was deadly havoc made in the ranks of the Highlanders. The chaplain, Maclachlan, who always endeavoured to be near Prince Charles, says that he being in the heart of his ranks, was in considerable danger, and he takes upon himself the credit of inducing Sir Thomas Sheridan to persuade him to retire to a place of greater safety. Galled by the fire of the cannon, at length the Highlanders were ordered to charge. There was no hesitation. Half-starved and wearied as they were from their night's march, having fired their pieces, they threw down their muskets and attacked the English sword in hand. Few disciplined troops could stand against their terrible onset. Heedless of the grape-shot and musketry in front and a terrible flank fire, they rushed upon the first line and broke it. But here their success ended. As they pushed forward through the gap they had made towards the second line they were received with such a murderous fire from the unbroken ranks, three deep, that their right and centre became hopelessly disordered. Most of them who had not fallen by that terrible discharge turned back after having killed Lord Robert Kerr and about twenty men; and those few who still pressed onward with broadsword and target fell to a man at the point of the bayonet either slain or wounded. It is said that from four to five hundred fell between the two lines of the English. But it was not all the clans which responded to the order to charge. Robert the Bruce had bestowed "the right hand of battle" upon Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, an honour to which the Macdonalds laid claim, but Charles Edward had placed the Atholl brigade on the right, and, offended thereat, they refused to make an onset. It was not, indeed, till they saw the Macintoshes were overpowered that they made any signs of moving forward. They then gave a general discharge, and throwing down their muskets, drew their claymores; but the fire of the English made them pause, and like the Macintoshes, they too turned their backs and fled. The fighting was now well-nigh over. Once the different clans rallied and formed into one line, resolved to stand their ground, but it was of no avail. Their right flank became exposed to the English dragoons, while the whole of the English infantry and artillery, with other bodies of cavalry, were coming full in their front; and the brave mountaineers lost heart and dispersed, pursued with relentless fury. The fugitives went off in two bodies; the larger one, consisting of the western Highlanders, towards Badenoch, and the smaller one, consisting of the Frazers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish pickets, towards Inverness. It was the latter body that suffered most in the retreat. Pursued by the dragoons, who had been made fierce and pitiless by their previous defeats and humiliations, and taught by the duke of Cumberland that rebels had no claim to mercy, they took but few prisoners, but cut down almost every one they overtook. The duke with his infantry followed to Inverness, where he received the submission of the French and Irish officers that had been engaged in the service of the young Pretender, having previously, on their promising to submit, engaged to give them quarter. This appears to have been the only act of humanity the duke exercised on this memorable occasion. The loss of the Highland army on this fatal day was fearful. More perished in the retreat than in the battle. It is said that the total number which perished in the battle and the retreat amounted to nearly 2500 men; among whom were many of their bravest chiefs. The English loss in killed, wounded, and missing amounted only to three hundred and ten, few of whom were men of rank.

Over the fate of the wounded that lay on the field of Culloden we would fain draw a veil, for it brings no honour to the victors, yet it must briefly be told. Brave men usually show mercy to the vanquished, and especially when they see them bleeding and dying. At the present day such is the uniform treatment which a fallen foe receives at the hands of a British soldier. He will bind up his wounds and treat him as tenderly as though he were an infant. All animosity is forgotten; he is treated as a brother and a Christian. But it was not so on the bloody field of Culloden. There the victors went up and down the field, slaying all in whom there were found any signs of life. And there were men commissioned to perform the bloody work by the duke of Cumberland, who was authorised by the government to make war in his own way. Nor was the slaughter of the miserable survivors found in the field the only atrocity committed in that week of shame. Many of the wounded had crawled from the battle ground under cover of the night to a cot house, where goats and sheep were accustomed to find shelter, and when found, the door was closed by Cumberland's butchers, and fire was put to the frail building, in the flames of which they all perished. Men were even sent to search the houses in the vicinity of the battle-field for the wounded, and to kill them. Nineteen Highland officers, for instance, had been carried wounded to Culloden House, where they were treated as humanity would dictate by the agent of that stanch supporter of the House of Hanover—Lord President Forbes—but when they were found by Cumberland's butchers, they were taken from their place of refuge in carts, carried some distance, and shot. One only escaped death—John Frazer, called Mac Ivor, an officer in Lovat's regiment, who was left for dead, but who recovered, only, however, to remain a crippled memorial of these atrocities. It would be sickening to relate all the scenes of horror that succeeded the bloody day of Culloden. Men were whipped to extort confession; boys, women, and old men were murdered and maltreated, and prisoners were left to starve and perish in filthy dungeons. But it must not be supposed that these wicked proceedings—although the duke found some apology for his cruelty—were looked upon with general complacency. They were loudly and bitterly condemned both in England and Scotland. The patriotic Duncan Forbes ventured to remonstrate with the duke of Cumberland on his undue severity, but all remonstrance was vain. Forbes himself was for severity to the leaders; but he thought, and thought justly, that the wholesale destruction of the common people would do more harm than good, by raising pity; the rather that it was most certainly true that great numbers were compelled to join the active rebels "by threats which were justly terrible to them."

Meanwhile, where was Charles Edward—the man who, of all others, was most deserving of punishment? That redoubtable hero, who, from all accounts, did but little except look on while the brief but bloody battle was progressing, as soon as he saw that the field was lost, wheeled off, and fled with precipitation. In hot haste he repaired to the house of Lord Lovat, and then fled to Invergarie, where he was left to pursue his course with only two companions—O'Sullivan and O'Neile—and a Highlander named Burke who had been his guide from the battlefield. A price was set upon his head. Whosoever caused him to be apprehended was to receive the magnificent sum of 30,000*l.* Yet for five months he wandered about the mountains and the islands and glens of the north, and no one would betray him. Everywhere he was in danger, and yet he escaped his enemies. His hardships were numerous and great. But it would be tedious to follow his wanderings. His story resembles, in a great degree, that of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. The most romantic part of his story is that in which Flora Macdonald—a name worthy of being numbered in the illustrious roll of heroic women—takes her part while surrounded with foes on every hand. Flora Macdonald undertook to carry Charles to a place of greater safety. Dressed as a female, the young hero, who had sworn to conquer or die, with Flora and a faithful Highlander, went to sea in an open boat. He was Betty Burke, Flora's waiting-maid, an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant! Thus disguised, Charles reached the Isle of Skye. This was the country of Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was opposed to the Jacobite cause; but Flora appealed to the sympathy of Lady Margaret, the wife of the chief, who having given them a good dinner, sent them forward to her kinsman and factor Macdonald of Kingsburgh, in the interior of the island. Here Flora Macdonald's mission of mercy ended. Having seen her waiting-maid again dressed as a Highlander, she returned to South Uist. Macdonald of Kingsburgh was true to the trust reposed in him. Through his means Charles went over to the island of Rasay alone, disguised as a man servant. The chief of Rasay, Macleod, had fought for him both at Falkirk and Culloden, and was now suffering for his rebellion. His island had but a few days before been ravaged by the king's army from one end to the other. Every house had been razed to the ground, and all the cattle had been carried off. Macleod himself was somewhere concealed in the mainland, but his sons were at Rasay, and they gave Charles the best shelter they could afford—a cowshed. While thus housed and pinched with hunger, the heroine, Flora Macdonald, betrayed by the boatmen who had ferried her and Charles from South Uist, was taken prisoner and sent to London. Macdonald of Kingsburgh, too, was apprehended, for it was discovered that Charles had slept at his house for a night, and to afford him shelter was considered to be an act of rebellion. Kingsburgh was confined in Edinburgh Castle. Sir Alexander Macdonald and his lady had some little difficulty in making their peace with the duke of Cumberland. Duncan Forbes was their mediator. Lady Margaret, indeed, protested that she did not know who Betty Burke really was, and she pathetically deplored the great trouble which had been brought upon the island of Skye "by the indiscretion of a foolish girl, with whom the unhappy disturber of the kingdom had landed." Half starved at Rasay, Charles was compelled to quit the island. Early in July he returned to Skye, but not to the bounds of the Macdonald's. After various and similar adventures and hardships, he finally embarked in a French vessel at Lochnannagh, the very spot where he had landed fourteen months before. The chiefs who set sail with him were Cameron of Clunes and Lochiel, and besides these he was accompanied by Colonel Roy Stewart, with a few other exiles. He disembarked at Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September, and from thence he proceeded to Paris, where, if he was not received as a victor, he found Louis and his court and the Parisians generally were charmed with his romantic adventures.

Having thus traced the rise, progress, and extinction of this memorable rebellion, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings of the civil administration. There had been not only conflicts in the field, but in the cabinet. It might have been supposed that during the agony of the rebellion, British statesmen would have forgotten their petty ambitions. The ship of the state being in danger, those who sat at its helm ought to have been united. But it was not so. In the midst of all the breakers by which it was surrounded, there was what is called "a ministerial crisis;" that is, there were personal struggles for place and power. Parliament met on the 14th of January. The king, of course, made a speech, and loyal addresses were voted in both Houses. His speech was not pregnant with weighty matter. The States-General wanted assistance against the French in the Netherlands, which he had already given to a certain extent, but he was sorry to be under the necessity of asking further aids from his people. These were the leading points in the king's speech, but in conclusion he expressed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity. They were unanimous in their addresses, but the business of the House was impeded by a dissension in the ministry. A scheme of foreign politics had been drawn up by the Pelhams, which they had presented to the king. and for which he had most graciously thanked them. But he did not act upon that scheme as a whole. Alterations were made in it, and although it was necessary to vote supplies without delay, the Pelhams and the whole body of their Whig followers resigned. Granville triumphed over the Pelhams, but it was only for about forty-eight hours. He became prime minister, and some of his colleagues were appointed. But the great parliamentary orators—Pitt, Fox, and Murray—by obtaining office now dropped their old themes for patriotic declarations. There was no longer anything said against Hanover and Hanoverian interests, or against subsidies to foreign powers. Provision was made for forty thousand seamen, and about as many soldiers, besides the fifteen regiments raised by the "patriot lords," and twelve thousand marines. The Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England were also provided for with a liberal hand. As for subsidies, they were lavishly granted to the landgrave of Hesse, the electors of Mentz and Cologne, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary. But what is most remarkable, Pitt spoke in favour of a grant for the support of eighteen thousand Hanoverian troops; a measure which he had so often denounced as unconstitutional and dangerous to the interests of England. The whole charge of the current year amounted to 7,250,000*l.*, which was to be raised by direct taxation, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and by exchequer bills.

But this parliament had other work to do besides granting supplies. While it was sitting, the rebellion in Scotland was crushed. It had, therefore, to assist in the work of vengeance. That work was being carried on, not only by the duke of Cumberland and his brigade butchers, but by the arm of the law. While Charles Edward was lurking about in the mountains and glens of Scotland, and even after he had made his escape to France, braver and better men than he were suffering the penalties which, by his rashness, he had brought upon them. Statesmen and judges alike were but too well disposed to make the law as sharp as the sword of the duke of Cumberland. In June an Act of Attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in the rebellion, and courts of law were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the prisoners. The severities exercised were even greater than those which had been exercised in 1715, where there was far greater need for it. Lives were sacrificed on every hand. One of the first that suffered was Colonel Townley, who commanded the Manchester regiment. Townley was hanged on Kennington Common, and with a refinement of cruelty his bowels were torn out and his heart cast into the fire. Seventeen others perished in that self-same place and in a similar manner. Other executions took place at York, Brampton, and Penrith; and in every place the authorities were careful to execute the sentences of treason with all their revolting horrors. It is said that in the north not less than eighty ghastly heads were exhibited as a warning to evildoers. The heads of Mr. Townley and the other Manchester rebels were affixed upon Temple Bar, and Walpole says that people made a trade of letting spy-glasses to the populace at a halfpenny a look. It seemed as if the nation was reverting back to its ancient barbarity. Yet in the midst of all these horrors the people could find hearts to rejoice, for in July the duke of Cumberland, leaving his right-hand man Hawley to carry on the work of butchery he had commenced, returned to London, where he was welcomed with illuminations, bonfires, and sky-rockets. At that time three rebel lords were awaiting their fate in the Tower. The trials of these lords—Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino, commenced on the 28th of July. Numerous other lords had been attainted if they did not surrender themselves before the 12th of July; but some, as Lord Elcho and the duke of Perth, had escaped to the Continent, while others, as old Lord Lovat, were hiding themselves in the wild recesses of the Highland mountains. The trials of the three lords proved a raree-show to the nation. Their trials took place in Westminster Hall, three parts of which were enclosed with galleries and hung with scarlet. And after a lengthened trial they were sentenced to die as traitors. Great intercession was made for Cromartie and Kilmarnock, but very little for Balmerino. Cromartie, at the intercession of the prince of Wales and Lady Cromartie, was pardoned, but Kilmarnock and Balmerino were ordered for execution on the 18th of August. As they passed out of the Tower to the scaffold on the hill, the deputy-lieutenant cried out according to the usual form, "God bless King George." Kilmarnock bowed, but Balmerino, brave to the last, exclaimed, "God bless King James!" Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold first. He was attended by a Presbyterian clergyman, with whom he prayed long and earnestly. Then he laid his head on the block, which was severed at a blow. "And then came old Balmerino with the air of a general." He walked round the scaffold, and bowed to the spectators, who had assembled in great multitudes. Then he went up to his coffin, and read the inscription on the lid, and with a nod and smile said it was all right. Then pulling off his periwig, he put a plaid cap on his head, and saying he would die like a Scotchman, stretched his neck across the block and gave the sign. "He died," says Walpole, "with the intrepidity of a hero." Later in the year, Charles Radcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had escaped the block in 1716 by breaking out of prison, and who had been captured on board a French vessel carrying arms and supplies to Charles Edward in Scotland, was tried, condemned, and executed. The last who suffered was Lord Lovat. He was brought to his trial before the Peers on the 9th of March. The behaviour of the old nobleman on his trial was of the most extraordinary character. Sir Walter Scott says that there was a touch of madness in his composition; if so, it was accompanied by the most caustic wit. Nor was his behaviour changed at the awful crisis when sentence was pronounced, for he cracked his jokes, which made every one around him laugh, and as he withdrew from Westminster Hall, he exclaimed, "Farewell, my lord! we shall never meet in the same place!" Lovat carried the same spirit of bravado to the block. Among his last words was a line from Horace, which was a bitter satire upon his own selfish tyranny and ambition: "It is pleasant and honourable to die for one's country."

The blood of this old and crafty nobleman was the last shed in this insane rebellion. But there were others who suffered, beside those who perished on the gallows and scaffold. Hundreds were transported, and others imprisoned for given terms; while not less than forty-three persons were attainted by parliament, some of higher, but more of inferior degree, including a few engaged in commercial and professional employments. The heroine, Flora Macdonald, was, for the milk of human kindness she displayed towards the wretched wanderer Charles, confined in prison for one whole year, when she was released, and went back to the Highlands with about 1500*l.*, collected (as a reward for her heroism and sufferings) chiefly among the Jacobite ladies in London. After many delays, and when the headsmen and hangmen had done their fearful work, government was pleased to prepare an Act of Indemnity, granting pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion—ungenerously, however, excepting eighty individuals from this act of grace. And even this Act, which was passed without opposition, was followed by another which struck at the very root of the loyalty of the brave Highlanders. For there is nothing so likely to breed disloyalty as measures which breathe in them the spirit of coercion. And this second Bill, which was designed to bind the Highlanders to the House of Hanover, displayed that spirit in all its clauses. The Highlanders were to have their arms taken from them; they were no longer to wear their national garb; every master and teacher in their schools were not only to swear allegiance to King George for themselves, but for their heirs and successors, and their oaths were to be registered; and the system of heritable jurisdictions, by which many Scottish lords and lairds had been allowed to administer justice in their own way, was to be for ever abolished. By that law, also, the Episcopalian divines, who were all Jacobites, were placed under the severest restraint, as were non-jurors in general. These measures adopted by government had in the lapse of time the desired effect, but it remains a question whether the brave mountaineers could not have been rendered loyal to the House of Hanover without coercive measures, and inducing those who were disaffected to leave their Highland homes.

The rebellion in Scotland had been favourable to the French arms on the Continent. While the English were crushing that rebellion, the French had been marching from conquest to conquest, and had made such progress, that when the battle of Culloden was fought they were threatening Holland with annihilation. Brussels and Antwerp had surrendered to Marshal Saxe; Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the allied army in Flanders, had been defeated by him near Liege, and obliged to retire behind the Meuse; and although a fresh army of Austrians subsequently fiercely contested the palm of victory with him at Rancour, he repulsed them, and retained his ample conquests of Flanders and Brabant. In this latter battle, if it had not been for a body of British cavalry under Sir John Ligonier, the army of Charles of Lorraine would have been utterly destroyed. But these successes of the French in Flanders were counterbalanced by reverses in Italy, where the united forces of the Austrians and Sardinians had recovered Milan, Parma, and other places, and had obtained a great victory over the

French and Spaniards near Piacenza, who were subsequently driven beyond the Alps. About the same time, also, the French were greatly weakened by the death of Philip V. of Spain; for at his death his successor, Ferdinand, was disposed to sheathe the sword. Not feeling inclined to spend the resources of his kingdom to procure a principality in Italy for his step-brother, Don Philip, he entered into some separate negotiations with Britain, and arrangements were made for a congress at Breda to settle the terms of a general peace. But Frederick of Prussia refused to co-operate, and the French court, dazzled by the victories in Flanders, hoped to reap further glory on the battle-field, and the war on the Continent was therefore continued.

Parliament met on the 18th of November, on which occasion his majesty expressed his determination never to abandon his allies, and called upon them to give effect to his determination by concerting measures to pursue the war on the Continent with vigour. He likewise gave them to understand that the civil list had for several years fallen short of the amount contemplated by parliament, and therefore he requested them to make good the deficiency. As those members who had led the opposition were now connected with the administration, there was but little objection made to the demands of government. Having considered the estimates, the Commons voted forty thousand seamen for the ensuing year, and about sixty thousand land forces, including marines. Subsidies were granted without hesitation to the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, the landgrave of Hesse, and the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria. The king himself had the sum of 500,000*l.* placed to his account, to enable him to renew and prosecute the war on the Continent with advantage. Altogether the supplies amounted to 9,425,250*l.*, "a sum," says Smollett, "almost incredible, if we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure." But lavish as ministers were with the public money, they nevertheless made a show of economy. It was gravely announced by Pitt, now paymaster of the forces, and Fox, secretary at war, that his majesty had, by dismissing two troops of his life-guards, and reducing three heavy cavalry regiments to dragoon regiments, effected a saving of 70,000*l.* And this proved so gratifying to the ears of the Commons, that they voted an address of thanks to his majesty for this notable instance of economy!

During this session, although the rebellion was suppressed, and the leaders of it either executed or driven to starve in foreign lands, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for three months longer. This Bill was introduced by the duke of Newcastle, and it appears to have met with but feeble opposition. But the records of the proceedings of this parliament are very meagre. It has been remarked that the tempestuous sea of parliament was never lulled into a profounder calm. But much of this calm may be attributed to the almost complete absence of publicity from parliamentary proceedings. It has been seen in previous pages that both Lords and Commons jealously guarded against the public curiosity by prohibiting printers from publishing their proceedings. But public curiosity is not easily repressed. The people then, as now, wanted to know what the king and his parliament were doing. In spite, therefore, of the jealous prohibitions of parliament, printers from time to time gathered some information and put it in print; and in the spring of this year, 1747, when Lord Lovat was tried before his peers, as before related, Cave, the proprietor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and Astley, the printer of the "London Magazine," published "a full, true, and particular account" of that trial. But this was a breach of privilege not to be tolerated, at least by the Lords. Poor Cave and Astley were brought to the Lords' bar in the custody of the Usher of the terrible Black Rod, and committed to prison; nor would their lordships liberate them till they had professed their contrition for their crime, promised not to repeat the offence, and paid very heavy fees. The Commons, as a body, were also as jealous as the Lords on this question of privilege. Some of them complained of being put in print by "low fellows;" but Pelham very wisely advised them to let the said "low fellows" alone, naively remarking that "they make better speeches for us than we can make for ourselves." But although the Commons were thus far tolerant, and printers took advantage of it by occasionally giving their debates, having the fear of the Black Rod before their eyes, they never mentioned the real names of the orators whose speeches they printed. To have said, Pitt said this, or Fox said that, might have had the effect of bringing them before the bar of the Commons, and of sharing the fate of Cave and Astley. This session was terminated on the 17th of June. The term of seven years had not expired; but, with the advice of his council, his majesty resolved upon its dissolution. Such an intention was intimated in his speech at the close of the session, and accordingly it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for a fresh election.

We again turn to the war on the Continent. The duke of Cumberland had his desire. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces, and he went to measure swords with the veteran French marshal, Saxe. Great expectations were entertained of this year's campaign. From the immense armies on either side, it promised to be decisive. In March Cumberland had under his command a mixed army of British, Hanoverians, Hessians, Dutch, Flemings, Bavarians, and Austrians, amounting to nearly a hundred and twenty thousand men. The only two towns that held out against the French in the Netherlands were Maestricht and Bergen-op-zoom. Saxe took the field in April, at the head of a hundred and forty thousand men. He marched against Maestricht, and in manœuvring to besiege it, he came in front of Cumberland's army at Lauffeld. It was the day the British commander hoped and looked for, but he found himself inferior in strategy to his antagonist. He proved himself to be a bold dragooner, and Saxe a consummate general. The day of Fontenoy was reversed. In attacking Lauffeld the French were thrice repulsed. The village was well fortified, and defended with the utmost obstinacy. The French suffered terribly from the cannon of the confederates as they each time approached, and the fire of the musketry told with such effect that they could not withstand it. The field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. Victory seemed to declare in favour of the allies, but Saxe snatched it from them. The morning had been spent in advances and repulses. At noon, confident of success, Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way. Prince Waldeck led up the centre, and Marshal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdereen. Victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates. But their advance was fatal to their cause. Forgetful of his infirmities, Saxe brought up his squadrons, and the Dutch in the centre gave way and fled. The Austrians on the right, too, halted and did nothing, and the whole brunt of the battle was left to the British on the left. The contest was unequal, but before the British retreated they strewed the field with thousands of dead and wounded Frenchmen. In their retreat they were protected by the gallant Ligonier with his British cavalry. At the head of his troops he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with so much intrepidity and success, that he created such a diversion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. Ligonier was himself taken prisoner, his horse having been killed, but his regiments retired with deliberation. The victory of Saxe was dearly won. He confessed to his prisoner Ligonier that in the battle he had lost nine thousand men, horse and foot, besides a great number of officers. The loss of the allies is said not to have exceeded six thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, but these numbers may be understated. The village of Lauffeld was won, but the duke of Cumberland, though defeated, remained strong enough to cover Maestricht. Unable to besiege Maestricht, Saxe sent Count Lowendhal with thirty-six thousand troops to invest Bergen-op-zoom, which was considered impregnable. The French appeared before it on the 12th of July, and the eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege. They lost a vast number of men before its walls; but they pressed the siege with so much vigour, Lowendhal continually receiving reinforcements, that in September breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and the fortress was taken by storm. But the place seems to have been lost more from the indolence of the old Dutch governor than from the valour of the French; for, believing that the fortress was impregnable, he was lulled into a blind security, so that when the French entered by the breaches they had made by their bombs and cannon, they met with but slight resistance. The old Dutch governor himself was asleep, and the garrison were surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Two battalions of Scottish troops, however, in the pay of the States-General, signalized their hereditary valour on this occasion. They assembled and attacked the French with so much fury, that they drove them from street to street; and it was not till fresh bodies of French arrived that they were compelled to retreat. And even then they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were slain. Those who escaped brought off the old governor, with whom they left the fortress, abandoning it to the enemy. The Dutch troops had before retired with precipitation. All the forts in the neighbourhood of Bergen-op-zoom surrendered to the French with marvellous facility, and they now became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. The campaign in Flanders thus ended triumphantly for the French, but disastrously to the allies. As was usual in mixed armies, there was much quarrelling among the allies, each accusing the other of being the cause of the failure. With these feelings—the French joyously, and the allies moodily—went into winter quarters. The duke of Cumberland returned to England.

But the success of the French in Flanders was counterbalanced by reverses in Italy, both by sea and land. This year, however, the French monarch renewed his efforts against the British colonies in North America and their settlements in the East Indies. Two squadrons were prepared at Brest for these purposes. Both these squadrons were to sail together, and the British government being apprised of it, resolved to intercept them. Admiral Anson was sent with a formidable fleet to arrest their progress, and falling in with them off Cape Finisterre, he gave them battle. Anson was victorious. Six ships of the line, and as many frigates, with the greater part of a French convoy, were captured. The French convoy contained a considerable quantity of bullion, which was brought to Spithead in triumph, and from thence conveyed in twenty waggons to the Bank of England. Another signal victory was obtained by Commodore Fox, who captured forty French ships richly laden from the West Indies. Other successes at sea were obtained by the British in various parts of the world, from the Bay of Bengal to the British Channel. The very coasts of France were insulted, and Port l'Orient, the seat of the French East India trade, had almost capitulated to the British. The naval arm of Britain, in truth, proved so powerful, that the French trade was paralysed, and want, suffering, and dissensions were the consequences.

So greatly had France suffered, that notwithstanding the successes of Marshal Saxe, the French monarch began to express sentiments of moderation. He was the more inclined to peaceful sentiments because Frederick VI., the new king of Spain, was at this time resolved to make peace with England. At first France made indirect overtures for peace, but finally, Sir John Ligonier, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Lauffeld, was sent by Louis XV. to the duke of Cumberland, to intimate his desire for a pacification; and after many delays it was finally agreed that the contending powers should send plenipotentiaries to a general congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, there to settle all matters in dispute. But it was many months before peace was fully accomplished.

The new parliament met on the 10th of November. The elections had answered the purposes of the duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham. And no wonder. Newcastle had a peculiar talent for trafficking in seats in the House of Commons. He had almost boundless wealth at his command, and he bought boroughs with such profuseness that it made his family power almost irresistible. Nor was this all. He bought members with the secret service money, and bound others to his interests by promises of place and power. In the elections he was opposed by the prince of Wales, who, offended with the preference given by the Pelham administration to his brother the duke of Cumberland, was as bitter against it as he had been to the cabinet of Sir Robert Walpole. The prince put forth his whole power at the election, but it was in vain: Newcastle's tact for getting votes prevailed. The returns were highly favourable to the ministry. When parliament met, Mr. Onslow was re-elected speaker of the House of Commons. In the speech delivered by the king at the opening of the session, he congratulated the members on the signal successes of the British navy, but he passed slightly over the reverses in Flanders. He mentioned that a congress would shortly be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle to concert means for effecting a general pacification, but at the same time urged powerful armaments and good supplies as the only means of securing a peace that would bring honour to the nation. The temper of the new parliament was all that the Pelham cabinet could desire. There was no opposition to the addresses in either House; and all they asked for in the Commons was freely granted. The land forces voted were similar in number to those of the last year, as were also those of the navy. Subsidies were also freely voted, not only to those powers who had before received them, but to the czarina of Russia, who had engaged to send troops to aid the allies in the next year's campaign. Although, therefore, peace was in prospect, there was no relaxation in preparations for war. Altogether the Commons voted above 13,000,000*l.* for the ensuing year, and that almost without opposition. Among the grants of this year was the sum of 152,000*l.* to Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. The spirit of disaffection was still rife in the Highlands, and in the address of the Lords there was a clause which declared that the diffusion of knowledge among the Highlanders would be the best safeguard of their loyalty and tranquillity: but although ministers could lavish away the public money for the purposes of war and in court pensions, they were not disposed to spend anything for such a high and noble purpose as the civilization of the brave mountaineers. The session closed on the 13th of May, 1748, when the king announced that hostilities had ceased, and that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Meanwhile there had been some changes in the cabinet. There was no longer any party struggles in parliament, but the cabinet was not so harmonious. Among its members there was jealousy, selfishness, and intrigue. That able diplomatist, Lord Chesterfield, had by his successes incurred the envy of the duke of Newcastle, and he resolved to get rid of him as secretary of state. And in this he appears to have had no difficulty. Chesterfield had exhibited too great eagerness for peace to please the king; and although he was not dismissed, yet the treatment he received at court compelled him to resign. At his resignation the duke of Newcastle wanted to bring in his friend Lord Sandwich, a man wanting in private morality and political honesty, but the post was given to the duke of Bedford. Newcastle, however, soon became as jealous of Bedford as he had been of Chesterfield, and in order to prevent his having any influence in foreign affairs, he took that department to himself, leaving his colleague in the joint secretaryship to attend only to home affairs. Sandwich was placed at the head of the Admiralty, and John Stanhope, the youngest brother of Lord Chesterfield, obtained a seat at that board under him. But these changes brought no cessation to the quarrels in the cabinet. There was constant disagreement between the duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham; and Pitt was frequently called upon by one or the other to act as arbiter or mediator in their quarrels. Amidst the turmoils in the cabinet, indeed, Pitt was the most rising man. But while he was their chosen arbiter or mediator, he does not appear to have been free from their envy; and but for his uniform and able support of their measures, it is probable that he would have been sacrificed with as little compunction as Chesterfield. But if Pitt was ambitious, he was, as Pelham acknowledged, honest —a rare virtue in the public men of the age. His thorough honesty made him the marked man of the time. It had been customary for the paymaster-general to retain 100,000*l.* in his hands, which he invested in government securities for his private benefit;' but he sent every balance as it accrued to the Bank of England, to be applied to its proper purposes. It had also been the custom, when a subsidy was advanced to a foreign power, to demand half per cent. as a honorarium; but great was the astonishment of the king of Sardinia, when Pitt sent his subsidy in full, and still greater, when he offered him a present for his integrity, to find that it was flatly refused. Such public virtue was rare in this venal age, and deserves to be mentioned with honour.

The congress met at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 11th of March. While they were sitting, if there was not actual, there was at least a show of war. France now stood alone in the field. It was not certain that peace would be accomplished. The allies were obstinate, and Russia was marching to their aid. Even Holland, which had been so earnestly desirous of treating, was in the spring of the year inclined to renew hostilities. The duke of Cumberland, and Prince William of Nassau, who had been proclaimed stadtholder, and to whom the means of the national defence had been entrusted, were both eager for the continuance of the war. In the spring the French boldly took the field against all comers. Marshal Saxe invested several places, and especially the strong fortress of Maestricht. The prospect of this fortress falling—for the prince of Orange failed in his warlike engagements, and the Russians were not likely to come up in time to be of any service—had more effect in bringing about a peace than all the negotiations of the members of congress. Then it was, and then only, that the notion of the renewal of the war was actually given up, and that George, who had really desired its continuance, signed the preliminaries of peace. Marshal Saxe had so skilfully conducted his operations, that it was impossible for Cumberland to hazard another battle before Maestricht with any chance of success. Hostilities ceased in May; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not finally signed before the 7th of October. As far as England was concerned, the fruits of this long and desperate war were chiefly these: a fearful expense of blood and treasure, national disgrace, an additional load of burdensome impositions, and an accumulated debt of 80,000,000*l.* sterling: a debt still forming part of that which like a millstone hangs round the neck of the English population.

Notwithstanding the disgraceful termination of the war, however, it was celebrated as though the nation had come out of the fiery ordeal surrounded with glory. The same bells which rang out their merry peals when in 1739 hostilities were declared against Spain, repeated their joyous sounds at the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

But while the interest and honour of the nation were lost sight of in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, King George had an eye to the repose of his kingdom and the security of his throne. There was not much to dread from the presence of Charles Edward in France, for at this time he had commenced a career of drunkenness and debauchery; vices which, if he had possessed great abilities—which he did not—would have unfitted him for any future enterprise. Yet by the treaty Charles Edward was to be expelled from France, and in virtue of that article of the treaty he was driven from that kingdom.

King George returned from Hanover in November; and on the 29th of the same month he opened the session of parliament. In his speech he took a more favourable view of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle than its articles warranted. He had, he said, made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his subjects: an assertion which was not borne out by facts. For his allies, too, he remarked that he had procured the best conditions which in the present situation of affairs could have been obtained. He represented the congress as one of the most harmonious character, all parties being desirous of bringing the negotiations to a happy conclusion. As the result of the treaty, he augured a long enjoyment of peace for the nation; and as seasons of tranquillity were the proper time for lessening the national debt, and strengthening the kingdom against future events, he recommended the Commons to improve the national revenue, strengthen the navy, extend commerce, and to adopt measures for the cultivation of the arts of peace. The addresses re-echoed back the royal sentiments in the most fulsome language; but they were not passed without some severe strictures on the articles of the treaty by some members in opposition.

But the most severe contest during this session arose out of a desire on the part of the king, the duke of Cumberland, and the ministers, to increase the severity of the Mutiny Bill; the main object of which was to augment the influence of the crown, as well as the authority and power of a military jurisdiction. From the time of Charles II. there had been a gradual spirit of encroachment in the articles of war; almost imperceptibly deviating from the civil institutes of the English constitution, but nevertheless directly tending towards the establishment of a military despotism. The bill which was now introduced into parliament was a climax to the spirit of encroachment which had been so long insidiously working. By it a power was vested in any commander-in-chief to revise and correct any legal sentence of a court-martial, by which the members of such a court, corresponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered absolutely useless, and the commander in a great measure absolute. By the bill he could not only summon such officers as he pleased to sit on any trial—a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature—but he could also review and alter the sentence. It rendered him, indeed, the judge both of the guilt and punishment. And this Mutiny Bill was rendered more obnoxious by a clause which rendered all officers on half pay subject to martial law—an attempt which had previously been made in this self-same session under another form, but which, from the clamour it had raised among those officers, had been rejected. But ministers were not to be beaten on any point. What the king desired must be done, and no one was more ready to second the court than Pitt, who had once uniformly opposed its measures. The bill was opposed in both Houses; but with a few insignificant amendments it passed in all its integrity, and among those who voted for it was Admiral Byng, who was one of the first to suffer under its rigour. Pitt's enunciation that the constitution of Great Britain depended upon the virtue of a standing army seems to have created great alarm in the country. The universal idea was, that a standing army was a menace and a danger to the national liberty. Under this impression a bill was brought in, limiting the time beyond which no soldier or non-commissioned officer should be compelled to continue in the service; but as this had a manifest tendency to undermine the existence of a standing army, ministers opposed it, and the scheme proved abortive. At the same time, ministers mitigated the alarm they had raised by reducing the army to 19,000, and the navy to 8000 men: Pelham, by whom this reduction was chiefly made, thus to some extent practically refuting Pitt's notion that the constitution depended upon an armed force.

During this session several bills were passed for the encouragement of trade and commerce. One of the most important of these was a bill for the establishment of British fisheries which might compete with those of the Dutch. The good effects of this scheme soon became visible. Merchants in different parts of the kingdom, and especially in North Britain, fitted out ships of great burden and peculiar structure for the purpose of that trade, which soon began to flourish, and which has continued to flourish more and more down to the present day. Sundry bills were also passed for the formation of new roads and other internal improvements. With the return of peace, the intelligence, capital, and spirit of the nation were turned into directions which had for their ends the real welfare of the kingdom, in contradistinction to the empty glory it had sought in the battle-fields on the Continent. The session closed on the 12th of April; after which, as was his usual custom, the king went to Hanover.

In his closing speech the king spoke of the sincere disposition which all the foreign powers manifested to maintain the peace of Europe. There might not have been any open disposition shown for the renewal of hostilities, but it is certain that, however friendly foreign powers might profess to be, there was a secret desire among them to break the peace; that pleasant words might flow from their lips, but war was in the hearts at least of some of the foreign potentates. In the last session of parliament, seeds had been sown which were not unlikely to produce the fruits of war. As at the close of a war the public generally suffers by the sudden dismissal of soldiers and seamen, who, having contracted evil habits, and finding themselves without employment and the means of subsistence, engage in desperate courses and prey upon the community, it was deemed expedient, when the army and navy were reduced by Pelham, to provide some opening for those dismissed, through which they might pass away without damage to the commonwealth. The most natural was that of encouraging them to form a new colony in North America, where they might not only be able after a brief period to support themselves by their industry, but eventually contribute to the wealth of the mother country. Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of Britain and France concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, which no treaty had as yet defined. A fort had been raised by the king of Great Britain at that part of the country called Annapolis, and a garrison was maintained there to overawe the French neutrals settled in the neighbourhood; but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended. Whenever there was war between Britain and France, there was ill blood manifested between the French and British colonists, which often resulted in fighting. And in their quarrels the French uniformly had the best of it, for if they were not strong enough of themselves, they called in the aid of their own countrymen settled at St. John's and Cape Breton, and of the native Indians. A scheme was therefore formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the crown of Great Britain. Lands were to be cleared of their woods and cultivated, and the fisheries on the coast were to be improved and extended. It was a well-designed scheme, and King George was charmed with it. The scheme was highly approved of, and as everything necessary for the comfort and protection of the emigrants was to be provided by government, in a brief space of time four thousand adventurers with their families left their native homes, under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, who was appointed their governor. They landed in June, and troops were withdrawn from Cape Breton for their protection. The town of Halifax, fortified with a palisade, soon arose amidst the woods of birch, fir, oak, and pine of Nova Scotia; and as these first colonists were quickly joined by others, chiefly of the same class, in a little time it became an important colony.

This new settlement gave great offence to France. Complaints were made that it was an infraction of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French court, indeed, secretly stirred up the Indians to harass the colonists with hostilities in such a manner as should effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps to induce them to abandon the settlement. As a counterpoise, the French also made an attempt to settle in the island of Tobago, but as this island was declared neutral by treaties, they were compelled to forego the enterprise. Nor were these the only signs of renewed war. The court of Spain was irritated by the settlement of some bodies of English and Scotch, whom the war had thrown out of employment, on the Mosquito coast in the Gulf of Mexico. The French ambassador at Madrid sought to induce Ferdinand VI. to resent this by joining in a new war against Britain; but although his Spanish majesty was discontented he did not listen to such an overture. On the contrary, in the autumn of this year the British envoy at the court of Madrid succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty with his Christian majesty, by which the British were restored to various privileges, and put on an equal footing with the nations hitherto most favoured by Spain. By this treaty also, the South Sea Company obtained the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all their claims, a sum inadequate to the extent of their losses. At the same time the British government renounced the Assiento treaty, into which it ought never to have entered. There was discontent everywhere.

In the interim of peace, we turn to political records. King George returned from Hanover in the autumn. In his absence fresh dissensions had broken out in the cabinet.

The dissension in the cabinet was for a time healed; but the session of 1751 was characterised by the bitter strife of parties. No question, however unimportant, was brought forward which did not give rise to clamour. Abuse took the place of argument, and especially on the various questions of privilege, which the House was called upon to discuss. For at this time the prince of Wales, jealous of his brother the duke of Cumberland, had again entered the arena of political strife. Leicester House, his residence, and the house of Lord Bolingbroke—with whom he was now in close connection—at Battersea, were the resort of all opposed to the government. It was at one or the other of these houses that most of the speeches in opposition were concocted, for few of the speeches at this period were uttered unpremeditated.

Parliament met on the 17th of January, 1751. The king acquainted the Houses with the new treaties concluded with Spain for terminating our differences; from which he augured a return of the ancient friendship which had existed between the two countries, and with Bavaria for securing the peace of the empire. The treaty with Bavaria for that object was simply to raise the Archduke Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans—a very questionable mode of procuring peace. And so it was argued by Lord Egmont, who took the lead in opposing the address. The election of an infant for the king of the Romans, it was urged, was far more likely to disturb than establish the tranquillity of Europe; because it would help to overturn the constitution of the empire by rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in one house, instead of being the result of a free election. Nor did the treaty with Spain better please the opposition. The South Sea Company, it was declared, had suffered from Spanish depredations to the extent of 1,300,000*l.*, and yet ministers had given up their claims for the paltry sum of 100,000*l.*

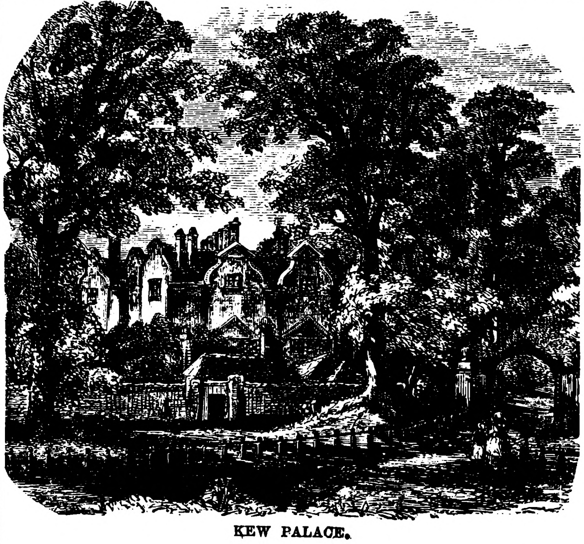
They especially inveighed against the absence of all notice on the subject of the right of search in the treaty with Spain. Ministers, they said, had bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards had assumed of searching British ships in open seas, and confiscating them should they find on board the least particle of what they called contraband merchandise. And the opposition not only opposed the address on the approbation it gave to the treaties mentioned in the royal speech, but also the subsidies it promised to pay: for of the subsidies there was no end, whether in peace or war. Unless the land tax, it was urged, was continued at four shillings in the pound, they could not afford to give any prince in Germany a single shilling without encroachment on the sinking fund; and at such a juncture, it was asked, would any gentleman presume to propose the continuation of that impost on the landowner, for the sake of bribing the princes of Germany to preserve the freedom and independency of their native country? The task of answering the arguments of the opposition fell to the lot of Pit, who was the prop and mainstay of the cabinet; and in spite of all opposition the address was carried by two hundred and three to seventy-four.

During the morning on which parliament met, great numbers of inflammatory papers were dispersed throughout London by the penny post, and by being secretly dropped into the areas of houses. These papers were called "Constitutional Queries," and their contents were chiefly levelled at the duke of Cumberland. At this time the duke of Cumberland was highly unpopular. His defeat in Flanders had overshadowed his victory at Culloden. His unpopularity extended to the army, for his severity and high notions of discipline had bred contempt among the troops. The authorship of "Constitutional Queries" was generally ascribed to Lord Egmont; but as the prince of Wales entertained a fierce enmity towards his brother, it was supposed that he had something to do with it. At all events, Walpole says the Jacobites bore but half the suspicion of being its authors. The insult was considered to be too flagrant to pass unnoticed. In the House of Lords it was moved by the duke of Marlborough that the "Queries" should be burnt by the common hangman, to which their lordships gravely consented. In the Commons, however, the motion was not allowed to pass without severe criticism. The hangman, however, did his work by burning the papers, and the king was requested to take effectual measures to discover the authors, printers, and publishers of the "Queries."

The debates on the question of privilege formed the grand theme of this session. But it was not unmarked by further contentions. There was considerable warmth of feeling displayed on the question of supplies. It was proposed by Lord Barrington that the number of seamen for the ensuing year should be eight instead of ten thousand men; while Pitt, who says Walpole was afterwards discovered renewing his connections with the prince of Wales, supported Potter's amendment, that the original number should not be reduced. On this occasion Pitt voted in the minority, for the original motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-seven to one hundred and seven. It would appear, however, that the reduction was proposed at the instance of Mr. Pelham, for on the report of the committee for the eight thousand seamen being brought up to be ratified by the whole House, Pitt expressed his concern at differing from him; protesting that he did not know it was *his* measure, and that it was his fear of Jacobitism which had made him "differ on this only point with those he was determined to lead his life." A reduction in the army was proposed by Lord Limerick, who ever since the death of Lord Bath had sided with the prince of Wales: the standing forces continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty men. As regards "ways and means," although there was some opposition, there was no spirited division, even on the most popular points. Walpole says that Sir John Cotton "piddled with a little opposition to the land tax of three shillings," but it was to no purpose. The grant of 30,000*l.* for fulfilling the king's engagement with the elector of Bavaria was opposed, but on a division the majority was so manifest that it was given up without telling. Some of the grants made this session were far more to the honour and interests of the country than the lavish subsidies which had previously been made to foreign princes. Thus funds were provided for the expenses of the infant colony of Nova Scotia, and for the relief and maintenance of the widows of naval officers. On the whole there was a great reduction in the annual supplies compared with the previous years: the total sum being only about 5,125,000*l.*

The annual Mutiny Bill again formed the subject of dispute and altercation. It had formerly, says Walpole, passed as quietly as the Malt Act, but for the last two or three years it had constantly afforded the longest contests. Political capital had been made out of the subject, especially by Lord Egmont, and Colonels Lyttelton and Townshend.

The prince of Wales had been suffering from an attack of pleurisy, but his illness was of short duration, for on the 12th he had been sufficiently recovered to attend the king to the House of Lords.



KEW PALACE.

The House was crowded and heated, and on leaving it, he went to Carlton House and unrobed, and having put on a light frock coat, took a walk in Kew Gardens. He returned to Carlton House in the evening, and lay down upon a couch in a cold damp room, which brought back all the worst symptoms of his malady. On the 18th he was considered by his physicians to be better, but on the 20th he was seized with a fit of coughing, an imposthume burst in his throat, and in a few moments he who had a crown full in his view was a corpse; his last words being, "*Je sens la mort.*"

Smollett broadly asserts that the kingdom was alarmed at the event, and the people filled with grief and consternation. This is not borne out by facts. The prince was not popular. At the same time he was greatly preferred to his brother the duke of Cumberland. He was not consigned to the tomb before ballads were sung about the streets, the burden of which was that the death of the duke would have been more welcome. Although there had never been a perfect reconciliation between the father and the son, yet he was shocked at the death of his first-born, and transferred the affection which he ought to have felt for him to his widow and her family. There had been faults on both sides, but it seems probable that those on the part of the father had preponderated, for he had shown an undue partiality towards his second son, the duke of Cumberland, which may have made Frederick what he had been. It seems to be a strange perversion in nature, but history bears out Walpole's assertion, that "it ran a little in the blood of the family to hate the eldest son; the prince himself having so far not degenerated, though a better-natured man and a much better father, as to be fondest of his second son, Prince Edward." Prince Frederick was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was interred without all the usual honours bestowed upon the remains of the first prince of the blood royal. Neither the king nor the duke his brother followed him to the grave, nor indeed any of his family. The duke of Somerset was chief mourner; but except certain lords appointed to hold the pall, no courtier was there to shed

> "A tear to grace his obsequies."

Prince Frederick left eight children, of whom the eldest became George III. In the course of a few days the young prince was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was provided with a household. At that time he was eleven years of age, and his education had been so much neglected that he could scarcely read English. In selecting those who were to be entrusted with the education of the heir-apparent, great care was taken to appoint those who were devoted to the politics and interests of the Pelhams. Thus Lord Harcourt, a man of inferior abilities, was appointed his governor; Stone, who had been private secretary to the duke of Newcastle, his sub-governor; Hayter, bishop of Norwich, his preceptor; and Scot, a high Tory, his sub-preceptor: such were the appointed guardians of the young prince. Walpole says that Stone, whom he characterizes as a "dark proud man, very able and very mercenary, was to be the real engine of their policy; and that Lord Harcourt, who was civil and sheepish, did not threaten them with traversing their scheme, or teaching the young prince other arts than what he knew himself—hunting and drinking." The Pelhams were desirous of nominating the servants of the princess's household; but much against their inclination Dr. Lee became her treasurer, and Cresset, who was related to the royal family by a duchess of Zell, and who "had come from somewhere in the provinces of France," her secretary. Lee was a man of great integrity, and had been designed by the late prince for chancellor of the exchequer: for, in the anticipation of wearing the crown, his ministers had been chosen, and those who were to be honoured with peerages.

On receiving the news of his brother's death, the duke of Cumberland observed sarcastically to Lord Sandwich: "It is a great blow to the country, but I hope it will recover it in time." The duke hoped at least by that event to become sole regent of the kingdom. Such was also the wish of the king. But this did not meet the views of the Pelhams, nor would it have met with the approbation of the country. "The butcher" in war might, if invested with irresponsible power, have become a tyrant. On the 7th of May a bill was brought into the Lords, which proposed that the princess dowager should be the guardian of the heir apparent and regent of the kingdom, and the public feeling was in favour of her claims. The bill passed a second reading and was already committed, when a message was received from the king recommending the settlement of a council of regency, consisting of the duke of Cumberland and nine principal officers of state, to co-operate with the princess regent till the heir-apparent was eighteen years of age, and a bill was passed to that effect. It would appear that George had expressed his terror at the prospect of leaving public affairs in the hands of women and children. He had a good opinion of the princess, he said, but he did not quite know her. His affections were with his son Cumberland, and he could not think why the British nation disliked him, except it was that they did not "love discipline." The cabinet was not in heart favourable to the king's recommendation, but they adopted it. The Pelhams even framed their mouths to make panegyrics on the duke, although they "were awkward and ill placed." But the hatred and fear of the duke seems to have been balanced by the consideration that all the great officers of the crown were to be his colleagues in the regency; and though the bill, which was framed on the king's recommendation, was loudly declaimed against by the Lords, it passed that House, as it did that of the Commons, by large majorities. The people were astonished that it should have passed so readily. Onslow, the speaker, had opposed the bill in a noble and affecting speech, in which he uttered a prayer for the king's life as the only preservative against the plan of power which it unfolded, and which he said if it ever took effect would exceed all the evils that could be foreseen from a single regent. There were few in the kingdom who had ever before prayed for George II., but now the people followed Onslow's example universally, earnestly praying that his life might be spared till his grandson came of age, in order that they might never fall under the rod of the duke of Cumberland's discipline.

In the course of this session an alteration was effected in the calendar. Hitherto the ecclesiastical and legal year dated from March 25th, the vernal equinox, while the historical year, that of common usage, commenced on the 1st of January. These two modes of reckoning were the source of perpetual inconvenience in the kingdom. The Julian Calendar, or Old Style, had also been continued to this date in preference to the improved Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, which made the reckoning of time in England eleven days behind that of the Continent, as corrected by the great movements of nature. In order to adapt national to natural time, therefore, it was necessary to throw eleven days out of the current year, thus making the usage of neighbouring countries that of England. Hence by an enactment—24 George II.—it was provided: "1. That throughout all his majesty's dominions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, the supputation according to which the year of our Lord began on the 25th of March shall not be used after the last day of December, 1751, and the first day of January next following shall be reckoned as the first day of the year 1752, and so in all future years. 2. That the natural day next immediately following the 2nd of September, 1752, shall be called and reckoned as the 14th day of September, omitting the eleven intermediate nominal days of the common calendar." It was on the motion of Lord Chesterfield that this alteration was made; but although its utility was obvious, as sweeping away error and confusion, it did not pass without opposition. The duke of Newcastle expressed himself averse to disturbing that which was at rest, and to the adoption of new-fangled things, thus exposing himself to the laughter of the House. As for the people, many of them felt that they were being robbed of their time, and in Oxfordshire especially there was a loud and popular election cry to give them back the eleven days which had thus been stolen from them. The measure had been advised by Bradley, the astronomer, and an illness which befell him soon after was popularly believed to have been a punishment.

The session closed in the month of June. In that month there was a change in the ministry. The king dismissed Lord Sandwich, and the duke of Bedford resigned. Bedford had been offered, in exchange for his seals of secretary of state, the two posts of master of the horse and president of the council, held by Sandwich, but he had refused. These posts were now filled up, Lord Hartington being made master of the horse, and Lord Granville president of the council. The seals of secretary of state were given to Lord Holderness: the king expressly commanding him to mind only the business of his province, and not to turn it into a mere office of faction, as his predecessor had done. But the voice of faction was now on the decline. The demise of the prince of Wales was a heavy blow to it. The "rising sun" had set in darkness, and the Leicester House party, headed by Bubb Doddington, offered, upon "proper conditions," to join the Pelhams with all their force, and thus enable them to crush the displaced Bedford party, if in the next session they should band against the administration. But the overtures of the Doddington family were not accepted, although the duke of Newcastle deemed it politic to amuse them with hopes from future possible changes. Of Proteus Bolingbroke nothing was heard on this occasion. He was indeed dying at Battersea of cancer in the heart, which proved fatal on the 12th of December. Some of his last hours were employed in blackening the memory of Pope, by whom he had been deified.

The month of December was fatal to a second member of the royal family. On the 19th died the queen of Denmark, his majesty's youngest daughter; "one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether the virtues of her heart were considered, or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved even almost to adoration by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a prince and two princesses; and universally admired and revered by the subjects of his Danish majesty." The death of the queen of Denmark had been preceded in October by the prince of Orange, who had recently been elevated to the stadtholdership, and who had been married to the eldest daughter of King George. His death was keenly felt by George, as he anticipated it might embarrass some of his foreign negotiations. But his son and daughter being both infants, the administration of the government—for his stadtholdorship had been made hereditary—devolved upon the princess as governante during his son's minority, and as such she succeeded to all the power the prince her husband had enjoyed, which was some relief to the king's anxiety. George feared he should have to mourn over the idol of his heart, the duke of Cumberland, for he was thrown from his horse while hunting at Windsor, and was given over by his physicians; but he recovered, at which, if he rejoiced, the people did not share in his joy. In his grief at the prospect of the duke's death, George expressed his fears that the nation, if left to a woman and children, would be utterly undone, but the nation did not share either in his joy or his fears. On the contrary, his death would have relieved them from the dread of suffering under the rod of his discipline.

Parliament reassembled on the 14th of November. At this time George had not much to say about foreign powers, for although there were secret machinations going forward, and there was much ado about the election of a king of the Romans, nothing particular had occurred to engage the attention of the British parliament. He gave them to understand, however, what he had in conjunction with the States-General; and that the death of the prince of Orange, which he deeply lamented, had not made any alteration in the state of affairs in Holland. He spoke of the country as being in a flourishing condition, but in the same breath mentioned that it was dishonoured by frequent crimes of robbery and violence, which he attributed to irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, and which he called upon them to suppress. The paragraphs in the speech were echoed back to the throne in addresses replete with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation.

Before the Christmas recess, the supplies for the year were regulated. On the motion of Lord Barrington, the number of seamen was increased to ten thousand: circumstances, he said, making that number necessary, although he did not think so large a number would always be required. As regards the army, Fox proposed the same number as last year, there being "no alteration of circumstances." That number was 18,857 men, and Sir John Cotton proposed it should be reduced to 15,000; but after a dull debate, in which Lord Egmont, who supported the motion, boldly expressed a wish to disband the guards and the regiment of blues, but to keep up the grenadiers to attend on the king's person—the motion was carried. Large sums were voted to make good deficiencies, to fulfil the engagements with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and for the maintenance of Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinea. As there was no longer war, the country gentlemen made an attempt to get the land-tax reduced from three to two shillings in the pound, but it was fruitless. On a division for the smaller sum, the greater was carried by more than three to one, and when the report was brought up, one member, Sydenham, affecting to shed tears, asked pardon for quoting a ludicrous epitaph on so melancholy an occasion, but which he could not avoid thinking was applicable to the great minister of the times who had so burthened land—

> "Lie heavy on him, land, for he
> Laid many a heavy load on thee."

Having passed the annual Mutiny Bill, parliament adjourned on the 19th of December, "an era," says Walpole, "for ever remarkable in English annals; opposition, which had lasted from the days of Queen Elizabeth, and even the distinctions of parties, having in a manner, at this period, ceased." But the voice of opposition was not wholly silenced. Jacobitism had been silenced by the crushing of the rebellion; opposition of a formidable character had been quashed by the death of the prince of Wales; and factions in the ministry had been set aside by the removal of Lord Sandwich and the duke of Bedford. But there was one subject when parliament reassembled on the 7th of January, 1752, which called up the ghost of opposition, and in which Bedford was induced to take the lead. The treaty with Saxony, mentioned by the king in his speech, was a subsidiary treaty; and its object was to obtain another electoral vote, to enable the Archduke Joseph to become king of the Romans, and from that exaltation a candidate for the succession of the empire. When Bedford came up from Woburn on the reopening of parliament, he had not the remotest idea of heading an opposition to the government. Bedford *did* consent to take the lead in opposing the Saxon treaty, and on the 28th, when the treaty was debated in the House of Lords, he opened the opposition to it with much spirit and ability. His greatest difficulty, he said, lay in its having been the act of the king, whom he had served for seven years, and to whom he was fearful of being misrepresented. But he could not keep silence on the subject of subsidiary treaties in times of peace. To waste money when we ought to be saving, he denounced as a dangerous practice. He represented that by paying for votes for the Archduke Joseph, we were purchasing advantages for our allies instead of ourselves, and instructing those princes who took our money never to unite with us but for money; that it would be a most unpopular measure with the people to tax them for money to be sent abroad when they could not possibly see that it touched their own interests; that the elector of Saxony could no more be depended upon than the elector of Cologne, who after signing and subscribing the subsidiary treaty had renounced his act; that thirty or forty of the college of princes might be found to take our money, and do nothing for it; that Russia had done so, and yet was taking no steps in the matter; that France had threatened to interfere; that our German policy might engage us in a war that had no British or national object; and that if this measure was yielded to by the minister against his will he had acted against it with extravagant imbecility. The duke concluded with a motion for an address representing that subsidiary treaties ought never to be concluded in times of peace, and more particularly after a long war, and that they are neither necessary at present, nor likely to procure any real advantage. The treaty was defended by the duke of Newcastle "in a wild, incoherent, and incomprehensible speech," and by Lord Halifax and the duke of Argyll. Lord Sandwich, also, voted for it, but at the same time bitterly censured the Pelhams, and professed to agree at least with half the arguments which Bedford had enunciated against it. The motion was rejected without a division, and the result of the duke of Bedford's opposition was, that he lost the king's favour; for when he next presented himself at court George took no notice of him. A similar motion was made in the Commons, but it met with but feeble support, and was negatived by a large majority. Old Horace Walpole, by a singular perversion of integrity, expressed his aversion to it in glowing terms, and yet concluded his oration by professing his duty to the king and voting for it.

During this session a bill for commuting capital punishments passed the Commons; the monthly shambles at Tyburn having had the effect of shocking the majority of its members. But the Lords were not so tender-hearted; it was rejected by them without a division. A bill empowering government to purchase the estates in Scotland forfeited by the late rebellion, and which the king was to cede to the public, in order to have colonists settled on them, met with better success. It passed the Commons by a large majority; the general impression being that it would introduce industry and the arts of civilization into the Highlands. One of the most powerful speeches in its favour was uttered by Legge, who declared that the system would have more effect than all that had been done about dress and jurisdictions; because those regulations were imposed by force, whereas this was to be purchased. He argued that there was only one of two courses to be pursued; either to improve the condition of the Highlanders, or exterminate the disaffected by fire and sword. "What is loyalty or disloyalty here," he said, "is there food or starvation. Feed the clans, they will obey starve them, they must rebel. The means, therefore, of eradicating this spirit in the common people are obvious; civilize them; introduce the arts of peace amongst them." This was a doctrine utterly at variance with the sentiments of the duke of Cumberland. When the bill was sent up to the House of Lords, he grew furious at the idea of favour being shown to the Highlanders, and his fury was the greater because he had not been consulted about the measures proposed by the bill. As they were concerted by the king's ministers, however, and had received his majesty's sanction, he could not openly oppose them. But he did what he could to traverse the design of showing favour to the Highlanders, whose hatred of him was about equal to his implacability towards them. The duke of Bedford was in himself a little host, for his powers of debate were not surpassed in the Upper House. But it could scarcely be expected that he would oppose such a measure as was now before the House. Nor would he have done so, had Cumberland condescended to have asked him, for there was no community of feeling between them. His grace took another course to rouse the spirit of opposition in the breast of Bedford. He made use of Walpole, the author of "Memoirs of George II.," to unloose the tongue of the duke. He furnished Walpole with some "extraordinary anecdotes on the Scotch affairs," the whole burden of which was to prove that government had been guilty of great imprudence and a disgraceful lenity ever since the rebellion; and *he* unfolded the duke's budget to Bedford, who was too easily persuaded to make use of the information without knowing from whom it came. The affair was disgraceful to all parties concerned in it; and although Walpole could not see the beam in his own eye, he clearly saw the mote in the duke's, for he remarks:—"It was amazing that a man who could make so distinguished a figure, as his grace did, by the management of the materials, should have submitted to be put in motion so blindly." Bedford commenced his opposition to the measure by endeavouring to prove its impracticability. There would be a difficulty, he said, in procuring people to settle on the forfeited estates, and, if procured, of maintaining them. The English would not go there; the Irish could not be spared; the Highlanders would not remove from their fastnesses, and although the Germans were ever willing to migrate, they would not people countries worse than their own. Then he endeavoured to fasten on the government the opprobrium of cruelty towards the Scots. Six years had elapsed since the rebellion, during which time the disloyal inhabitants had been permitted to remain on the forfeited estates; would they now banish them, and thus engraft cruelty upon their negligence? And yet while he deprecated this species of cruelty, he expressed a fear that the encouragement given to Scotland by this and other bills would even in their days produce a new rebellion. He was even apprehensive that by the grants of money which they had made for the relief of Scotland, rebellion would grow a national malady. In conclusion, Bedford denounced the bill as an extensive job, and moved that its consideration be postponed till time had been given to inquire into the facts of which he had become possessed. Walpole says that it required more art than the chancellor possessed to efface the impressions made by Bedford in this oration, but the intellects of the noble lords who heard it must have been very obtuse if the impressions left upon their minds were not favourable to the bill, except those whose hatred to the Scots was implacable. In truth, the result of the debate, which was long and tedious, proves that the arguments adduced had that tendency, for it was passed by a majority of eighty against twelve.

Among the measures adopted this session was a bill for consolidating the several classes of annuities—no less than fourteen different stocks being in existence—into five stocks chargeable on the sinking fund and made transferable at the Bank of England. In consequence of several petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Westmoreland and Yorkshire, a bill passed both Houses, by which the ports of Lancaster and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland. In March complaints were made by the citizens of London that many foreigners had lately come into England, and having procured advantages in trade by private naturalization bills, had returned to their own countries with their gains, by which they avoided sharing in our public burdens. To prevent this for the future, a clause was inserted in a private naturalization bill, which confined the benefits of naturalization to the time foreigners actually resided *within* the realm. In one particular the Pelhams this year immortalized their names, for they obtained an order for printing the journals of parliament; so that henceforth their transactions were placed before the world in a clearer light than heretofore. The session closed on the 26th of March, and soon after the king, accompanied by the duke of Newcastle, set out for Hanover in order to complete his scheme for electing a king of the Romans.

Undismayed by the opposition which the duke of Bedford and his party had displayed towards subsidiary treaties, Newcastle went actively to work with the German electors to perfect this notable scheme of King George. His negotiations chiefly referred to Bavaria, Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, and the Palatinate; but every court in Germany, whether great or small, had tempting subsidies offered to them to obtain their support. But the great scheme of electing the Archduke Joseph king of the Romans was almost everywhere looked upon with disfavour, and the king and the duke returned to England without effecting anything besides creating enemies on the Continent; for even Maria Theresa and her imperial husband were resolved to oppose the election of their son the Archduke Joseph to the kingdom of the Romans, while several of the princes of the empire, on whose votes he had counted, declared themselves against the scheme.

During the absence of the king there had been squabbles in the household of the prince of Wales, which, on his return, he was called upon to settle. The princess dowager had conceived an aversion to Lord Harcourt his governor and the bishop of Norwich his preceptor. And like other indulging parents, while the princess did not wish to tax the powers of the prince of Wales too much, she seems to have considered that his education was neglected by his preceptors. These jars, says Walpole, appeared soon after the king's going to Hanover, and when he returned they were ripe for his interposition. Both Harcourt and the bishop sought his interference; the latter informing him that he had been obstructed in his duty, and that improper means had been employed to fill the young prince with wrong and dangerous notions of government. George had not returned from Hanover in a very gracious mood. One of his first acts was to dismiss Lord Holderness, the secretary of state, because in the previous summer he had played at "Blindman's buff" at Tunbridge. Harcourt and the honest bishop of Norwich were not treated much more courteously. Finally, Dr. Thomas, bishop of Peterborough, became preceptor of the young prince, and Lord Waldegrave his governor. Dr. Thomas is represented as a man of fair character, but esteemed rather a Tory in his principles; and Lord Waldegrave as a man of unimpeachable honour and veracity.

Parliament met on the 11th of January 1753. In his speech the king informed his parliament that he was continuing his negotiations, and that all his views in them were calculated and directed to preserve and secure the peace and the consequent welfare of Europe. One gratifying announcement was that he should require no money beyond the ordinary supply. The continuance of the negotiations, however, was not received with general favour. Lord Egmont proposed striking out that sentence in the address which approved of his majesty's foreign policy. He believed, he said, that his majesty's measures were well intended, but they would prove unsuccessful; that the college of princes were averse to the election of a king of the Romans; and that the proceedings of the king of Prussia, though ostensibly referring to Silesia, were in reality prompted by his disapprobation of our conduct in these elections. Other members inveighed against the whole address, but there was no division. His lordship, however, renewed his opposition when Fox, as secretary at war, moved that the land forces should remain the same as in the two previous years. He combated the giant of military power, and expressed his surprise that gentlemen professing Whig principles should vote for so large an army in times of peace. He contended that danger from Jacobitism and conspiracy was no longer to be feared, and that therefore the army should be reduced; but the sense of the House was against him. Indeed the business, as regards supply and of ways and means, was transacted with very little altercation; for it was such as gave very general satisfaction. Provision was made for the maintenance of the colony of Nova Scotia, the civil establishment of Georgia, the support of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamabo, where the French had attempted to make a new settlement; and the Commons enabled his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Poland and the elector of Bavaria; but the whole of the supplies, including grants for former deficiencies, for which no previous provision had been made, amounted only to about 2,132,700*l.*, a moderate sum compared with the annual expenses of the war period.

At this period the law of marriage was disgraceful to any civilized community. Unions could be formed with more facility than they were at a recent period by the blacksmith of Gretna Green. There was neither publication of banns nor licence required as preliminaries to the solemn ceremony. Any clergyman might perform it at any hour of the day or night or in any place. Even the consent of parents was not required, nor was the age of the parties taken into consideration.

To remedy this abuse a bill was prepared by the judges, under the auspices of the lord chancellor, which provided that all marriages should henceforth take place either by banns published on three successive Sundays, or by licence granted in a regular manner; and that all persons solemnizing marriages without these previous steps were to be transported, on conviction, for seven years, and the marriage was to be null and void. It seems strange, but although every class of the community had suffered from the old system, the bill met with a severe opposition. It was objected to as contrived to preserve the wealth and family connections of the aristocracy; to raise too many obstacles to matrimony; and to place too much power in the hands of the chancellor. After some severe criticism, with a few amendments, it passed the Lords, and was sent down to the Commons, where it encountered still greater opposition. Speeches, which Walpole calls mere "flourishes in the air," were made by Nugent and Charles Townshend, but its real opponent was Fox, secretary at war. He laid open the chicanery and jargon of the lawyers, and denounced the chancellor as their proud mufti. From the beginning to the end of the bill, one view, he said, only predominated—pride and aristocracy. At every stage of its progress Fox declaimed against the bill. At its last reading he ridiculed it for an hour and a half. Some amendments had been made in committee, and Fox had inserted these in his copy in red ink. In his oration as he held it up, the attorney-general remarked: "How bloody it looks." "Yes," replied Fox, in the words of Macbeth to the ghost of Banquo; "but thou canst not say I did it." Then reverting to the lamentation of Mark Antony over the robe of Cæsar, as he pointed to the attorney-general, he exclaimed: "Look what a rent the learned Casca made," and then turning to Pelham, he remarked: "Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed." The amendmends made in the Commons renewed the opposition in the Lords. The duke of Bedford opposed the bill *in toto*, but finally confined his attack on the last clause, which provided that it should not extend to foreign countries. One clause provided that the woman should give her consent in writing, to which it was objected that many women could not write. But the bishop of Oxford endeavoured to sweep away this objection with a sophistry which, says Walpole, would have distinguished him in any church. The clergyman might write it himself and give it to the woman, and she might give it him back again; the bill did not say that when she gave it in writing it must be her own penmanship. At length the Lord

Chancellor Hardwicke rose to reply; "which he did," says Walpole, "with all the acrimony of wounded pride, detected ambition, and insolent authority, and the vials of his wrath were poured out on Fox." The bill passed, but its operations did not extend to Scotland, so that Gretna Green remained open to all lovers, who, having the means, chose to be married against the wishes and consent of their parents. Even that "amorous, hot, and inexperienced young man" Townshend, who had been, as he asserted, debarred from an advantageous match by his capricious father, had his remedy by an elopement.

Another Act, by which this session was distinguished, was passed for the naturalization of the Jews.. Ever since the Restoration the Jews had been tolerated in England, but they had not been allowed the full privileges of British subjects. In the reign of Queen Anne, they had offered the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, half a million of money, if he could obtain permission for them to purchase Brentford with the full privileges of trade and commerce. It is evident from this princely offer, which they would most likely have doubled, that they were as of old prosperous in England, although still labouring under restrictions; but the old enmity against them was still in existence. The clergy and the merchants, the two most powerful bodies in the nation, prevented Godolphin from favouring their views. It was conceived by Mr. Pelham that bigotry and prejudice were not so rampant as they were in the days of the "good Queen Anne," and he introduced a bill for the naturalization of persons professing the Jewish religion without receiving the sacrament as ordained by Statute Jac. I. In the Commons there was considerable clamour against the bill, although it was not a measure which would naturalize the whole body of Jews at once. It was urged by one member that to naturalize Jews would be to rob Christians of their birthright, and by another, that if they were allowed to purchase and hold landed estates, would be to give the lie direct to the prophecies of the New Testament, which set forth that they were to remain without any fixed habitation until they acknowledged Christ to be the Messiah. Sir John Barnard, the City member, asked if the Jews should become possessed of a great share of the land of the kingdom, how those who heard him would be certain that Christianity would continue to be the fashionable religion; but what was more to the purpose of opposition, he asserted that to put Jews, or any other foreigners, upon an equal footing with natives, would be only taking the bread out of the mouths of our people without adding anything to our national commerce. Scripture was largely quoted by men who rarely consulted its pages, to show that the Jews must remain a people "scattered and peeled" to the end of time, and that all our penal enactments against them, barbarous as they were, were only working out the will of Heaven against their race. When the bill came to the third reading, seeing that no arguments prevailed, Lord Egmont endeavoured to set it aside, by moving for an adjournment, more than hinting that those who voted for it would experience the ill consequences to themselves at the next general election, when they would be made to feel the general resentment. This was no weak argument, but it passed the Commons by a majority of forty-one. It also passed the Lords, where it even received the support of many bishops.

Among other measures passed this session was one for the better preservation of game; poaching being considered by the legislature to be one of the crying sins of the day. An Act was also passed for preventing the depredations committed on wrecks, and the cruelties inflicted on shipwrecked persons; practices which prevailed to a shameful extent on the coast of Cornwall and other parts of the kingdom. It is to this parliament, likewise, that the honour of laying the foundation of the British Museum is due; its origin being the purchase of the Sloane Library and Museum, the Harleian Manuscripts, and Montague House in Russell Street, by means of a lottery sanctioned by an Act passed for that express purpose. Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of June.

That day witnessed the execution of another victim of the rebellion. Doctor Archibald Cameron, a man of learning and humanity, had used his utmost efforts to prevent his brother—"the gentle Lochiel"—from espousing the cause of the Pretender, but when he found that he could not prevail, he followed him into the field. He attended Lochiel throughout the war, and when it was over cured him of his wounds. He was excepted by the Act of Indemnity, and therefore doomed to the gallows if ever he should be caught. What he returned to Scotland for is uncertain, but he was taken, tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn; undergoing, according to Walpole, "a forced death with as much composure as a philosopher could affect at dying a natural one." His heroic bearing moved the populace who witnessed the scene to compassion and even to tears; and many well-wishers of the government of King George thought that the sacrifice of a victim at this juncture was not only impolitic but adverse to its security.

The summer of 1753 was marked by tumults in different parts of the kingdom. The dearness of provisions, and bread in particular, was the chief cause of the commotions. At Bristol the people plundered the corn vessels in the harbour, which were laden for exportation, and committed such outrages in the city, that the magistrates were compelled to call in the dragoons to their assistance. Similar riots occurred in Yorkshire, Manchester, and other places in the northern counties; the most formidable being at Leeds, where the military were obliged, in their own defence, to fire upon the rioters, several of whom were killed.

In Ireland, too, the people had long been discontented, arising from the partial administration of the duke of Dorset, and the ascendency of the Protestant primate, who was accused of meddling with the Irish House of Commons. So unruly was the Irish parliament, that government were often left in a minority, and when majorities were obtained it was only by twos and threes. On one occasion, during the autumn session of this year, they were afraid to proceed to a division, but sent over a bill—which had been prepared to enable them to dispose of an overplus of the revenue for the benefit of the kingdom—to the English ministry; not suffering such a diminution of the prerogative. Walpole says: "As the parties were so equally balanced, the animosities did not flag, but proceeded to great extremities, both in the English manner of abuse and in the Irish of duels."

At this period matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between the British and French in different parts of North America, which threatened to involve the crowns of Britain and France in hostilities. When, however, the king met his parliament on the 15th of November, he affirmed that the events of the year did not render it necessary for him to offer anything particular to their consideration relating to foreign affairs. Nay, he expressed a confidence that peace would be preserved, although it might be said that the wheels of the car of the Juggernaut of war could be heard rumbling in the distance. His majesty's chief concern was the increase of crime in England, to which he again urged their attention. But we do not find that any particular note was taken of his recommendation. At all events, parliament was employed till the end of this year in undoing what had been done in the previous session. It has been seen that they then, by an act of grace and favour, naturalized the Jews; now they set to work to denaturalize them. Lord Egmont's threat of the national resentment was not ill-founded. The Jew Bill had inflamed the nation and excited the bigotry of the people to an unnatural degree; only, indeed, to be equalled by the ferment of the affair of Doctor Sacheverell. The Regency Bill, with the fearful clause of *præmunire*, had passed without giving rise to a single pamphlet; the Marriage Bill, "that golden grate that separated the nobility from the plebeians," had not excited a complaint from the latter; but this Jew Bill, which gave some inconsiderable advantages to a small section of the community, had alarmed the whole nation. A general election was at hand, and this was to be the battle-cry of the hustings, if the cause was not swept away before the writs were issued. Obscure men, who perhaps wanted the necessary means for purchasing seats, or the topics of party to raise clamour, fastened on it as the gate through which they meant to pass to honour. The nation became inflamed with what men call "Christian zeal." The populace grew mad with it, catching the frenzy for the most part from the pulpit. Bishops had honestly concurred in the bill, but the country parsons and the "little curates" everywhere preached against it. They even preached against the bishops for deserting the interests of the gospel; thus raising up a standard of rebellion in the church. So rampant was the bigotry they displayed, that some led the people to believe that England would be made to partake in the curses pronounced by prophecy on Jerusalem and the Holy Land; while others, zealous for the honour of these prophecies, expressed their fears that by this Jew Bill their completion would be defeated. And to this worse than senseless clamour, the ministers, with a general election full in view, gave way. But for that they might have braved the storm: as it was, "they submitted to fight under the banners of prophecy, in order to carry a few more members in another parliament." On the very day that parliament met the duke of Newcastle moved the repeal of the bill; which he asserted had been merely a point of *political policy*. It is curious to observe how suddenly many members, and even some of the bishops, changed their minds. The bishop of Oxford, an adept in casuistry, defended the bench of bishops for having supported the measure; but he said they had only considered it in a political light, had never much liked it, and would be glad to have it repealed, "to quiet the minds of the good people." Was the bishop afraid of the hostility of the country parsons and the little curates? More honest, and in the true spirit of Christianity, Drummond, of St. Asaph, boldly declared that the bishops could not have opposed the bill without indulging in a spirit of persecution abhorrent from the spirit of the gospel. Lord Temple opposed the repeal of the bill. The approaching election, he said, had given rise to this uproar, and he protested against their giving way to the popular clamour; he had never listened to it, "nor always thought that the voice of the people was the voice of God." The duke of Bedford, who had opposed the bill, was now against the repeal; asserting that it was the effect of an imbecile administration. Its repeal was mainly defended on the consideration that it was the policy of a free government to give way to the popular voice, and the House confirmed that doctrine. A similar motion was made in the Commons by Sir James Dashwood, an eminent leader in the opposition; and the 4th of December was fixed for a call of the House, to take the matter into consideration, but before that day arrived the Lords sent down their bill, which was adopted *nem. con.* Nor was the resuscitated spirit of persecution against the Jews satisfied with this easy triumph. By the Plantation Act, which had been in force thirteen years, all foreign Jews, as well as foreign Christians, if they had resided seven years in any of his majesty's plantations or colonies in America, became free denizens of Great Britain. An attempt was made to repeal this Act, but on this subject ministers made a stand, and the motion was defeated. Both Pelham and Pitt denounced the attempt as likely to revive intolerance towards other classes of the community; and as the clamour against the Jews was only a little election art, if it was not checked, Pitt said, there would be sure to follow "a septennial church clamour."

During this session Sir John Barnard moved for a repeal of the bribery oath. "But," says Walpole, "the consideration that the repeal would avow permission of bribery prevailed over the certainty of bribery heightened by perjury," and the motion was rejected without a division. The only other business of the session was a bill for improving regulations already in existence, to prevent the spreading of a contagious distemper which was raging among horned cattle, and a bill for subjecting the troops of the East India Company in the East Indies to military law. The latter bill was warmly opposed by some members as a dangerous extension of military power, and as prejudicial to the civil rights of British subjects, but it passed by a large majority. The session closed early in April, and shortly after it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued by the lord chancellor for convoking a new parliament.

The new parliament, which was "chosen in the very spirit of the Pelhams," met on the 31st of May. It sat for five or six days in order to pass one bill, and to constitute itself a parliament; for according to Walpole, "by the Regency Bill the last parliament that should sit in the life of the king was to revive on his death; and the new one was too acceptable to the ministry not to be ensured." Beyond this nothing was done, for although the state of foreign affairs was becoming more and more alarming, no notice was taken of them; the subject was postponed until they met in the winter. His majesty said the lord chancellor had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete, without loss of time, certain parliamentary proceedings which he judged would be for the satisfaction of his good subjects, but he did not think proper to lay before them any business of a general nature before they again assembled.

It had been asserted that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle would prove a bond of permanent amity between the potentates of Europe, but in reality it was only a temporary truce—a cessation from hostilities which both sides were unable to continue. There was a spirit of rivalry between the subjects of France and Britain in the East Indies, which dated from the preceding war. In that war we had lost Madras, and since that time, under pretence of engaging in support of two contending nabobs, the two nations had continued hostilities with various success. It was, however, in America that the rivalry of the two nations appeared most formidable. There, most certainly, the French were the aggressors. Their attempts on that continent extended to nothing less than, by erecting a chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, to back all our settlements, cut off our communication with the Indians west of that river, and enclose and starve our universal plantations and trade. By that long line of frontier forts, British America would have been excluded from the rest of the continent. From the very nature of things, such pretensions as these were not only untenable but unjustifiable.

Yet in this very month the lord chancellor had informed the new parliament that his majesty would not speak of foreign affairs until they met in the winter, the French and British had proceeded to open hostilities in America. It was but a skirmish, but still it was war. Major Washington with about fifty men attacked a party of French, and slew the commanding officer. He was aided in this exploit by an Indian half-king and twelve of his subjects; and in the express which he despatched home on the subject, he said that he "heard the bullets whistle, and that there was something charming in the sound." But Washington's self-glorification was evanescent, for in July the French gathered together and defeated him in the great meadows on the western borders of Virginia; a trifling action, but one of importance, as it was the real commencement of the war. The intelligence of this defeat arrived in August, and, says Walpole, it gave a reverberation to the stagnated politics of the ministry. The duke of Newcastle breathed nothing but military operations, and he and the chancellor held councils of war —none being present except Lord Holderness, whom they did not consult—but all that was done was to appoint, at the recommendation of a Quaker, Sharp, the governor of Virginia, for their general.

Parliament met on the 14th of November. In his speech the king demanded supplies for the preservation of our rights in America, but still inculcated notions of tranquillity. The general state of affairs was represented to have undergone but very little alteration, and as for his good brother the king of Spain—whose governors in the West Indies were by orders aiding the French--he had lately received from him the strongest assurances of friendship and confidence, which he would assiduously cultivate. Both France and Spain, indeed, were represented as being amicably disposed, and not even a hint of the encroachments of the French in America dropped from his lips. Newcastle's belligerent furor had cooled down to zero. But the members were not so pacific. In the debate upon the address, it was plainly declared that no faith could be put in the assurances of Spain, and that France would never cease her aggressions until compelled by cannon balls. Beckford urged that we should exert our naval strength as Elizabeth did, and not go about seeking alliances, which in the last war had run us thirty millions in debt. But the opposition in both Houses was of a negative character, for the address passed without a division.

For a brief period the new parliament was all harmony. Supplies were liberally granted and subsidies voted to the king of Poland and the elector of Bavaria, almost without a word of opposition. The subsidies were the more readily allowed, because in case of an open rupture with France, it was thought that she would endeavour to avail herself of her superiority by land, by invading the king's German dominions, and therefore it might be necessary to secure the assistance of such allies on the continent. This supposition proved correct as regards the ambitious designs of France, but, as will be seen, very little dependence was to be placed upon the professed attachment of the subsidized princes. It was money thrown away, as had happened on many occasions before. Pitt and Fox had, in previous sessions, denounced the system of subsidizing foreign princes, but they were not now in a position to obstruct public business, for they continued in their subordinate offices, Pitt as paymaster, and Fox as secretary at war. But they were ill at ease in these offices. Each writhed under the arrangement by which Robinson had taken the management of the House of Commons. Robinson was to each of them an object of contempt. "The duke," said Pitt, "might as well send his jack boot to lead us," and Fox agreed with him. There was an understanding between them that they should unite in bringing him into contempt, and Pitt commenced the work; for if they could not obstruct business they could attack persons, and thus disturb the harmony of parliament. And an opportunity of doing so effectually was not long wanting. On a sudden a scene was acted which startled the House of Commons out of its habitual slumber. The recent elections had been marked by a general system of bribery, and some of them were as a natural consequence disputed.

There were petitions presented against them, and on one occasion the younger Mr. Delavel ridiculed the petitioner with such effect as to throw the House into a broad grin of laughter on the topics of bribery and corruption. This was Pitt's opportunity. He was in the gallery, and rushing down to the floor of the House, he demanded: "Do members laugh on such a subject as bribery? Do we try within the House to diminish our own dignity, when such attacks are made upon it from without?" Then in the midst of a sudden silence, which succeeded to the uproar, he called upon the Speaker to extend a saving hand to raise the character of the House. And not him only. He called upon all who heard him to assist, lest "they should only sit to register the arbitrary acts of one too powerful a subject." The duke of Newcastle had hoped he had bound Pitt to silence, but he was deceived. He was as terrified, by "this thunderbolt thrown in a sky so long serene," as Pitt's audience had been confounded. He was aware of the Pitt and Fox alliance, and the only thing he could do to save his cabinet from their mutual personal attacks was to sever the bond between them; either to raise Pitt over Fox or Fox over Pitt. Horace Walpole was employed to break their coalition. He tried Pitt first, but he had recently increased his political importance by marrying a sister of Lord Temple, and he therefore boldly demanded instant admission into the cabinet as the price of his future silence, and the negotiation failed. With Fox, however, the duke of Newcastle succeeded better. The negotiation with him was entrusted to Lord Waldegrave, and it ended with his being made a cabinet councillor, on the condition that he would act under Sir Thomas Robinson, and give up all connection with Pitt. Thus Newcastle had silenced one of his formidable opponents, and the other gave him no trouble for the rest of the session. Pitt felt the desertion of Fox, and told him that henceforth they were upon different lines.

It was essentially necessary that at this period Britain should have possessed a firm and capable government. The storm of war, which at first had appeared no bigger than a man's hand in the distant horizon, was now almost ready to pour forth its fury. The British cabinet had tried to shut their eyes at its approach, but it had become too manifest for them not to take notice of it. In March, 1755, they frankly announced to parliament that war was inevitable. A message from the king stated that France was making preparations, and that our forces must be instantly augmented. This message was answered by an affectionate address; and the committee of supply eagerly voted a million for the defence of our American dominions. The prospect of war seems to have shortened the session, for it was closed on the 25th of April, after which the king set out for Germany. His visit to Germany on this occasion met with a strong opposition in parliament, which, however, was overruled; and leaving a regency, of which the duke of Cumberland and Fox were members, to take care of the great national interests of Britain, he hastened to Hanover to secure its safety in the usual way,—by subsidizing auxiliary powers.

The event of George Washington's failure in defending the British posts on the Ohio at length roused the lethargic British cabinet to some degree of action. In January of this present year, 1755, General Braddock was sent with a body of English troops to succour the colonists in Virginia. His campaign was disastrous.

All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of Braddock's army fell into the hands of the enemy, and in his cabinet were found his instructions, of which the French court afterwards made great use in their manifestoes and memorials. The retreat of the British army was ably conducted by George Washington, and there was no pursuit, but the terrible Indian scalping knife left few of the wounded to tell the sad tale of the reverse. The remnant of the army retreated to Fort Cumberland, and had they fortified themselves there they might have been a check upon the French and their scalping allies during the rest of the year in the ravages they committed upon the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but instead of this, leaving their sick and wounded at that fort, they marched to the number of sixteen hundred men to Philadelphia, and from thence, by the order of General Shirley, on whom the command had devolved, they went to Albany in New York, thus leaving Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania in a comparatively defenceless state against the attacks of the French and Indians. Shirley made an attack on a French fort at Niagara, but was repulsed; and Sir William Johnson was equally unsuccessful at Crown Point. The only victory obtained by the British this year on land was the defeat of a body of French and Indians and the capture of the fort of Beau-Séjour on the confines of Nova Scotia. The result of these conflicts emboldened the native Indians, who formed a contemptible notion of the English and a high esteem of the French; and who, while the regular troops on both sides had gone into winter quarters, committed the most fearful atrocities on the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

While the British and French were thus fighting in North America their ships were engaged on the broad Atlantic. Eleven ships of the line had been sent to watch a French expedition that had sailed from the ports of Rochefort and Brest with reinforcements to the French Canadians. The British fleet was under the command of Admiral Boscawen, who had orders to fall upon the French, and if possible destroy them. The squadrons met in a fog off Newfoundland, and two French ships of the line were captured, but the rest got into Louisbourg, the fortified harbour of Cape Breton. As soon as this affair was known in Europe, the French ambassador, M. de Mirepoit, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had been recently sent to negotiate with King George. The French court complained bitterly of Boscawen's attack on their ships in a time of peace; but it was justly retorted that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both necessary and justifiable. On our part we recalled our ambassador from Paris, which was equivalent to a regular declaration of hostilities, but both Britain and France still hesitated to declare war openly or officially. In July Sir Edward Hawke was sent with a fleet of eighteen ships of the line on a cruise to the westward, and in October Admiral Byng took the sea with a larger fleet, but neither of them met with the French fleet on its return from America, which they had been sent to capture or destroy. During the year there was great activity in our ship yards, and cruisers were despatched on every hand, and the French trade in the West Indies was almost annihilated. Before the end of the year three hundred of their merchant ships, many of which from St. Domingo and Martinique were extremely rich, and eight thousand French seamen were brought into British ports. So active were the British in capturing the merchant vessels of France, that no one would insure them at a lower rate than thirty per cent., while the British paid no more than the common insurance: a proof of British superiority at sea, at which the French nation was both alarmed and incensed.

While the king was in Hanover there were intrigues going on at home which promised a political storm on the next meeting of his parliament. His oft-repeated disappointments had made Paymaster Pitt inclined to be mutinous. With his family connections, as the king kept him at arm's length, he paid court to the dowager princess of Wales and young Prince George, both of whom were in opposition to the government. It would appear from Walpole, that Pitt had sent to the duke of Newcastle the day before the king went abroad, to know whether or not his grace would make him secretary of state on the first convenient opportunity, and that his answer being unsatisfactory, from that moment he cast his eyes towards the successor. He was the more offended, as Fox had been preferred to the cabinet, and he showed his chagrin by going in form to Holland House, and telling his rival that henceforth they could have no further connections at present.

The king returned from Hanover in September. At that time the duke of Newcastle had full knowledge that the subsidiary treaties would be opposed not only by Pitt and Legge, but by others. His grace "took a panic." The moment George returned he poured the tale into his ears, and an attempt was made to disarm the dreaded orator. By permission of the king, his grace offered Pitt a cabinet councillor's place and confidence. Pitt replied that he was honoured by any ray of graciousness beaming upon him from the throne, for he longed to bask in its sunshine; but he could not accept the cabinet councillorship. Would he then be so good as to support the Hessian treaty? asked his grace. "Most undoubtedly," replied Pitt, "if it will be a particular compliment to his majesty." "And the Russian?" "Oh no; not a system of treaties," was the curt rejoinder. The duke failed and turned to Fox. He too had dropped intimations of his dislike to the treaties, and if he should join Pitt in his opposition, then farewell to the power of Newcastle! His grace was tottering to his fall. But Fox was more accessible than Pitt. Moreover, the king was not so averse to his joining the cabinet as he was to his rival; but before he consented to support the treaties he would have his price. He was still secretary at war, but he wanted to rise higher. Then again, if he had gone into opposition it would have been his ruin. After some bartering, it was settled that Fox was to be secretary of state, and five of his friends were to have preferments, on the condition that he was to exert his eloquence against that of Pitt on the subject of the subsidiary treaties. The only impediment to the new accommodation was to obtain the seals from Sir Thomas Robinson, but there was no great difficulty, for on obtaining his old office, the great wardrobe—for which he was better fitted—for his own life and that of his son's, together with a pension on Ireland for thirty-one years, he readily gave up the seals; remarking as he did so with the utmost satisfaction that "he had seven children, and he had never looked at them with so much pleasure as to-day."

Parliament met on the 13th of November. In his speech the king acquainted the Houses with the course he had taken to protect and regain his violated territories in America; of the expedition used in equipping a great maritime force; of some land forces sent to the West Indies; of encouragement given to the colonies; of his disposition to reasonable terms of accommodation; of the silence of France on that subject; and of the pacific disposition of the court of Spain. Of the subsidiary treaties very little was said in the speech. It was a tender point, and scarcely to be named by the royal lips. But if the king did not dwell upon them those whom he addressed did. There was exhibited "the extraordinary scene of the chancellor of the exchequer and the paymaster of the forces opposing the treaties of the crown both in their details and their principles." The mover of the address in the Commons, Lord Hillsborough, was unfortunate in his choice of language, for instead of veiling, he pointed out the tendency of the treaties as a Hanoverian measure, and while he meant to defend, exposed the weakness of the government. His speech was a text upon which the opposition enlarged to advantage. Several of the minor orators spake *pro* and *con.* before Pitt rose, but when he did, "his eloquence, like a current long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity." He took the House by storm. The whole scheme of foreign negotiations was denounced by him as not only absurd, but desperate—as intended only to save Hanover at the expense of Britain. Ministers were attacked by him with relentless fury. Walpole says that he spoke for an hour and thirty-five minutes, and that in his speech there was more wit, humour, vivacity, fine language, and boldness, than his warmest admirers could conceive. The only fragment of his speech extant is preserved in Walpole's "Memoirs of George II.;" and the most admired passage in that fragment is a comparison he drew of the two parts of the new administration—that is, the coalition between Fox and Newcastle. "I remember," he said, "at Lyons to have been carried to see the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone: this a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid, of no depth; that a boisterous and impetuous torrent. But they meet at last, and long may they continue united, to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and security of this nation." In the course of his speech he exclaimed in the true spirit of prophecy:—"This is the day I hope that shall give the colour to my life. Out of those rash measures,"—the subsidies of the preceding war, which he denounced—"sprung up a ministry: what if a ministry should spring out of this subsidy?" Walpole says that if eloquence could have convinced, Pitt would have had more on the division than one hundred and five against three hundred and eleven, but that it was long since the arts of persuasion were powerful enough to persuade: rhetoric was invented before places and commissions. The immediate results of this great oratorical display were changes in the ministry. It was now that Fox got his promised post of secretary of state, and the king, incensed at the opposition of Pitt and Legge, dismissed them from office. Pitt's brother-in-law, treasurer of the navy, also, was dismissed for having joined the opposition, while James Grenville, who had a seat at the Board of Trade, resigned. Pitt felt certain that his dismissal would make him the idol of the people, but at the same time he accepted a thousand pounds a year as a pension from the court. His office of paymaster of the forces was divided, and conferred upon the earl of Darlington and Viscount Duplin. Legge was succeeded as chancellor of the exchequer by Sir George Lyttelton, who thus clambered "over the ruins of his old friends." Fox was succeeded as secretary at war by Lord Barrington; Soame Jenyns was gratified with a seat at the Board of Trade; and Bubb Doddington was restored to his old place of treasurer of the navy.

Notwithstanding these changes in the ministry, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse Cassel came to be considered, there was still considerable opposition. A motion was made for referring them to a committee, but it was overruled on the ground that the king had engaged in them to avert a storm that seemed ready to break upon his electoral dominions merely on account of our quarrel with the French. The subject of supplies, also, occasioned considerable debate. But in this ministers were aided by Pitt. Within a fortnight after his dismissal from office he sent forth a voice from his place in parliament whose echoes were heard throughout the land. There was a general dread of invasion, and the people had no confidence in the government to which the public defence was entrusted. The secretary at war asked for an army of thirty-four thousand men, and Pitt seconded the motion; for "he wanted to call this country out of that enervate state that twenty thousand men from France could shake it. The maxims of our government were degenerated, not our natives." The government and the people required to be roused from their lethargy, and Pitt, who desired to see "that breed restored which under our old principles had carried our glory so high," aroused it as if by enchantment. The increase of land forces voted was fifteen thousand, and there was no lack of recruits. When called upon, the people enlisted freely.

While the British parliament was agitated by party spirit, and the British nation by the impending calamities of war, the minds of men were suddenly turned upon a convulsion of nature upon which all Europe looked with dread and wonder. On the 28th of November, a royal message to parliament announced that there had had been an earthquake at Lisbon, and desired the concurrence of the House in sending "such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to so afflicting and pressing an exigency." It was an opportunity for the British to exercise kindly feelings towards a nation long their faithful ally, and it was readily embraced. Parliament voted a grant of one hundred thousand pounds—a considerable part of the sum being sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland. The calamity was one of the most awful character, and was well calculated to make men pause in their ordinary career of thoughtless indulgence or selfish ambition. It occurred on All Saints' day, on which every church was crowded, and almost every church was shaken to its foundation. One fourth of all the houses in Lisbon, when the several shocks of earthquake had ceased, lay in ruins. Thousands of its inhabitants perished by the catastrophe.

The report of an intended invasion of our island by the French increasing daily, early in the year 1756 parliament sanctioned the raising of ten new regiments of foot for the defence of the country. Troops were also to be raised in North America, and six regiments of foot were to be sent from Ireland to serve in our American colonies and the East Indies. It was about this time that Frederick king of Prussia allied himself with Britain. There was a formidable coalition formed against the Prussian monarch. Before the recess a subsidy had been granted by the British parliament to the czarina of Russia, but she had proved faithless. The Russians had joined the French and Austrians against Frederick, and he was moreover threatened by the Poles and Saxons, now united under one sovereign. The treaty between King George and his nephew included as a principle the prevention of the introduction of foreign troops into the empire—a stipulation which was alike calculated to prevent the Russians from entering Prussia and the French from invading Hanover. It was a treaty for mutual protection.

The session closed on the 27th of May. In his speech the king announced that the injuries his subjects had sustained from the French having been followed by the invasion of Minorca, which had been guaranteed to the British crown by all the great powers of Europe, he had formally declared war against France. Yes, war had now fairly commenced—that terrible contest known in history as "The Seven Years' War," which was destined to mar with blood and slaughter the fair face of Europe.

While ministers were alarmed with hostile preparations, and bringing over foreign troops, who were worse than useless, France had made use of its armaments, which were supposed to be destined for the invasion of Britain, in capturing Minorca, which had been suffered to remain in a condition comparatively defenceless. France never meant to invade Britain; or if she did, on discovering that great preparations were being made to repel her attacks, the intention was abandoned. England was more vulnerable in her foreign possessions than she was at home. Her coasts were guarded by her fleets, and brave hearts were resolved to defend her shores. Besides the preparations made by government, there were patriots on this as on former occasions, who raised troops for the defence of their "hearths and homes." As at the present time England itself was invulnerable, and the French court knew it, and therefore wounded her in her foreign possessions. Ministers had been informed that the French fleet, which had been collecting at Toulon, would soon sail, but they insisted that it was nothing more than a feint to facilitate a descent upon England or Ireland; and therefore, instead of sending their fleets to blockade the harbour of Toulon, as they should have done, they kept them in the Channel to guard our coast. At length, however, warned by Pitt, they despatched Admiral Byng with a fleet to the Mediterranean. Byng sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April, and the French left Toulon on the 10th of that month. But while Byng had to cross the Bay of Biscay, to touch at Gibraltar, where he was delayed, and to traverse two hundred leagues of the Mediterranean, the French had only to cross the Gulf of Lyons, about seventy leagues in all, and the consequence was that the island was almost captured before he arrived. The duke of Richelieu had landed with sixteen thousand men, and with the exception of the fortress of St. Philip, the flag of France everywhere told the tale of victory. That castle was besieged by the French, but the British colours still waved over its ramparts. Byng was already opening up a communication with its brave old General Blakeney, renowned as the defender of Stirling Castle, when the French fleet, under La Gulisonière, bore down upon him in order of battle. The French admiral's squadron consisted of thirteen ships of the line and four smaller vessels, and Byng prepared for action. This was on the 20th of May, but night separated the combatants, and it was not till the following day that the fleets engaged. Byng's fleet was divided into two sections; one commanded by himself, and the other by Rear-Admiral West. With his portion of the squadron West was victorious. He bore down upon the French with such impetuosity that he broke their line of battle. Had he been seconded by Byng, notwithstanding the foulness of the ships, there would probably have been what is called a "glorious victory," but he would not advance; and the consequence was that West was obliged to veer round, and the French admiral, taking advantage of the pause in the conflict, joined the ships which West had beaten, and sailed away as fast as his sails would carry him. Byng gave the signal for chase, but La Gulisonière's vessels were cleaner than his, and before the dawn of the following morning not a French vessel was seen in the Mediterranean. The French admiral had landed supplies and reinforcements for the besiegers, and he hastened back to Toulon, where he laid claim to the honours of a victory over a British fleet hitherto deemed almost invincible. The brave old Blakeney, however, still held out against the duke of Richelieu till July, nor would he then give up the fortress till he had obtained honourable terms of capitulation. It was thus that Minorca was lost to the British, and the event caused a great commotion in Britain. There was such a tempest of popular fury as had rarely before been witnessed. But it may be presumed that this tempest was increased by ministers in order to shield themselves from the public opprobrium. As soon as they knew of Byng's retreat, Admirals Hawke and Saunders were sent to take the command of his squadron, and as soon as he knew of his recall he wrote a stinging letter to the admiralty, and threw all the blame upon the ministry. But as every one could not be punished for the failure, and some one must suffer for it, Byng was the scape-goat. Byng was brought home under arrest and committed as a prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Addresses were sent up to the throne from all quarters calling for inquiry and signal punishment; and to that presented by the City, King George pledged his royal word that he would save no delinquent from justice; while the duke of Newcastle assured the deputation which presented it that Byng should "be tried immediately and hanged directly." But Byng's fate was reserved till the following spring; before which time, as will be seen, the ministry by whom he had been employed was overthrown and Pitt had risen triumphant on its ruins.

Meanwhile, the first remarkable chapter of the Seven Years' War had been unfolded. Frederick, king of Prussia, now in his forty-fourth year, was a man of action. When he entered into a treaty to defend the electorate of Hanover and his own dominions, there was no mental reserve in the transaction; he meant to do what he had engaged to do in that treaty. And he was not ill-prepared for the task. His enemies were gathering on every side, and it was his wisdom to appear first in the field. Towards the end of August, therefore, he marched at the head of one hundred thousand men against the most feeble of his antagonists, the elector of Saxony and the king of Poland, and he was triumphant.

During this year, on the 4th of June, George prince of Wales completed his eighteenth year—the period prescribed for his majority by the Regency Act, in case his grandfather had been dead. The king wished the prince to have a separate establishment, that he might be free from the control of the princess dowager. As the last act of his office of governor, Lord Waldegrave was sent with letters from the king to the prince and his mother, offering him 40,000*l.* a year, and the apartments of his late father at Kensington and of the queen at St. James's, if he would accede to his wish. Prince George expressed himself deeply grateful for the proposed royal bounty, but entreated that he might not be separated from his mother, and he was allowed to remain under her protection. In September the popular fury was divided between the admiral and the premier. Byng had now published his case, and the arts which he proved had been used to blacken his character had the effect of opening the eyes of the public. Walpole says that the admiral's own letter, which had served as the great engine of his condemnation, had been mangled and altered in a manner most "unworthy of honest men, of gentlemen." Later in the year Byng obtained a considerable share of the popular commiseration, while ministers became proportionably more obnoxious. Fox was uneasy in his position. Newcastle was in ill-favour at Leicester House and among the people, and as one of his cabinet Fox shared in the obloquy. He appears, indeed, to have feared that he should be made "the scape-goat," and hence in October he resigned. The resignation of Fox was a death-blow to Newcastle's premiership. Newcastle was under the hard necessity of resigning, and his resignation was followed by that of his friend Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor. On the premier's retirement the king sent for Fox, and bade him try if Pitt would join him in the ministry, but he refused. Pitt, indeed, considered it an insult that his rival Fox should be thus employed. The time had not arrived when they could act together. What was the king to do? He hated Pitt as bitterly as ever, but in his extremity he was compelled to entrust him and his friends with the affairs of government. After long negotiations, in which every one seemed to play at cross purposes, the duke of Devonshire became first commissioner of the treasury; Pitt, secretary of state; his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, the head of the admiralty; and Legge, chancellor of the exchequer. The great seal was put in commission, with Willes, chief justice of the Common Pleas, as first commissioner. Others of Pitt's friends were provided for in this change of ministers. Thus George Grenville was made treasurer of the navy, in the place of Bubb Doddington; James Grenville, a lord of the treasury; Potter, a joint paymaster of Ireland; and Martin, a secretary of the treasury. Charles Townshend, who was an accomplished debater and ready speaker, and of whom Pitt appears to have been jealous, only became treasurer of the chamber. The cabinet, indeed, with the exception of Lord Temple and Pitt himself, was still engrossed by the adherents of Newcastle and Fox, and, says Walpole, "little harmony was to be expected, or was designed from a jumble of three such discordant interests."

Parliament met on the 2nd of December. It opened in the midst of clamours and discontents, for at this period there was a great dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, and it was so severely felt, that popular riots occurred in many places, and especially in Shropshire and Warwickshire. The king's speech on this occasion, says Lord Waldegrave, "appeared to be, by its style and substance, the work of a new speech maker." According to Walpole, it did not wholly meet with the king's sanction, for he says that "Pitt had prepared a long speech, which the king would not read, but sent it to him to shorten." Its contents, indicating a vital change of policy, were briefly these:—It declared that the succour and preservation of America demanded resolutions of vigour and despatch; that the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of the crown and the people, might in time become our good resource; and that, relying on the spirit and zeal of his people, the king had directed the electoral troops, which he had ordered hither at the desire of his parliament, to return to his dominions in Germany. In conclusion the king remarked that unprosperous events in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they regarded his honour and that of his crown. These were strange periods to put into the lips of King George, for he had always ridiculed a militia, which he now recommended; and had trusted to the Hessians and Hanoverians, whom he now sent back to their own country, more than to his own people. Then again, the signal proofs of affection of which he boasted that his subjects had given him, had been manifested in the most singular manner imaginable—by uncourtly addresses and popular clamour. The truth is, Pitt knew that the popular voice was with him, and he was not careful of framing a speech to please his majesty. He had even said that he would not serve if thanks were moved in the House of Commons to his majesty for having brought over the Hanoverian troops. No such motion was made in the Commons, and there was a strong opposition made to a clause in the address of that character in the Upper House. Lord Temple, who had succeeded Anson at the head of the admiralty, averred in the Lords that he had left a sick-bed at the hazard of his life, to represent the fatal consequences of such a compliment, for the people of England were offended at the very name of Hanover and of foreign mercenaries. The address, however, including the clause, was carried by a considerable majority.

The first object of the present parliament was to relieve the distress of the people. A bill was passed prohibiting for a limited period the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution was unanimously taken to address the king that an embargo might forthwith be laid upon all ships laden, or to be laden with these commodities, to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. During the few days parliament sat before Christmas, there was no division and scarce a debate, but it was clear that the harmony was not of a lasting character. The Commons adjourned for re-elections, and some of the new members of government found it no easy task to regain their seats. At the commencement of the year 1757, the temper of parliament was manifestly hostile to the new cabinet, Newcastle in the Lords and Fox in the Commons leading the opposition.

One of the most difficult questions with which the new administration had to deal was the fate of Admiral Byng. His trial commenced on the 28th of December, and it lasted till nearly the end of January. Byng appears to have had no doubt of an honourable acquittal, for it is said that he kept a post-chaise constantly standing ready to carry him up to London. His judges showed some disposition to save him. But George turned a deaf ear to all recommendations of mercy. It was by no means common for a criminal to be executed when his judge recommended him to the mercy of the crown, yet in this instance the law was to take its course. The most strenuous efforts were made to save the brave admiral, but made in vain. Both Lord Temple and Pitt appeared desirous of saving this victim of the popular vengeance, and yet, ignobly fearing to lose office, or risk the public favour by opposing their blind fury, they consented to his death. Temple, as first lord of the admiralty, signed the warrant, but Admiral Forbes nobly refused, declaring that he would rather die himself than give his sanction to the death of Byng. The sentence was carried into execution on the 14th of March, Byng being shot on the quarter-deck of the Monarque, in which he had been confined.

Meanwhile parliament had been acting upon the subject-matter of the speech put into the king's mouth by the "new speech-maker." In January, a Militia Bill was offered to the House, but as a second plan was proposed by an independent member, the consideration of the two schemes was deferred for the consideration of the committee. It passed, however, during the session, and caused no little commotion in the country. By this Act thirty-two thousand men were to be called out in England and Wales; and though the measure was at first received with popular approbation, when it began to interfere with individual ease and freedom it gave great dissatisfaction. While it was under consideration, the Protestant dissenters in London and the provinces strongly remonstrated against the possible insertion of a clause that the militia might be exercised on Sundays; and although the clergy of the established church did not raise their voices against it, Monday was substituted in the bill for the Sabbath.

In the matter of the supplies the Pitt cabinet became all that George could have desired. By their liberality they bade high for his favour, and if the wrath of George could have been mollified by largesses, their power would have been established. In the first place, ample provision was made for enabling him to maintain the war with vigour. For the sea service, fifty-five thousand men were granted, and for the land service, nearly fifty thousand—a greater number than in previous years. But in providing troops, Pitt did one thing, which although it proved of the utmost service to the State, must have deeply mortified the "Butcher Duke." In 1738, Duncan Forbes had suggested that the Highlanders should be enlisted in the service of the State, instead of being prompted to rebellion by needy chiefs, and Pitt was now bold enough to adopt that politic suggestion. Two Highland regiments were raised for the service of America, of one thousand men each, and the command was given to the son of Lord Eglinton and to the master of Lovat, the son of that famous old chieftain who had been beheaded on Tower Hill after the late rebellion. This politic measure was opposed by some members of parliament, but it was adopted, and time proved its wisdom. The supply was not only granted for the maintenance of these forces, but also for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; and for assisting his majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions and those of his allies. Pitt, who had been, or pretended to have been suffering from the gout, did not appear in the House till the 17th of February; and it is remarkable that although he had constantly protested against German treaties and alliances, he brought a message from the king, desiring support for his electoral dominions and for the king of Prussia. Walpole says, that "one could not say which was the most ridiculous—the richest prince in Europe begging alms for his own country, or the great foe of that country becoming its almoner." Pitt proposed a vote of 200,000*l.* for the king of Prussia, and he got it without any difficulty. Fox hinted at Pitt's inconsistency, and reminded him that he had only last year called Hanover "a mill-stone round the neck of England;" at the same time sarcastically expressing a hope that "*this* German measure would be an ornament about Pitt's neck." Besides this grant to Frederick of Prussia, others were made for making good his majesty's engagement with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; for the expense of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in British pay; and for empowering his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year. Supplies were likewise voted for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova Scotia; for the aid of British subjects in the provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia; for enabling the East India Company to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of his majesty's forces to be withdrawn from their forts and factories; and for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa. Pitt's comprehensive bill of fare also provided for the building and repairing of ships and hiring transports; and for the payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of the widows of those who had died in their country's cause. Beyond this there were grants for domestic purposes; such as the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted children, and the widening the avenues, streets, and passages leading from Charing Cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and to the bridge newly erected at Westminster. The whole of the supplies amounted in round numbers to 8,350,325*l.*; and, writes Smollett, "It must be acknowledged, for the honour of the administration, that the House of Commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit."

At this time the duke of Cumberland ought to have been at the head of his forces in Germany, but he still refused to go before Temple and Pitt were thrust out of the cabinet. Walpole more than hints that his many defeats by the French had for him swept away the charms of war, and that he was averse to the charge. But it would rather appear that his reluctance to move arose from his aversion to receive orders from Pitt, and to be obliged to depend upon him for supplies. It would dim the lustre of his command to be under Pitt's control. King George was perplexed, but he had the power of turning the obnoxious ministers out, and he resolved to use it. Lord Temple was the first to be dismissed. Having provided a substitute for him at the head of the admiralty, in the person of the earl of Winchelsea, the king notified to Lord Temple that his services would no longer be required. It was hoped and expected that Pitt would resign, but he disappointed the king and those who were connected with the intrigue by attending to his duties with unusual assiduity. He waited to be turned out, and as Cumberland would not move till he was, he too received his dismissal. This was followed by the resignation of Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the rest of the Pittites; and thus at a juncture when a firm hand was needed to guide the helm of the state, the government was rashly thrown into confusion.

In these circumstances, Lord Hardwicke was empowered to negotiate with the "political partners," and while the duke returned to the head of the treasury, Pitt became on his own terms secretary of state. Pitt had for his colleague Lord Holderness; Lord Granville again became president of the council; Lord Temple was made privy seal; Sir Robert Henley was made lord keeper of the great seal, with a pension and reversion for his son; Lord Anson, despite his unpopularity for the part he had taken in the matter of Byng, was again placed at the head of the admiralty; Pratt became attorney-general in the room of Henley; Fox was gratified with the profitable place of paymaster; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council. Nor was Legge forgotten, for he was united with the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Nugent, Lord Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, as a commissioner for executing the office of treasurer to his majesty's exchequer. But the soul of this cabinet was Pitt, whose reappointment was formally announced in the Gazette, on the 29th of June.

When "Pitt's administration"—for so it is called in history—commenced, parliament was still sitting; Lord Mansfield having held the seals of the exchequer *pro tempore*, and the office of proposing the ways and means devolving on Nugent, one of the lords of the treasury. It was during this *inter ministerium* that the Militia Bill passed, a measure which on its first coming into operation in July, caused considerable commotion in various parts of the country, and which required a firm hand to repress. Other measures passed at this period, were a bill for the more speedy recruiting the land forces and marines; an Act for importing American iron duty free; and the annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion. As there was considerable distress among the silk manufacturers, who were thrown out of employment through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by the war and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy, a bill was passed which for a season set aside the famous Act of navigation, by allowing any persons in any vessels to import thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to the custom-house of London, wherever landed. One of the last acts of the parliament which sat during the *inter ministerium* period was, on the demand of the king, to vote him an additional million for his support in the war that was now raging on the Continent.

The session closed on the 4th of July, and then it was that Pitt fairly entered on his career as one of the greatest statesmen Britain has produced. The reappointment of that "incapable object," as Walpole terms him, Lord Anson, to the admiralty, was regarded as "a most surprising phenomenon," but Pitt had taken care that he should be a mere cipher in the state. He had stipulated that the correspondence with naval commanders should be in his own hands, and that the board of admiralty should sign his despatches without reading them. In truth, Pitt resolved to be second to none in the kingdom, save and except King George, and that even he should bow to his decisions. Starting with these high notions in the first instance, Pitt conceived a project which if it had been consummated would have covered him with perpetual dishonour. The popular clamour had grossly exaggerated the importance of Minorca, inasmuch as it was a place not easily to be defended; and imagining that its restoration would be grateful to the nation, at whatever sacrifice it might be made, he unfolded a plan to our ambassador at Madrid, for ceding the famed old rock of Gibraltar for it, if Spain would join Britain in the war against France. Nor was this all that the court of Spain was to have for its alliance with Britain; for satisfaction was to be given to it touching the establishment made by the British since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and all those establishments were, in case Spain accepted the insane offer, forthwith to be evacuated. Had this offer been accepted, then Pitt might have bade a long farewell to all his expected greatness; for the loss of the old rock would have enraged the nation far more than the loss of Minorca had done; for it was on that rock, which was rightly deemed almost impregnable, that almost all our hopes of maintaining our foreign conquests depended. But fortunately for Pitt's fame and the nation's honour, Ferdinand could not be tempted to break his neutrality and to engage in a war with France.

In the meantime the campaign of 1757 on the Continent had commenced, and had proved unfavourable to the arms of Britain and Prussia. Frederick, king of Prussia, had begun it with the invasion of Bohemia. At first he was successful. He defeated the army which covered Prague, and besieged that city. The battle of Prague was one of the most sanguinary on record. The conflict lasted eleven hours, and the slaughter was fearful, the Prussians losing eighteen thousand men, and the Austrians twenty-four thousand. The Austrian commander, Marshal Browne, fell mortally wounded. Thousands who escaped the slaughter took refuge in Prague, and the city being ill provided with provisions, its inhabitants were called upon to endure not only the horrors of war but famine. Within three weeks the city became in imminent danger. Thousands were driven out of its gates that more food might be left for its defenders, but only to be driven back by the Prussians. It was on the point of falling, when the Austrian, Fabius Count Daun, approached, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to raise the siege. Too impetuous to wait for him, Frederick marched with about thirty thousand men to meet him. Daun was strongly intrenched on a hill, and Frederick, trusting to his ardour and his name, vainly attempted to dislodge him from his strong position. The battle of Kolin proved more fatal to the Prussians than that of Prague had been to the Austrians. Six times Frederick led his cavalry to the charge, but each time was repulsed with great slaughter. He was advancing the seventh time with only forty men, when he was asked by a British officer whether he was going to storm the battery by himself, and then it was he abandoned the enterprise. Frederick nobly acknowledged his error. His troops had fought well, he said, and he only was to blame for having exposed them. He trusted that the defeat would render him more cool and cautious. In the battle of Kolin he had lost twelve thousand men, and raising the siege of Prague, he retired to Leutmeritz.

This great reverse of the one ally of England occurred on the 17th of June. The news arrived about the same time Pitt entered on his administration, and he turned his attention to naval enterprises as a counterpoise. Pitt had not much faith in the duke of Cumberland's warlike operations, and he hoped that he might by some great success on the coast of France divert the French from the war in Germany. The forlorn Hanoverian army, in truth, was but a slight barrier to oppose the advances of the formidable confederacy of France, Austria, Russia, and Sweden. The naval expedition which was fitted out consisted of sixteen ships of the line and ten regiments of foot. It was destined for an attack on the great arsenal of Rochefort. It was placed under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Generals Mordaunt and Conway. It was the 9th of September before the expedition sailed, and when Louis XV. heard of a British armament at the mouth of the Charente, he was fully convinced that Rochefort would fall. The French commander also, on the appearance of the fleet before Rochefort, thought only of surrender with as much honour and as little loss as possible. The fleet appeared off the isle of Oleron on the 20th of September; but it was the 23rd before they got in. The fortified island of Aix was captured. The gallant Captain Howe anchored his ship within fifty yards of the fort, and within two hours the French batteries were silenced. General Conway took possession of the citadel. But here their operations ended.

Before the ignominious return of this expedition, other evil tidings had reached Britain. Notwithstanding her conquest of Minorca, aware that her colonies must fall before the maritime superiority of Britain, France therefore resolved to occupy the continental dominions of King George. Accordingly a large army, under the command of the Marshal d'Etrees, was sent against Hanover. It was against this army that the duke of Cumberland opposed himself, with a force chiefly composed of Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers, and Prussians. In all he had about fifty thousand men under his command. His force was far inferior to that of d'Etrees, and he retired step by step before the French, allowing them to cross the Rhine, and even the Weser, the natural defence of Hanover. He was thus pressed when Frederick, well-nigh crushed at Kolin, recalled his Prussian veterans for the defence of his own kingdom, against which the Austrians, Russians, and Swedes were rapidly advancing. Having allowed the French to cross the Weser, the duke of Cumberland made a stand, strongly posted between Hanover and Hastenbach. This was a fierce battle, in which the lieutenants of both armies distinguished themselves rather than the generals. Advantages were gained on both sides, and so uncertain appeared the issue of the conflict, that d'Etrees was about to sound a retreat, when he found that he had been anticipated by the duke of Cumberland. Hanover was for the moment lost to King George. After this battle the duke was obliged to abandon it, and the Marshal de Richelieu, who arrived on the following day to supersede d'Etrees, marched rapidly after him to Stade. Cumberland hoped he might be able to hold out in that marshy country near the Elbe, which was unfavourable for military operations, but Richelieu was more than a match for him. Pushed into a corner between the Elbe and the German Ocean, he was compelled to sign the disgraceful capitulation known in history as the convention of Closter Seven; a convention by which the electorate of Hanover was to be left in the hands of the French till peace was restored, and the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers were bound not to take up arms again during the war.

On hearing of this disgraceful convention the indignation of the people knew no bounds, in which the king himself shared. The loss of Hanover was to him as fatal a blow as the loss of England would have been. It was the birthplace of his race, the home of his ancestors, and the spot of earth more fondly cherished than any other in his dominions. And for this spot to be ravaged and plundered as it had been in their march through it by the French under *Father Marande*, as Richelieu was called by his soldiers, was a blow which King George felt to his inmost soul. The duke, he said, had ruined him and disgraced himself. George wanted to disavow the convention of Closter Seven, on the ground that his son had no authority to conclude it; but Pitt, who had never stood on good terms with him, when the king said that he had not given any orders for it, replied, "Not full powers, sir; very full powers." But George could not be pacified. Messengers were sent to recall the duke, and on his arrival he was so coldly received that he resigned all his commands.

By this disgraceful capitulation, which abandoned Hanover to the French, the Prussian dominions were exposed to their inroad. Frederick was surrounded by enemies. All Europe was armed against him, and he stood alone in the field. He had to defend his frontiers from French, Austrians, Russians, and Swedes, but Frederick rose superior to his adverse position. He engaged the enemy at Rosbach, and gained a signal victory; and shortly after at Lissa, in one of the most tremendous conflicts recorded in history, completely routed his enemies.

The victory obtained by Frederick at Rosbach induced King George to refuse to ratify the convention of Closter Seven. That at least appears to have been the true cause of its failure, although other reasons are alleged for its non-ratification. It is asserted by some writers, indeed, that the duke de Richelieu so far infringed its terms as to disarm the Hanoverian troops—which by the agreement were to remain quiet, but not to lose their arms—by which action he found those vanquished enemies start up afresh. If such was the fact, it would clearly have been a violation of the treaty. In some degree, therefore, the king was justified in seeking to recover his electorate, for it seems likely that his Hanoverian subjects would have suffered more with their swords in their sheaths than in the battles they were called upon to fight to rid themselves of the demoralized forces of the French. On the renewal of the war, at the recommendation of Frederick, the command of the Hanoverian troops was entrusted to Prince Ferdinand, a distinguished officer in the Prussian army, and, as will be seen in the sequel, the choice proved fortunate for Germany. During the remainder of this campaign, Ferdinand of Brunswick, who far surpassed the duke of Cumberland in military talent, held Richelieu in check, and being reinforced by a body of British troops, well-grounded hopes were entertained that when the next campaign opened the defeat of Cumberland would be amply revenged. And this hope was the more confirmed when it became known that the duke de Richelieu had been recalled for the cruelties which he exercised in Hanover after, if not before, the convention was violated, and his command given to the Count Clermont, who, if he proved a stricter disciplinarian than his predecessor, was by no means his equal in military genius; for the count, who was also abbé of St. Germain de Bas, was more of a monk than a warrior. Clermont arrived from Paris to take the command at the close of the year.

In his exultation over Frederick's victories at Rosbach and Lissa, Pitt exclaimed that "America was to be conquered through Germany." During this year, however, very little was effected in America. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain under Lord Loudon, and Admiral Holborne was sent with a powerful fleet and a considerable body of land forces to co-operate with him. Lord Loudon was esteemed an experienced officer, and great things were expected from his military talent. Quebec, at least, it was supposed would be captured. Great therefore was the disappointment when news arrived that his lordship, although he had a force of twelve thousand men, had shrunk from attacking Louisbourg, and it was rendered more bitter by the intelligence that Admiral Holborne had acted no less cowardly, by hesitating to imperil his squadron of eighteen ships of the line in an attack upon a French squadron of nineteen ships of the line. So many disasters and disappointments had a disheartening effect upon the public mind, which found an exponent in Horace Walpole, who, when this last account came, remarked despondingly:—"It is time for Britain to slip her cables, and float away to some unknown ocean."

But had the wonderful electric spark then been at work, flashing intelligence from far-off countries, before the year closed the nation's gloom would at least have been cheered by news of victory in one quarter of the globe. In the East Indies the tide of victory had been turned in our favour. Robert Clive, an energetic young soldier, being only twenty-five years of age, was a captain and commissary to the troops in the Presidency of Madras. Clive had never yet seen a battle, but he conceived the bold idea of attacking Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, as a diversion in Mahomed Ali's favour. It seemed a mad project, for all the forces he could obtain from the heads of the Presidency of Madras consisted only of three hundred Sepoys and two hundred Europeans. To have obtained these, Clive must have told a tale which impressed the heads of the Presidency that he possessed no ordinary military genius, and what was in this instance perhaps of more importance—bold daring. His success was marvellous. In the midst of a violent storm which terrified the native garrison, he marched up to the gates of Arcot, and it was captured without striking a blow. His device of relieving Trichinopoly succeeded. Ten thousand men were despatched from its besiegers to besiege Arcot, in which Clive had established his small garrison. The fort was in a ruinous condition, but the besieged held out bravely. Week after week it was assaulted, but still it held out. There can be no doubt, however, that Clive and his garrison must in the end have capitulated, if he had not been fortunate enough to have engaged an ally in the person of a wavering Mahratta—Marori Row. No hope of succour could be entertained from the company's settlements of Madras and St. David; but Clive conceived an idea that if Marori Row could be induced to become his ally, Arcot would be secured. The Mahratta chief was encamped on the hills of Mysore, and the tribe which he commanded was one of the bravest in all India. Touched with the resolution with which Arcot was defended, the Mahratta chief, who said that he had never thought the British could fight, readily complied with Clive's request to aid him. He would fight with and for the brave British. But his services were not required at Arcot. On the 14th of November, the great festival of Hossein, on which day it was believed that all who held the faith of Mahommed, who died fighting against infidels, would enter into Paradise, there was a fierce assault made upon the beleaguered fortress. Huge elephants, with their heads defended by iron plates, were driven in full force against the gates; but all in vain. Galled by the musketry from the ramparts, the infuriated beasts turned round and trampled the besiegers under their feet, while many fell dead from the well-directed fire of Clive and his little garrison. Rajah Sahib, who commanded the attack upon Arcot, raised the siege, and Clive having received reinforcements, marched against him and defeated him at Arnee. But the war still continued. In 1752 Rajah Sahib marched against Madras, but he was again defeated by Clive, who in the same year, with his senior officer, Major Lawrence, raised the siege of Trichinopoly, and compelled its besiegers to capitulate. Chunda Sahib was taken prisoner by a Mahratta chief, an ally of the British, and was put to death. Although mortified by this disaster, Dupleix resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused. He proclaimed Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, nabob of Arcot. In all his acts he pretended to have the authority of the Great Mogul; to be in truth his viceroy. To confirm his commission as governor of all the Carnatic, a supposed messenger from Delhi was received by him at Pondicherry, as ambassador from the Great Mogul with all the state of a native prince. The struggle between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the nabobs, continued till the year 1754, when, under the direction of British and French commissioners, hostilities were suspended. At that time Clive, who had successfully upheld the British power in India, finding his health fail, returned to England, where he was received with distinguished honours. It was agreed between the British and French commissioners that the rival companies, and the subjects of both nations, should in future abstain from all interference in the affairs of native princes; but it was perfectly clear that such a stipulation would not prove binding: that at least, whenever a European war broke out, if not before, hostilities either as principals or auxiliaries would be resumed by the rival companies. In such a contingency there was no man better fitted to command in India than the gallant Clive; and accordingly in 1755 he returned to India as a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and governor of Fort St. David. At that time his rival, Dupleix, who had thought to have swept the British from the Indian territory, had been recalled by the French government, through his manifest ambition to raise himself to regal power in India, to live in neglect and to die in poverty.

The nabobs of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa professed to be subject to the Great Mogul, who held his court at Delhi, but in reality exercised all the powers of sovereignty. In April of 1756, the old nabob of these vast provinces died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah. This prince, who was only nineteen years of age, but cruel and debauched, commenced his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. Surajah Dowlah was impressed with a belief that there were vast treasures accumulated in the British factory. At all events his rapacity appears to have been the moving cause of his proceedings, for the pretences he used for commencing hostilities were inconsistent, false, and frivolous. His capital was Moorshedabad, from whence in May he marched with a great army to Fort William. That fort was captured, the governor and the British captain in command escaping in terror, and leaving the defence of the factory to the servants of the company, whose resistance was unavailing. After two days' bombardment the fort capitulated. The defence of the place had devolved on Mr. Holwell, a civil officer of the company; and on his surrender, Surajah Dowlah promised on the word of a soldier that no harm should happen to him or his garrison. Altogether there were a hundred and forty-five men and one woman in this company. Never was the scriptural declaration, that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," more aptly illustrated than on this occasion. The sword was not to be employed for the destruction of this company, but they were to die by a fate still more horrible. In Fort St. William there was a dungeon eighteen feet by fourteen, and having only two small windows to admit the light of heaven. Into that "Black Hole" these unfortunate victims of a despot's cruelty were thrust for the night. Its door was closed, and a ferocious guard was appointed to see that no one escaped. Their situation was horrible. It was a close sultry night, as was common in the deadly climate of Bengal, and through the iron bars of the window there was no perceptible circulation. Transported with rage at finding themselves thus barbarously doomed to be suffocated, they endeavoured to burst open the doors, that they might rather die by the swords of their ferocious keepers. But the attempt was in vain. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, offered an old officer a reward of a thousand rupees, if a portion of the prisoners by his influence could be removed to another room. Touched by pity, and in the hope of obtaining the reward, this officer retired to make the attempt, but returned to say that the nabob was asleep, and no one dared disturb his repose. Every moment their situation became more and more horrible. The madness of despair reigned in every part of the Black Hole of Calcutta. The relation given of their sufferings by Mr. Holwell is one of the most powerful narratives of human misery ever produced. There was raging thirst, then delirium, then stupefaction, and last of all—death. In the morning, when an order of release came from the despot, of all that company only twenty-three came forth to breathe the air. Among those who lived was the English lady, who was called upon to endure a still harder fate—that of being consigned to the despot's harem. Nor did Mr. Holwell's sufferings end with that awful night. Surajah Dowlah found only fifty thousand rupees in the factory of Calcutta, and although unable to stand, Holwell was carried before him and interrogated as to where the treasure was buried. It existed only in his own imagination, but he would give no credit to his solemn declaration that he knew of no such deposit; and he with two of the chiefs of the factory were loaded with fetters, and sent to his capital as prisoners; nor was it till the despot's grandmother interceded in their behalf, and he was convinced that no treasure existed in Calcutta, that they were set at liberty. Fort William was garrisoned by three thousand Mohammedans, and the nabob returned to his capital, where he decreed, in honour of his triumph, that Calcutta should be named "The Port of God."

By the reduction of Calcutta the British East India Company's affairs were threatened with annihilation in that part of India. But the hero Clive was still living. He returned from his exploit at Gheria, in June 1756. He had been assisted in that expedition by a British squadron under the command of Admiral Watson. Clive returned to his command as governor of Fort St. David, and Watson anchored in the roads. It was August when the news of the terrible occurrences at Calcutta reached Madras, and the Presidency took immediate steps to retrieve the disaster. There was a contest as to whom the command of the avenging force should be given. As senior officer, Colonel Aldercron, who had no experience in Indian warfare, demanded it as his right, but the Presidency resolved that it should be given to Clive. The jealousy of Aldercron, however, was so great, that having the control of the king's stores under his command, he refused Clive the use of the royal artillery. But nothing daunted, Clive with nine hundred Europeans, which included the 39th regiment, embarked in Watson's fleet and set sail for Calcutta. This was in October, but the armament, delayed by contrary winds, did not reach the Hooghly before December. Calcutta was invested, and on the 2nd of January of the year now under review—1757—was recaptured. Previous to its recovery, Clive had also taken Busbudgia, a place of great strength; and these triumphs were followed by the capture of

Hooghly, a city of great trade situated higher up the river. Immense stores and an abundance of ammunition and provision belonging to the nabob were found in Calcutta, and at Hooghly his storehouses of salt and vast granaries for the support of his army were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the loss of his conquests, Surajah Dowlah at the head of forty thousand men marched from his capital to recover them. He encamped near Fort William. Reinforced by six hundred men drafted from Admiral Watson's squadron, Clive attacked him under cover of the night in his camp with such vigour, that after sustaining a loss of one thousand men, with numerous draught bullocks, horses, and elephants, the nabob retreated. The victory was indecisive, but terrified by the exhibition of prowess displayed by the British, he sought to conclude a peace. Admiral Watson was averse to entering into a treaty with the miscreant, but Clive, pressed by the Calcutta merchants, who conceived that the alliance would enable them to get rid of the rival station at Chandernagore, consented to treat and to accept the miscreant's proffered friendship. The treaty which was signed by Surajah Dowlah was all that the English could have desired. He yielded to every condition that was proposed for the future prosperity and security of Calcutta. There was one proposal, however, made to the nabob, to which he gave a doubtful reply. This was to attack the settlement of Chandernagore. But Clive was not over scrupulous in his policy. He interpreted the nabob's doubtful reply as an assent, and he attacked the fort, overpowered the French and captured it: their head settlement on the Ganges was swept away. After this triumph over the French, the celebrated battle of Plassey, by which the foundations of our Indian empire were laid, was fought on the 23rd of June, 1757. It commenced with a furious cannonade; the small field-pieces of the British doing fearful execution, but the great guns of the nabob doing but little harm. Some of the Mohammedan chiefs were slain, and disorder ensued, upon which the nabob, mounted on a swift camel, escaped to his capital. Meer Jaffier, who commanded the left wing, still forbore to declare himself, but when the British advanced, he with all the army made a hasty retreat. The victory was complete; the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon were captured. Clive marched towards Moorshedabad, and as he approached it on the next day Meer Jaffier joined the conquerors. There was no longer any safety for the Surajah Dowlah in his capital. He escaped in disguise, and in a small boat ascended the Ganges, to seek the protection of a French detachment at Patna. But his career of tyranny had armed his own subjects and soldiers against him. Disguised as he was, a peasant whose ears he had cut off recognized him, and by the aid of some soldiers brought him back to his capital. At that time Clive had deposed Surajah Dowlah, and had invested Meer Jaffier with his dignity as Subahdar of Bengal and its dependencies. The deposed nabob was brought into the presence chamber of his quondam general, and falling on his knees craved for mercy, but he was put to death. When the news arrived in England of Clive's wonderful success, Pitt pronounced him to be "a heaven-born general," and the nation endorsed his sentiment, and in their exultation forgot for a time the loss of Minorca and the disgrace of Closter Seven.

The British parliament assembled on the 1st of December. The king's speech somewhat reflected the gloom which hung over the nation respecting the war on the Continent, but expressed a confident hope that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned at all times, and which had formerly surmounted many difficulties, would yet retrieve the national honour. As for him, he said, it was his determination to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdom, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval forces as by all other methods. Another great object which he had at heart, he said, was the preservation of the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe, in which view he would encourage and adhere to his allies, and in which cause he solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. The victories of Frederick of Prussia were the theme of congratulation; they had given a happy turn to affairs in Germany, which it was incumbent upon them to improve; and he particularly recommended his "good brother and ally" to them, hoping that they would support him in such a manner as his magnanimity and zeal deserved. Finally, he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had granted had not produced all the good fruits that might have been expected; asked for further supplies, that they might yet be obtained, and recommended to that end union and harmony in their councils.

There was certainly a wonderful unanimity displayed by both parties on this occasion. The ambiguous phrase "and elsewhere," excited some censure, and Pitt felt himself called upon to declare that by it he did not necessarily mean Hanover; and that he had never been against continental measures, and "that he would not now send a drop of English blood to the Elbe, to be lost in that ocean of gore." He asserted that "he meant the army for our immediate selves," but in the end his assertion did not prove wholly correct. The address of the Peers was in their usual terms of complacency, nor was that of the Commons wanting in expressions of approbation and confidence in his majesty's measures. But the complaisance of the Commons was more substantially shown in the liberal supplies granted for the year 1758. The navy was to consist of sixty thousand men, and the army of fifty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers. It was evident that active war was intended, for there was, in the prospect of having sick and wounded soldiers and sailors to maintain, one liberal grant made for the erection of hospitals at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, and another for the maintenance and education of orphans in the Foundling Hospital. Subsidies were also voted to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and for the maintenance of his majesty's electoral troops, who were again acting in concert with the king of Prussia. When King George closed the session, he said that by the aid of his parliament, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, he had been enabled, thus early in the season, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppression and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side of the Rhine; that the British fleets and armies were now employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; and in particular to preserve the British rights and possessions in North America, and to make France feel in those parts the real strength and importance of Great Britain.

Pitt's warlike plans, however, did not invariably prove successful. "No less enterprising than Frederick," says Walpole, "but a little less informed, and a good deal less disposed to listen to information, Pitt determined to strike some mighty stroke on his part, that might combine his name with the glory of the king, and cement and justify their harmony. Unfortunately his mind was not purged of its vision of Rochefort, and he again chose the coast of France for his romance." A mighty fleet destined for the French coast was fitted out. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, three sloops, four fire-ships, and two bomb ketches, and carrying an army of fourteen thousand men and six thousand marines. The command of the army was given to the duke of Marlborough, grandson of the great warrior of that name. Attempts were made by this powerful armament to reduce St. Maloes, Granville, and Cherbourg, but without success, and the fleet steered for the Isle of Wight. A part of the armament sent against St. Maloes had shortly after the affair of Cherbourg, under Anson and Hawke, run along the French coast towards the Bay of Biscay, to look out for an "opening," or to seek for prizes. These commanders were still cruising, when the rest of the armament—except one brigade which had been sent to Germany—on the 1st of August again set sail for Cherbourg. And this time the troops were commanded by a general as unfit for the service as Marlborough had proved to be. This was General Bligh, an old cavalry officer, who though brave had no military talent. At first, however, Bligh seemed to be destined to achieve something more than Marlborough had achieved. On the 8th of August he landed his troops at Cherbourg with but little resistance from the French, and entering the town it was given up to plunder and ill-usage. His troops also rendered useless the dockyard, basin, and forts, upon which the French government had spent large sums, and some of his light horse scoured the country for a distance of four leagues; but when he discovered that the French were approaching in force, carrying off some brass cannons and mortars as trophies of victory, he re-embarked his men and set sail for England. More was made of this victory than it deserved, for after all it was simply a marauding expedition. But if Bligh could effect thus much, it was thought he might do more, and he was sent to renew the attempt upon St. Maloes. It was an act of madness to send him there with a weakened force, for the French, warned by the constant appearance of the British armament on their coasts, were fully prepared to meet them. Notwithstanding, Bligh landed his troops in perfect safety in the bay of St. Lenaire, about two leagues from St. Maloes. Howe, who had now succeeded by the death of his brother to the peerage, covered their landing, but what they were to do was a mystery. They had scarcely landed when an autumnal gale sprang up, which rendered it impossible for Howe to remain there; and after burning some few sloops and boats, he sailed to the safer bay of Cas, a few leagues off, where Bligh and his troops were to meet him. At length, however, when the British reached the village of Matignau, *en route* for St. Cas, they were encountered by two battalions of French, which however were readily dispersed by the British grenadiers. But a larger force was coming down upon them. It was discovered that the Duke d'Aiguillon had crossed the country from Brest, with a considerable regular army and some regiments of militia. When this discovery was made, Bligh was only three miles from the Bay of St. Cas, whereas the duke was twice that distance from him. If Bligh had used the utmost expedition, it is manifest that the whole of his army might have escaped, but his slow movements were followed by disgrace and catastrophe. Two-thirds of his army re-embarked, but the rear-guard of fifteen hundred men was cut off, nearly all of whom, after a brief fight, in which they displayed the most marvellous bravery, were either slain or made prisoners. Among those slain were General Dury and Sir John Armitage, a *volunteer;* for although the duke of Cumberland had discouraged volunteering, conceiving that it was prejudicial to the discipline of the army, the passion for it had now revived and was encouraged. Among the volunteers in the expedition to Cherbourg was Prince Edward, and many a nobleman and gentleman of fortune came forward to fight what they conceived to be the battles of their country. Animated by the spirit of Pitt, they rushed to the rescue of England. Not Hanover!

In other quarters Pitt's war measures produced the desired effects. In this and succeeding years France saw her fleets destroyed, and her colonies fall one by one, on the African coast and other parts where she had established a profitable trade.

The great theatre, however, on which the strength of Great Britain was displayed was the continent of America. There the British fleet and army furnished materials for Pitt's gazettes, which made him the most popular man in the kingdom. Pitt had recalled the incompetent earl of Loudon, and had despatched General Amherst to take the command of the troops in America; Wolfe being second in command, with the rank of brigadier-general. Admiral Boscawen commanded the fleet. There were now a general and an admiral whose one end and aim was to serve their country, who would cordially co-operate for that high purpose. Their grand object was to reduce Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, they took their departure from Halifax. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, having on board twelve thousand troops for the enterprise. The fleet arrived off Louisbourg on the 2nd of June, and Boscawen soon gave the French proofs of his well-known "rough courage." He destroyed five French ships of war that lay to cover Louisbourg, and captured five French frigates. The troops were conveyed to the shore in boats. The French opposed their landing, but in vain. Wolfe was the first to jump into the surf and led his men to the attack, which was made with such impetuosity that the French fled before them. The defences of Louisbourg were very strong, and it was formally invested. The siege was carried on with vigour, but the garrison made such a stern resistance, that it was not till the end of July that Louisbourg capitulated. Nearly six thousand prisoners of war fell into the hands of the victors, together with more than two hundred pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. Cape Breton once more formed a part of the British dominions. This great victory, which was won at the expense of only about four hundred killed and wounded, caused great rejoicing in Britain. It was regarded as a proof that the nation was beginning to reap the fruits of Pitt's vigorous administration. In another quarter, however, the British arms were not so successful. His scheme of operations was extensive, and each portion of it had reference to some ultimate object. It was not simply for the sake of a victory that the troops were employed, but that the British dominions might be strengthened and extended. He was already contemplating the conquest of Quebec, and to that end he directed General Abercrombie to reduce the French forts on the borders of Lake George and Lake Champlain. Abercrombie commenced operations by attacking the strong fort of Ticonderago. As the army was marching against it, Lord Howe, one of the bravest of the brave, fell in a skirmish at the head of his regiment, and Abercrombie was defeated before the fort by the marquis de Montcalm, with a loss of two thousand killed and wounded. But the American campaign was closed in triumph: Colonel Bradstreet capturing Fort Frontenac, and General Forbes Fort Duquesne, the original cause of the war. Forbes having repaired the fort, which the enemy had dismantled before they abandoned it, out of compliment to Pitt changed its name to Pittsburg. By the capture of Fort Frontenac on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, the way was paved for the reduction of Quebec and the conquest of all Canada. The progress of the British arms, indeed, had the effect of bringing over the native Indians, for they were now as willing to scalp and tomahawk the French, as they had been previously to scalp and tomahawk the British. Nor did Pitt shrink from employing these savage warriors, for he spoke of them as "effective and valuable allies."

Nor was it in Africa and America only that the French this year succumbed to the British. In the West Indies an expedition captured the French islands of Guadaloupe, Descada, and Marigalante. In the East Indies, Clive was employed successfully in consolidating the advantages he had gained; while Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, now deceased, gained many important advantages by sea, in conjunction with Commodore Stevens. Thus the enemy, says a French historian, rode triumphant on the sea at home and abroad.

Meanwhile Prince Ferdinand was fighting bravely and successfully in Germany. It has been seen that when he took the command of the Hanoverian troops towards the close of the last campaign he was able to hold Richelieu in check. In the beginning of this year Richelieu was succeeded in his command by the prince de Clermont, under whom the French commenced their retreat from Hanover. Ferdinand, who precipitated this retrograde movement by anticipating their arrival on the Weser and the capture of Minden, followed him across the Rhine. De Clermont retreated without fighting, leaving upwards of ten thousand men prisoners in the hands of the enemy. He purposed continuing his retreat towards France; but the indignation of his officers was so fierce, that he was compelled to await the attack of the prince at Crevelt, in the duchy of Cleves. Ferdinand was victorious. The French were routed, leaving seven thousand men dead on the field, and with them all hope of retrieving the disasters of the campaign. Another French force, however, under the prince of Soubise, had marched into Hesse, and Ferdinand recrossed the Rhine to meet him. In August, Ferdinand was joined by the duke of Marlborough, with English auxiliaries amounting to about twelve thousand men. These English troops, however, had scarcely taken the field, when their ranks were fearfully thinned by an epidemic which broke out among them. Marlborough himself perished, and the command then devolved on Lord George Sackville. Between the prince and Lord George, however, there was no community of feeling: both liked to govern; neither was disposed to be governed. Walpole says:—"Prince Ferdinand had gained an ascendant over the duke of Marlborough, and Lord George had lost it—sufficient groundwork for their enmity." Sackville could not brook the idea of an English lord submitting to the command of a German prince. But their rivalry did not this year damage the common cause, for the prince of Soubise was defeated and driven out of Hesse. So that King George had at the close of the campaign the pleasure of thanking his nephew, Frederick of Prussia, for having lent him so able a general as Prince Ferdinand.

Frederick himself, during this year, with unchanged courage and talent, was making head against his enemies. He was not allowed to rest, for the armies of Austrians, Imperialists, Russians, Swedes, and French, were all seeking his destruction. As Walpole truly observes, to detail his actions would destroy the idea of their rapidity. Having reduced and relieved several towns, he gained the hard-contested battle of Kustrin with the Russians, of whom twenty thousand were slain; and during the campaign he suffered only one slight reverse. As might be supposed, these victories of Frederick increased his popularity in Britain.

Parliament met on the 23rd of November. The king's speech was exultant in its tone, but called loudly for increased supplies to carry on the war till a final triumph was attained. The war, it was urged, must be carried on with increased vigour, and as it could not be waged in the same way as the French, or as our ancestors waged war, economically, "heaps of millions must be raised." The victories which had then been obtained, and the distress of the French from the progress of our arms, were dwelt upon with the utmost satisfaction; as were those of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and his majesty's "good brother, the king of Prussia." The speech was essentially warlike, and the addresses echoed its sentiments. In both Houses they were couched in strong tones of panegyric. There was not a word said about the war being for the defence of Hanover, but our conquests in America were held to be worth the cost at which they were achieved. Thanks were moved and voted to Amherst and Boscawen for the conquest of Cape Breton, and a hope was expressed that no ministry would ever suffer it to be lost. Pitt had in these few short months risen wonderfully in the estimation of both king and people. Sir Richard Grosvenor, a young converted Tory, who seconded the address, called him "a blazing star," and his enthusiasm was not singular. The conduct of the administration, indeed, was so agreeable to both Houses, that in their addresses to the throne they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to the king's person, warmly congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised their hearty support of his measures and allies. "It was all harmony," says Walpole, "and nothing was thought of but giving away twelve more millions. In the heat of the general enthusiasm which had been created by the "fortune of war," that sum was voted, and an army of ninety-five thousand British troops and seven thousand foreigners were to be raised and supported for the ensuing year.

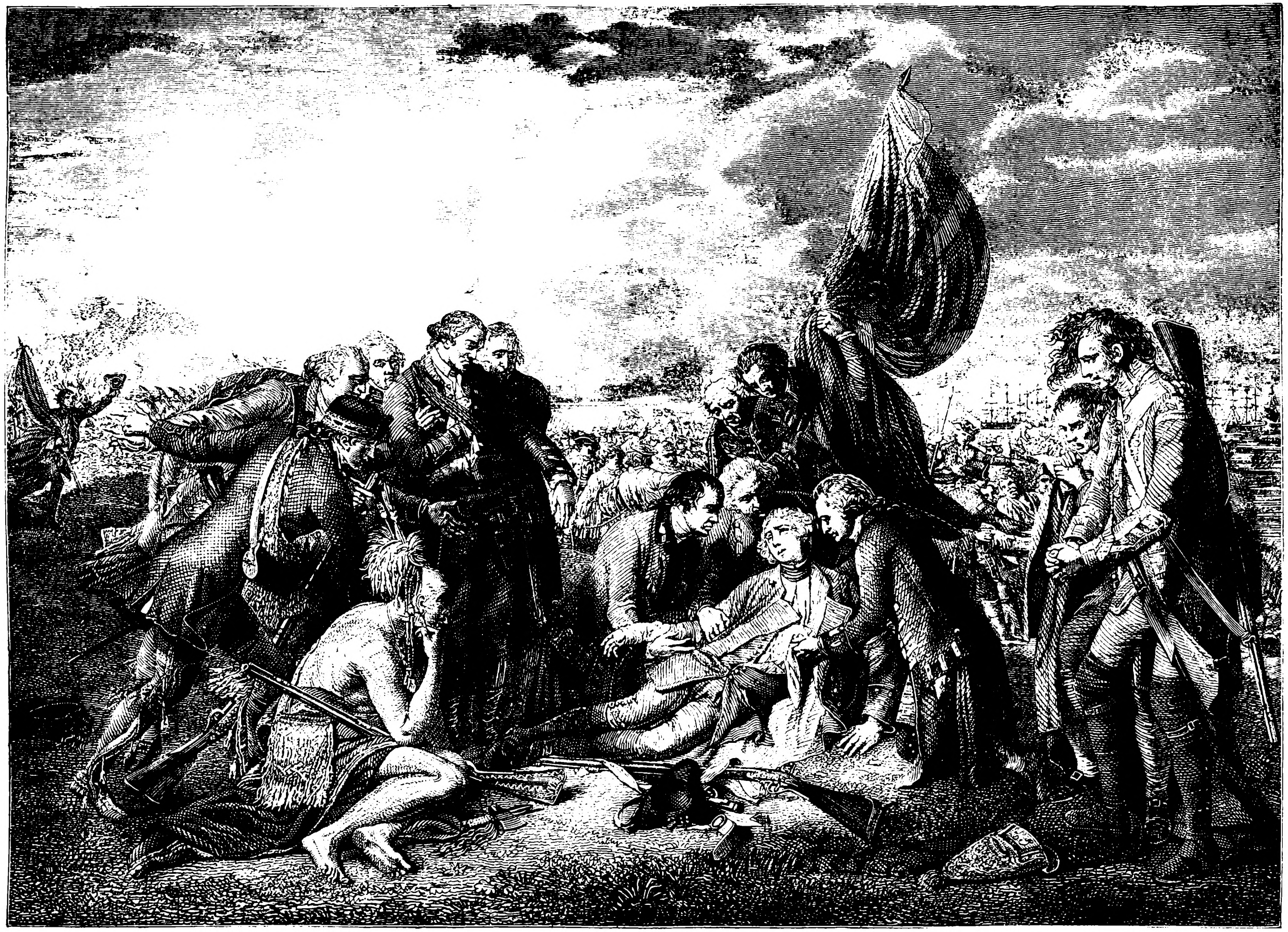
The enthusiasm which had been displayed in parliament on its opening had not evaporated on its reassembling in 1759. It was now, indeed, that it was more fully manifested in the substantial estimates which were brought forward for its sanction. Walpole says that Pitt, "ignorant of the whole circle of finance, and consequently averse from corresponding with financiers, a plain set of men, who are never to be paid with words instead of figures, he kept aloof from all details, drew magnificent plans, and left others to find the magnificent means." The sum voted for the services of the year has been stated above: what it was chiefly voted for was the support of the war. But there appears to have been much corruption and waste. Pitt himself neither granted suits nor received them, but Newcastle revelled in a boundless power of appointing agents, commissaries, victuallers, and the whole train of leeches. He even paid his court to Pitt by heaping extravagance on extravagance; for the more money that was thrown away, the greater idea Pitt conceived of the grandeur of his system. The sum voted for the support of foreign troops reached the high figure of one million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds. In order to raise the means for the support of our conquests and military glory, new taxes were called for, which did somewhat disturb the harmony of parliament. It was proposed to impose a tax on sugar. This was opposed by Beckford, whose fortune lay chiefly in Jamaica, and who would therefore feel such a tax to be a burden on his estate. Accompanied by fifty West Indian merchants, Beckford applied to Legge to divert the new duty. Legge, however, was not disposed to help Beckford. He was told that the measure was taken. Pitt, however, on being applied to promised Beckford that the affair should have further consideration: that he himself would be open to conviction on what he should hear in the debate. Pitt, indeed, obliged Newcastle and Legge to depart from their plan, and to shift the new duty upon dry goods in general. At the same time, in his speech on this occasion, Pitt expressed his belief that a tax upon wine or linen would be preferable to that on dry goods, but above all he would like to see a general bill of excise: a measure which, when brought forward by Sir Robert Walpole, he had so vehemently and successfully opposed, and for which opposition he had lost his cornetcy of horse.

In the previous session a bill had been mooted for amending the Act of Habeas Corpus. It passed the Commons with facility, but was rejected by the Lords. The judges, however, were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be brought in this session. Lord Hardwicke had promised that it should be prepared, and Lord Denbigh acquainted the House of Lords that he should move to ask the judges for their new Act; but when they were summoned, Denbigh said that he had dropped the design, his professed attachment to Pitt evidently ruling his actions. The new Act, however, was brought forward, though with but slight chance of success. Its professed object was to render the great safeguard of our liberty still stronger and of more universal application. In its essence it was Whiggish: at least it savoured of the spirit of the old Whigs who had made the Revolution of 1688. The bill, however, was offensive to his majesty: his chief objections to it being that it would interfere with the discipline of the forces, and reduce his power, and that of his officers, over subjects serving in the army and navy. It was understood that whoever voted for it would offend King George, and though some few noble lords ventured to brave the frowns of the king, the majority voted against the measure.

Towards the close of the session a message was delivered from the king desiring to be enabled to march the militia out of their several counties, under an apprehension of a French invasion. Fifty thousand men were destined for that service. Pitt delivered the message, the burden of which he warmly approved. His speech was of a pompous character; for distinguishing between the various kinds of fear, he inaptly termed this a "magnanimous fear." The address was voted, but it was objected by some, that when the militia were called upon to march, several country gentlemen would excuse themselves; on which Pitt remarked, that if such was found to be the case, he would move the next session to have the bill repealed: a threat by which his Tory friends who received silent *douceurs* of commission in the militia were weaned from their opposition. The session closed on the 2nd of June by commission, the speech being of the usual stereotype character, and therefore not worth reiterating.

The invasion notified in the king's message was seriously projected by France. It hung over us, says Walpole, great part of the summer, nor was it radically baffled till the succeeding winter. There was a great gathering of flat-bottomed boats on the French coast for the enterprise. At that time our sea-coast towns were crowded with French prisoners, and more than twenty-four thousand of them were marched into the interior of the island and committed to the guard of the militia. There were but about twelve thousand regular troops for home defence, but our fleets held undisputed possession of the seas. If the French could threaten invasion we could do more than threaten. Accordingly Admiral Rodney was despatched with a fleet to anticipate the threatened storm. Rodney bombarded Havre de Grace, throwing so many bombs into the place as almost melted his own mortars. Great damage was done to that town, but the flat-bottomed boats which were not finished were out of his reach, so that he only half fulfilled his mission. But the honour of the British flag was more effectually asserted by Admiral Boscawen, who had returned from America to take the command in the Mediterranean. His first attempt however savoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed his flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he sent three ships into the outer harbour to burn some French ships lying close to its mouth, and they were received with such a terrific fire from a masked battery that they were crippled, and Boscawen was under the necessity of descending the Mediterranean to refit. The object of the commander of the Toulon fleet was to get out into the ocean and join another French fleet at Brest. After Boscawen had departed from Toulon the French admiral, M. de la Clue, made that attempt. His fleet consisted of twelve large ships and three frigates. As he was pursuing his course, five of his ships and the three frigates became separated, and at this juncture Boscawen, who had been watching and following him, appeared in line of battle. The two fleets encountered off Cape Lagos in Portugal. The engagement commenced with equal vigour on both sides; but the contest was of brief duration. After fighting gallantly, M. de la Clue fell mortally wounded, and his ship, the Ocean, esteemed the finest in the French navy, with three others, were captured, while a fifth was driven on shore and burnt. Only two escaped, the Souveraine and the Guerrier, which under cover of the night altered their course. This victory was obtained on the 18th of August. Another still more decisive was obtained by Admiral Hawke on the 20th of November. Sir Edward Hawke had been sent with a fleet to the neighbourhood of Brest, to watch the French fleet lying there under M. Conflauns. Hawke was driven from the coast by a storm, and was compelled to retire to Gibraltar to refit. On his return M. Conflauns had stolen out of the harbour of Brest, and was then near at hand in Quiberon bay. The fleets were nearly equal; Hawke having twenty-three ships and Conflauns twenty-one. But when Hawke attacked the enemy half of his fleet had not reached him. And besides this disadvantage, Hawke commenced his attack under other adverse circumstances. The French were sheltered among the rocks and sand-banks by which that coast was roughened; and Hawke to get at them had to sail through narrow and dangerous passes; passes rendered still more dangerous by a dreadful tempest then raging. Disregarding all dangers, however, Hawke led his ships into Quiberon bay, and the shortness of the day only prevented the destruction of the enemy. Lord Howe, who attacked the great French ship, the Formidable, hove down on her with such violence that her prow forced in his lower tier of guns. Conflauns' own ship and another were run on shore and burnt; two more were sunk, one was taken, and another struck her colours, but afterwards escaped, as the storm raged so violently that the British sailors could not take possession of her. Favoured by the night, seven ships of the line got into the river Vilaine, and eight others escaped to different ports on the coast in a condition beyond repair. Hawke lost two of his ships in the storm, but their crews were saved. His loss for so fierce a conflict was comparatively small. Captain Digby received the fire of twelve of the enemy's ships without the loss of a man. It is related by Walpole that not above eight of Hawke's ships were engaged in achieving that victory—a victory which put a period to the navy and hopes of France, and all apprehensions of invasion in Britain. The remains of the French maritime power were annihilated.

It was, however, across the Atlantic that the great harvest of laurels was this year obtained. It has been seen that by previous military operations the Canadas had become vulnerable to our arms. Pitt's grand scheme had become practicable, and it now devolved on him to choose the men who should carry it out. And in doing so he acted with the most consummate wisdom. Passing over ancient formalists whom the king would have selected, he appointed the celebrated General Wolfe to the command of the expedition. The plan laid down for their operations was of a threefold character: Wolfe was to advance with his forces and seize Quebec, the capital of the French province; Amherst with his forces was to occupy Crown Point, reduce Fort Ticonderago, and then crossing Lake Champlain, and falling down the river St. Lawrence, join Wolfe under the walls of Quebec; while Prideaux, with his forces and a body of wild Indians, was to invest Niagara, then embark on Lake Ontario, capture Montreal, and then form a junction with Amherst and Wolfe. It was a well-devised scheme, but Amherst and Prideaux found unexpected difficulties in their paths, which ought to have been seen and provided against. Amherst carried Crown Point and Ticonderago, and Prideaux made himself master of Niagara, but here they stopped. Amherst had no ships ready wherewith to encounter the French vessels cruising on Lake Champlain; and when at length a sloop and a brigantine were got ready, and well manned and armed for the enterprise, on setting sail the weather was too tempestuous to admit of the possibility of accomplishing his task. On his part Prideaux met with such a stern resistance from the French and the French Indians, who rushed to the aid of the garrison of Niagara, that it was not till after they were defeated hopelessly that the garrison capitulated. The battle fought by Prideaux occurred on the 24th of July, and was chiefly won by the Indian tribes of the six



Death of General Wolfe.

nations, a fierce people whose delight was in slaughter. These allies had been collected by Sir William Johnstone, who on the arrival of General Prideaux joined his forces for the enterprise. It was, indeed, through the representations of Johnstone, that the commander of the French garrison capitulated. He exhorted him to surrender before more blood was shed, and while yet he had the power of restraining the ferocity of his Indian followers. In the battle seventeen French officers had been captured by Johnstone, and the French commander was informed that these would fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Indians; and having certified himself of the truth by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, terms were agreed upon, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, to be conveyed to New York. Before they embarked they laid down their arms; but they were permitted to keep their baggage, and by proper escort were protected from the Indians, who desired to scalp them, as they had their countrymen on the day of battle.

It was by these events that Amherst and Lawrence were prevented from joining Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. He was conveyed by sea and up the river St. Lawrence by Admiral Saunders, whose ships and seamen remained to co-operate. The passage of the St. Lawrence was difficult, but by the aid of some charts of the river which had been taken on board a French vessel it was accomplished. Wolfe had eight thousand troops under his command, and with these, on the 27th of June, he landed on the Isle of Orleans, opposite Quebec. From his first landing Wolfe was surrounded with dangers. While the fleet lay at the Isle of Orleans, and almost as soon as the troops had disembarked, a terrible storm blew down the river, which imperilled its safety; but the storm abated, and after overcoming great difficulties, and having made a proper disposition of his forces, on the 31st of July he attacked the French entrenchments; but it was an utter failure. With the help of the ships, and the fleet's boats, he threw himself on the beach and attacked in front, while Brigadier Townshend was to ford the Montmorenci and attack in flank. A number of the boats, however, filled with soldiers grounded upon the rocks, and time being lost in getting them off, the grenadiers, who had landed and rushed towards the entrenchments, were driven back by the French artillery, hastily brought up to the point menaced, with great loss. Townshend was recalled while crossing the ford, and Wolfe was compelled to give up the attack and withdraw his own men. A deep gloom hung over the young hero's mind, but he did not despair; he rose superior to his complicated difficulties, and his military genius proved adequate to the occasion. The heights of Abraham form a continuation of the steep ridge of rocks on which Quebec is built, and it was conceived that if the troops could scale those heights, they might take possession of the country on the back of the city, which at that point was but carelessly fortified. It was a desperate design, for the heights of Abraham rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river; and the stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank lined with sentinels, and the place of landing so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark. But it was the only spot where there was the remotest chance for Wolfe to achieve "mighty things," and he resolved to make the attempt. To that end, and in order to deceive the enemy, Admiral Saunders sailed some three or four leagues higher up the river with the troops, as though Wolfe was intent upon other business. It was on the night of the 12th of September, that the design was put into execution. In the midst of darkness the admiral glided down the river, and put out all his troops to land under the heights of Abraham. So noiselessly did they pass along, that the French sentinels posted along the banks of the river, and even close to the spot selected for disembarkation, were all passed without any alarm being given. Their landing was at the foot of a cliff about two miles above Quebec, in which there was a narrow path which led up to a wide table-land. Up this narrow path, by the aid of boughs, or stumps of trees, or projections in the rock, Wolfe and his troops struggled up the heights of Abraham. The first to reach those heights was one of the newly-formed Highland regiments, troops now esteemed as the most effective in the British service. The Highlanders were followed by the light infantry, and these in their turn by the line. As they neared the top, a French guard, overhearing a rustling noise, fired down the precipice at random, and the fire returned by the Highlanders, being unexpected, so terrified the French picket that they ran away. The heights were gained, and when the morning dawned there stood Wolfe with his troops drawn out in line of battle on the famous heights of Abraham. So impossible did their appearance there appear, that Montcalm would not believe the intelligence until he saw with his own eyes that it was a reality. Gazing at them with astonishment, he remarked:—"I see them where they ought not to be; but since we must fight, I will go and crush them." He prepared for battle. Wolfe had disposed his force, less than five thousand, with consummate skill. He had no artillery with him, but his light infantry seized four guns which the French had placed in battery, and the British seamen with great labour hauled up one gun from the landing-place. Montcalm also brought no more than two small pieces, for he was too eager to crush the British to allow of time to bring them up. He advanced with French and Canadians intermingled, whilst his Indian allies were detached to outflank the British on their left. Wolfe commanded on the right, and Townshend on the left. He had ordered his men not to fire till the enemy came within forty yards, but the French and Canadians, who advanced in good order, fired before they were within musket range. As they approached the British poured in a terrible discharge, which was followed by a most steady and deliberate fire, which fearfully thinned the enemy's ranks. In less than half an hour the French began to waver. As Wolfe stood in the front line cheering his men, a ball struck him in the wrist, but wrapping a handkerchief round the wound, he continued giving orders, and at length headed his grenadiers with fixed bayonets to the charge. As he advanced a second ball struck him in the abdomen, but heedless of this more serious wound he still pressed forward. But a third ball did its fatal work. Struck in the breast, he was carried to the rear to die. But as his life was fast ebbing away he was still intent on the battle. His eyes were fast growing dim when he heard an officer near him exclaim, "See how they run!" "Who run?" demanded Wolfe. "The French," replied the officer; "they are giving way in every direction." "Then," replied the dying hero, "I am content." He had still breath enough left to give an order for Webb's regiment to move down to Charles's river, and secure the bridge, to cut off the retreat of the flying enemy, and this done his spirit fled. His second in command, General Moncton, was dangerously wounded, but Townshend completed the victory. The brave Montcalm also was mortally wounded, and being carried into Quebec, died the next day. Quebec capitulated on the 18th of September, and the remnant of the French army in Canada retired to Montreal. The same despatch which brought the news of the death of Wolfe brought that of the surrender of Quebec, and the people at once triumphed and wept. Walpole intimates that Townshend and his friends for him were mean enough to attempt to ravish the honour of the conquest from Wolfe; but he adds, "The passion of gratitude with which the nation was transported towards Wolfe's memory overbore all attempts to lessen his fame." Nor was the popular admiration of the hero who fell on the heights of Abraham of an evanescent nature. Fifty years later, when the gentle poet Cowper published his "Task," it was, as indeed it still is—

> "Praise enough
> To fill the ambition of a private man,
> That Chatham's language was his mother tongue,
> And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own."

The incidents of the war on the Continent during this year were of a chequered character. In the spring the French army was mustered near Frankfort. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick commenced the campaign by attacking it at Bergham, but he met with a severe repulse. The electorate of Hanover was once more threatened. The archives and valuables were packed up by the regency and sent to Stade, there to be shipped for England. But Ferdinand stopped the onward progress of the French. They were in possession of Cassel, Munster, and Minden, near which latter place Ferdinand with his Hanoverians, Hessians, and British, determined to make a stand. A small detachment was sent forward to entice and deceive his enemies. Against these the marshal de Broglie marched out in the full confidence of an easy victory, but he soon discovered the whole allied army drawn out in order of battle. Joined by Marshal Contades, however, on the 1st of August, with their cavalry they attacked the solid British and Hanoverian infantry. Success had made the French commanders imprudent and rash in their daring. Again and again they pressed forward, but only to reel back in diminished numbers. Their horse were swept away and routed by the batteries which Prince Ferdinand had prepared, whilst the infantry, disordered by its defeat, unable to act with effect, were driven from the field. The loss of the French was severe; and had the right wing advanced as Ferdinand had ordered, the victory would have been complete. That wing was composed chiefly of cavalry under Lord George Sackville, and Ferdinand sent him orders to charge before the French could rally, which orders were unheeded. He would not understand the messages brought to him by three aides-de-camp, two of whom were British. In his despatches Prince Ferdinand censured him by observing, that had the marquis of Granby been in the place of Lord George, the battle could not have failed to have been much more decisive. Granby in truth had been spurring on to execute the orders given to his superior, when Lord George made him halt. His conduct was attributed by some to cowardice, but it would rather seem that his jealousy of Prince Ferdinand was the chief cause of his refusal to obey his orders. But whatever was the cause, he fell under the public contempt. He wrote to England begging to resign his command, and he returned to brave a court-martial, which adjudged him guilty of disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and to be unfit to serve in any military capacity. But if our cavalry had no share in the honour of Minden, our infantry had, for six regiments of foot sustained for a time the whole effort of the French, who exceeded sixty thousand men. Those regiments were the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st, on whose colours is still inscribed the name of Minden. But notwithstanding the defeat at Minden, the duke de Broglie was enabled to keep his position in the countries of Hesse and Cleves.

On the same day the battle of Minden was fought a French corps was defeated at Coveldt by the hereditary prince of Brunswick. But the Great Fritz was this year called upon to endure a signal overthrow in the sanguinary battle of Kunersdorf. He lost in this battle half of his generals and officers of distinction, and more than eighteen thousand killed and wounded; but he had made nearly every man in his kingdom a soldier, and he called out more troops and occupied his fertile genius in devising the schemes of fresh campaigns. And he was the more encouraged to do this by the news which arrived at the moment of his disaster of the victory gained at Minden by Prince Ferdinand; and the better enabled to do it, as instead of advancing upon Berlin and overwhelming the wreck of his troops, destitute of cannon, the Russians took no step to improve the victory which they had gained. Smollett conceives that the safety of the Prussian monarch was owing to the jealousy subsisting among the Austrian and Russian generals; but it is likely that the slaughter they had suffered in the battle of Kunersdorf, notwithstanding their strong entrenchments, made them shrink from the risk of encountering so terrible a foe as the Great Fritz, even with his shattered forces, in the open field, or from behind the walls of his capital. Whatever may have been the cause, General Laudohn retired with his horse immediately after the battle, and Count Soltikoff with part of the Russians joined the Austrian general Daun in Lusatia.

While these various and memorable events were transpiring in Europe and America, there had been another page added to the roll of British history in the East Indies. The French general Lally having on his arrival made a fruitless attempt to capture

Madras, sent a detachment of his army southward, captured Syringham, and threatened Trichinopoly. To arrest his progress Colonel Coote, worthy of competing with Clive, was ordered by the governor and council of Madras to take the field against him. Coote marched at the head of seventeen hundred Europeans and three hundred Sepoys, and in a brief space of time captured the forts of Wandewash and Carongoly. Alarmed at his success, Lally assembled his forces at Arcot, to check his career. Lally's troops consisted of two thousand two hundred Europeans, three hundred Caffres, and ten thousand Sepoys. His artillery also was more formidable than that of Coote. In his route Lally took possession of Coujeveram, on hearing of which Coote marched from Wandewash to recover it. It was abandoned at his approach, and Lally in his absence invested Wandewash. A breach was already made when Coote returned and gave battle. There was a fierce conflict under the walls of Wandewash, in which the British were victorious. With his routed forces Lally retreated to Pondicherry, and Coote pursuing his victory made himself master of the whole province of Arcot. Everywhere by land and sea the French this year succumbed to the power of the British; but notwithstanding their disasters, by which France was brought into a state of bankruptcy—the springs of their national wealth being exhausted—the nation still declared for a continuation of the war. The necessities of the state were partly supplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people, and partly by resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who, from the capture of many of their West India ships by British cruisers, were inflamed with the most bitter resentment against Great Britain.

The British parliament met on the 13th of October. It was opened by commission. The speech on this occasion was more than commonly jubilant. Pitt spoke as the oracle of war. Victory everywhere was inscribed on our banners. All the various successes of our arms were enumerated in high-flowing strains. They were glorious to the crown, and advantageous to the kingdom. Pitt certainly had come out of the fiery ordeal triumphant. Throughout the year he had been tortured with fears lest some of his war schemes should prove a failure, but all had succeeded to a marvel. But in the many signal successes both by sea and land with which his majesty's arms had been blessed, the hand of Providence was devoutly acknowledged. At the same time parliament was plainly told that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war in all directions with the utmost vigour. Much had been done, but much more was yet required to be done. Pitt is reported to have said in private, that some time before he should have been well contented to bring France on her knees, but that he would not now rest till he had laid her on her back. To this end further and greater supplies than heretofore were recommended, that the war might be brought to a glorious issue; an issue which would restore the repose of Europe on solid and durable foundations. The speech, which was read by the lord-keeper, produced all the effect which the sovereign could desire. In both Houses the addresses vied with each other in expressions of attachment and complacency. When the army estimates were brought forward, Pitt expatiated on his one great theme. It was no time, he urged, for paltry economy; the best economy was to push the expenditure so as to terminate the war. He represented France as in a state of bankruptcy and despondency, and its attempts rather those of a dying than living monarchy. There was no opposition to the supplies demanded The unexampled sum of fifteen millions were readily voted; and including eighteen thousand militia, the army was fixed at one hundred and seventy-five thousand men in British pay. To specify the particular grants for which the fifteen millions were voted would be needless repetition, as they partook of the same character as in former sessions; but it may be mentioned that some of the victorious officers were rewarded—and especially Prince Ferdinand—and that a monument was ordered to the memory of Wolfe.

During this year there were tumults in Ireland, highly characteristic of the Irish character. Pitt had left no stone unturned to ensure success to his war measures. He had endeavoured to instil apprehensions of an invasion into the Irish parliament, and to incite them to raise troops for the common cause. But at this time there was another subject which alarmed the Irish more than the rumours of an invasion. Indeed, although Ireland was in some degree united with England, the union for several years had not been one of perfect harmony. No particular events had occurred which call for specific relation in our history, but there had been jars and disagreements which distinctly manifested "which way the wind blew." The crown and the English parliament had from time to time showed a disposition to override the Irish legislature, but they had persistently and successfully stood upon their rights. At this time, however, there was a jealousy that a union with England was contemplated, which was regarded as the means of subjecting the Irish farther to the English crown; as tending to render the Celt and the Saxon "one and indivisible." Such union was a favourite topic with Lord Hillsborough. Two years before he had hinted such a wish in the British parliament, and being now in Ireland, he was unwise enough to let drop expressions of a similar tendency. The effect was electrical. It set all Dublin in a flame. The mob grew outrageous. They assembled at the door of the House of Commons in a threatening attitude. At first they were appeased by an assurance that no such measure as a Bill of Union was intended; but on Rigby,—secretary to the duke of Bedford, the lord-lieutenant—who gave them this assurance, stating that the duke might, on an emergency, such as an invasion, summon the parliament to meet without an intervention of forty days, the former suspicions revived. Their suspicions had no foundation in truth, and even if they had, such a bill could not have passed without undergoing sundry forms of law, which would have given ample opportunities for resistance. But the bare idea of a closer union between the two countries than already existed was sufficient to arouse the Irish passions. The mob possessed themselves of the avenues to the parliament, seized on the members, and compelled them to take an oath to their country by voting against the union. Some of the members were grossly maltreated. Rawley, a Presbyterian, was stripped naked, and it was with difficulty they were prevented from drowning him; and Lord Inchiquin, who had arrived from the country to oppose the union, was alike insulted. The bishop of Killala and the Lord Chancellor Bowes were each dragged out of his coach and compelled to take their oath; but being now seized with a scruple that such an oath was not binding, Bowes was made to renew his before the chief justice. The mob then went to the House of Lords, where they committed the most gross outrages. They even placed an old woman on the throne, and supplied her with pipes and tobacco. Their greatest fury, however, was directed against Rigby. For him they prepared a gallows, but fortunately he was gone out of Dublin for a ride, and received timely notice not to return. The mayor was requested to quell the tumult, but he excused himself on pretence of there being no Riot Act in Ireland. At length, however, the tumult was quelled, after several were killed by a troop of horse called into request for that purpose. But it was not in Dublin only that there were riots, for Cork exhibited the same manifestation of disaffection; but not on the subject of the union. There was a riot there on the prohibition of exporting Irish cattle. And after all there is reason for believing that the insurrection had a deeper foundation than in a mere jealousy of a union with England or the prohibition of cattle: that it was excited by emissaries from France, in order to render the invasion of England more practicable. The Brest fleet seems expressly to have been formed for a descent upon Ireland; for it has ever been the desire of France, when in antagonism to England, to wound her in the side of Ireland by arousing the passions of its Celtic population against their "Saxon oppressors." We have seen that the Brest fleet was defeated and scattered by Hawke in Quiberon bay; but a short time before that event, an adventurer named M. Thurot, who had distinguished himself as a privateer, sailed with four or five frigates from Dunkirk to take part in the projected invasion. His operations were what Walpole calls "a codicil to the lofty plan of invading these kingdoms in various parts at once." M. Thurot was to make a diversion either in Scotland or somewhere in Ireland, and after roving about the seas for three months, and losing two of his ships, in February, 1760, he made a descent on the Irish coast. The defenceless town of Carrickfergus was taken by him and plundered, but on the approach of the duke of Bedford he fled to his ships, taking with him the mayor and three of the principal inhabitants. At that time there were three English ships at Kinsale under the command of Captain Elliot, and advice being sent by the Irish administration of the invasion, Elliot put to sea in pursuit of the bold Frenchman. He came up with him in the Irish Channel, and in a battle between the miniature fleets, M. Thurot, after fighting as though he carried the blood-red flag of a pirate, was slain, and the three ships which he commanded were taken and conveyed as prizes to the Isle of Man.

The legislative acts of the session were as in recent years of an unimportant character. Among those which received the royal sanction was a bill for preventing the excessive use of spirits; a bill for removing the powder magazine at Greenwich to Purfleet; an Act for the improvement of the streets of London; an Act for ascertaining the qualifications of members of parliament; and an Act for consolidating the annuities granted in the previous year. During the session a bill was brought in for the establishment of a militia in Scotland, and although it was shown that the want of such a force was greatly needed in that country, and would be acceptable to the people at large, it was rejected. The session closed on the 22nd of May, when the Houses were informed that both his majesty and his "good brother" Frederick of Prussia, in the midst of their victories had given their enemies proofs of their desire to negotiate for peace; but their overtures had been rejected, and therefore the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to his majesty or his allies.

At that time the war had recommenced with vigour, but before we record its progress it is necessary to advert to a domestic occurrence which engrossed the public attention. This was the trial of Lord George Sackville by court-martial for disobedience of orders under Prince Ferdinand at the battle of Minden. He was found guilty and declared unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. This sentence was not only confirmed by the king, but he struck out Sackville's name from the list of privy councillors, and forbade him ever to appear at court. And, as though this was not a sufficient punishment, he sent the lord chamberlain to notify this prohibition to the prince of Wales and the princess dowager; thereby intimating that if they received him it would be at the cost of his, the king's displeasure. And as long as the old king lived Lord George appears to have been banished from the presence of royalty; but he had scarcely been laid in his tomb, when Sackville basked in his successor's favour. He was welcomed at court, and obtained a lucrative place and a peerage.

At this time a third criminal appeared on the stage, more atrocious than ever Sackville had been. Lawrence Earl Ferrers had been separated from his wife for his causeless ill usage of her, and parliament had settled an allowance on her out of his estate. Parliament had even appointed a receiver of the rents, but the nomination was left to the earl's own choice. He named his own steward, Johnson, who however proved too honest for his lordship's purposes. Johnson fell under his lordship's displeasure, and it led to a fearful tragedy. Walpole says that Earl Ferrers exhibited signs of madness, and that frequent drunkenness inflamed his disorder. But there was method in his madness. The crime he committed was premeditated. He sent for Johnson, and before he arrived had artfully sent his mistress and her children, with all his servants, different ways on various pretences. On his arrival the earl locked the door of the room in which he was received, and pointing a pistol at Johnson's breast, demanded that he would sign a paper avowing himself a villain. It was in vain that the unhappy man deprecated the indignation of the furious earl: it was sign, or death. As he hesitated, Lord Ferrers shot him, and the wound proved mortal. Sobered by the act, remorse of fear seized on the murderer. He sent for a surgeon and wished to save his victim, but again resorting to the bottle, these sentiments soon vanished. He passed, says Walpole, the remainder of that horrid day between his bottle and the chamber of the expiring man; sometimes in promises to his daughter, whom he had summoned to her father, but oftener in transports of insults, threats, and cruelty to the victim himself, who languished till the next morning. Earl Ferrers was arrested, and carried before the House of Lords, who committed him to the Tower. When brought to trial, in compliance with the entreaties of his family, he pleaded madness; but being easily convicted, he begged pardon of his judges for having used that plea. In recording this affair, Walpole remarks that "nothing is more awful than the trial of a British peer;" and yet, singular enough, he has drawn a glowing picture showing how gracefully a British peer can meet his death at Tyburn. "He bore," says he, "the ignominy of his fate like a philosopher, and went to meet it with the ease of a gentleman. In the tedious passage of his conveyance from the Tower to Tyburn, which was impeded by the crowds that assembled round his coach, he dropped not a rash word, nor one that had not sense and thought in it. Little was wanting to grace his execution but less resentment to his wife, the peculiarity of being executed in his wedding habit too strongly marking that he imputed his calamity to that source."

Again we turn to the events of war. If Pitt's war measures were this year not crowned with universal success, great triumphs were obtained. In America the war was concluded. We have seen that after the loss of Quebec, the French had retired into the interior of Canada. The defence of the half-ruined town devolved on General Murray, with the remnant of Wolfe's army; the fleet being compelled to sail away, to escape being frozen up in the river St. Lawrence. Taking advantage of this, M. Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, resolved to make a desperate effort to recover all that the French had lost. He marched in April to seize the capital. He took the field with a body of French Canadians and Indians, amounting to more than ten thousand men. While yet the weather was still inclement, M. Levi appeared before Quebec. His first operations promised victory. Disdaining to await a regular siege, General Murray with an inferior force marched out to give him battle. The issue of that battle was disastrous to the British arms. Murray was defeated, losing most of his guns, and narrowly escaping being cut off from his retreat to the city. Quebec was now besieged both by land and sea. M. Levi had brought up six frigates, against which he had not a single vessel. There was a prospect of Quebec again falling into the hands of the French, but on the 9th of May Lord Colville, with two frigates, having outsailed the British squadron, entered the river St. Lawrence, and as M. Levi looked from the heights of the rock on which Quebec was built, he saw the six French frigates one after another utterly destroyed. Alarmed for his own safety, M. Levi broke up his camp and fled, leaving his artillery and stores behind him. The French had now only one source remaining—Montreal. That was their last stronghold. The French governor-general of Canada, the Marquis de Vandreuil, had collected all his magazines and the whole force of the province at Montreal, and here he resolved to make a determined stand. But he had to deal with a man as brave as Wolfe or Murray, and more circumspect than either. This was General Amherst, who by his skill and strategy took possession of Montreal, the last stronghold of the French in America, and the Canadas were annexed to the British crown.

In the seas of Europe no action of importance was this year achieved by the naval force of Great Britain. Her ships scoured those seas without meeting an enemy strong enough to offer battle. The power of the French navy was utterly broken, and the British flag everywhere floated in the breeze triumphantly. Privateers, flat-bottomed boats, and merchant vessels were everywhere destroyed by the British force maintained at sea, and the loss thus inflicted upon France fell heavily upon her subjects.

The campaign of Prince Ferdinand may be briefly related. At its commencement his army had been reinforced, but it was still far inferior to that of the French under Marshal de Broglie. The forces of De Broglie numbered one hundred thousand men, while the Count de St. Germain, with a separate body of thirty thousand, commanded on the Rhine. Had these two commanders acted in unison, their forces would have been overwhelming; but from their enmity and dissensions, Prince Ferdinand, if he did not reap laurels, obtained security. Passing by skirmishes between detachments, the campaign opened by an attack made by the gallant nephew of Prince Ferdinand—the hereditary prince of Brunswick—on the French at Corbach, in which he was defeated. The prince and the remnant of his troops retreated to Prince Ferdinand's camp at Saxenhausen, and soon after he redeemed his laurels by a signal victory over the French at Exdorf, in which he made the general who commanded them and three thousand soldiers prisoners. In this battle a new regiment of British cavalry—Elliot's dragoons—greatly distinguished themselves, and mainly contributed to the victory. Marshal de Broglie at this time still remained on the heights of Corbach, and before he ventured to descend from them he ordered the Count St. Germain to join his forces with the grand army. This however was contrary to the compact made of commanding a distinct body, and St. Germain, who was an older officer, threw up his commission, and quitted the service of the country. His command was given to the Chevalier de Muy, who now co-operated with the marshal, his superior. The allies had removed their camp from Saxenhausen to the village of Kalle, near Cassel. The French troops were now put in motion against them. While De Muy with the reserve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, extended his forces down the river Dymel, to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, the Duke de Broglie marched with his main wing to their camp at Kalle, and Prince Xavier, who commanded their reserve on the left, advanced towards Cassel. But before they could close upon him Prince Ferdinand had crossed the

Dymel, whither he was followed by the French, who took up an advantageous position near Warbourg. In this position they were attacked by Prince Ferdinand and his heroic nephew, and defeated. The French fled precipitately; many in their flight being drowned in attempting to cross the Dymel. In this battle the British dragoons again performed great service, as did also a brigade of grenadiers and Highlanders under Colonel Beckwith. But very little advantage was derived from this achievement. The allies were outnumbered by the French, who overran Hesse, seized Gottingen and Minden, and again threatened Hanover. All that Prince Ferdinand could do was to secure posts and passes, by which means he endeavoured, and that with considerable effect, to retard their progress. In this he was ably seconded by the hereditary prince and the English troops under his command, who inflicted severe losses on French detachments in various parts on the borders of Hanover. The minor battles of this campaign between separate detachments of Prince Ferdinand's troops and those of De Broglie were numerous, and victory almost uniformly declared in favour of the former. Still no decisive blow was struck: the chief advantages gained by these victories being the prevention of De Broglie's accomplishing any point of importance. It was perhaps to divert him from his resolved attack upon Hanover, that in September Prince Ferdinand sent his nephew at the head of a considerable force on an expedition to the Lower Rhine. This expedition was deemed unaccountable, as Ferdinand's main army was already unequal to that of France, and by this movement it was rendered still weaker. Great disasters were apprehended from it, but this apprehension was ill founded. It is evident that De Broglie attached some importance to it, for the prince having captured Cleves and laid siege to Wesel, he sent Monsieur de Castries with a powerful detachment to arrest his progress. The hereditary prince was attacked in his position before Wesel, and after two days' hard fighting was compelled to retreat beyond the Rhine. His loss was considerable, the heaviest being inflicted on the British forces under his command, who on every occasion bore the brunt of the battle. Pitt at the commencement of the war had ignored the idea of British troops being sent to shed their blood in the cause of the electorate of Hanover, but at this time there were more than twenty thousand under the command of Prince Ferdinand, many of whom died fighting for that cause. In the battle before Wesel, Lord Doun, a gallant and accomplished young man, who had abandoned the enjoyment of an ample fortune for the pursuit of arms, received three wounds, and after languishing several weeks died in torment. The hereditary prince himself was covered with wounds, but he recovered, and soon after the belligerent forces went into winter quarters; the French being then in possession of Hesse and the whole country eastward of the Weser to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover.

That the king himself at this period felt considerable anxiety for his beloved Hanover there can be no question. The one great desire of his life had been not only to preserve it intact, but to extend its frontiers. To that end he had not only called for subsidies year after year, and had sent his British subjects to fight for its integrity, but he had spent nearly all his privately accumulated treasure—nearly three millions sterling—in its defence. Yet after all Hanover was threatened, and his only hope of its preservation lay in the arms of his nephew Frederick, and the ever-increasing poverty and disorganization of the French monarchy. But on the 25th of October, what was the electorate of Hanover—nay, what was the English sceptre and the recent triumphs of his arms in far-off countries, as described in previous pages, to him? On that day he rose as usual and drank his chocolate at six in the morning, and in little more than an hour after he was a corpse. Alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor, and his German valet on hearing the noise ran in and found him dying. The ventricle of his heart had burst, and the blood flowing through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium, caused an almost instantaneous and painless death. He died at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years. "Full of years and glory," he died without a pang, and without a struggle. He left his family firmly established on a long-disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable.

The deceased monarch was not possessed of extraordinary abilities, but on the whole he was an able ruler of his people. He may, indeed, be ranked among the best of British sovereigns, ruling as a constitutional, not as an arbitrary prince. As Smollett observes, his government seldom deviated from the institutions of law, or encroached upon private property, or interfered with the common administration of justice. As the history of his reign shows, the circumstances that chiefly marked his public character were a predilection for his native country and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body, points and principles from which during the whole of his chequered reign he never swerved. It has been alleged against him that he was avaricious—that his predominant passions were Hanover and money. That his love of Hanover predominated over that of money, however, is clear from the fact that his hoardings were freely expended for its defence. His neglect of literature has also been made the theme of censure, but Walpole says that the profusion of favours which he allowed the duke of Newcastle to shower on the university of Cambridge ought to free his memory from that charge, and that it was the fault of that body rather than of the king if they were not learned. But like most monarchs, George II. had but little taste for literature, and it could scarcely be expected that he would become its patron. He "would have preferred a guinea to a composition as perfect as 'Alexander's Feast.'" But if authors did not share in his favour, he did not spare rewards to those who served their country by diplomacy and the sword; and hence it arises that his reign produced as great statesmen, orators, and heroes, as dignify the annals of any country in almost any age of the world's history.

GEORGE III.

At the death of George II., his grandson, George, son of the late Frederick prince of Wales, ascended the throne. Rarely ever did a monarch commence a reign under more auspicious circumstances. True, the nation was at war, but its fleets and armies had recently been victorious in every quarter of the globe. Pæans of victory were the songs of the day. The sources of national wealth and prosperity were also becoming daily more and more developed; and there was no longer any fear of a disputed accession, as the hopes of the Stuarts had faded away like a baseless vision, and the rule of the House of Hanover established beyond the reach of danger from its few remaining Jacobite enemies.

When the news of his grandfather's death reached Prince George, he was taking an early ride in the neighbourhood of Kew. Walpole relates that he showed no surprise or emotion, but turned back to Kew as though nothing had happened. On his road thither he was met by Pitt, the head of the government, who hastened to salute him as the future sovereign of England. But Pitt soon found, if he did not know it before, that he was no special favourite of the young monarch, and that he had an enemy in the person of the earl of Bute. Pitt discovered this when on the morrow he met the king at St. James's, and presented the sketch of an address to be pronounced at the meeting of the privy council. He was told that an address had already been prepared, and that his was not wanted. The great minister had reckoned upon the friendship of Bute, but he was now convinced that he would find in him a rival instead of a friend—one that aspired to the highest offices in the state. Notwithstanding, there was no immediate change in the existing administration. George III. had been well tutored by his mother and those to whom his education had been entrusted in the art of dissimulation, and it was given out that he was not only satisfied but even charmed with Pitt's cabinet, and that no changes would be made except a few in the household and in the minor offices. But the earl of Bute, the groom of the stole, at once received advancement in the state, for he was sworn a member of the privy council, as was also Prince Edward, duke of York, the king's eldest brother.

George III. was proclaimed king with the usual solemnities on the 26th of October. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality. The great value of this proclamation was that it indicated the character of the young monarch—a character that was well sustained throughout his long reign, for he ever displayed a bright example of piety and devotion before the eyes of his subjects. Addresses of congratulation on his accession were presented from every part of the kingdom, and the great body of the people testified their delight to see the throne once more filled by a prince whom they could call their own—a prince whose attachment to his native land would predominate, and lead him to seek its interest —unlike his predecessors—before that of Germany.

The first parliament of George III. met on the 18th of November. It was opened with a speech of great significance. One clause gave rise to an outburst of loyalty throughout the nation. "Born and educated in this country," the king remarked, "I glory in the name of Briton, and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security to my throne." Having uttered this memorable sentence, he adverted to the state of the nation, its flourishing condition and its general happiness. The successes of the British arms last summer in Canada, the East Indies, and Germany, were dwelt upon with great glorification. So also were the high achievements of the British navy, which had crippled the naval power of France to such a degree, that its small remains dared not venture out of the ports in which they had taken shelter. Yet while the recent victories had brought so much glory to the nation, King George asserted that he should have been happier if on his accession he had found his kingdom in full peace. Of peace, however, he gave no hopes. The ambition, encroachments, and dangerous designs of his enemies, he said, rendered the war "just and necessary." It was a war for "the Protestant interest," and he called upon his parliament to prosecute it with vigour. And his parliament warmly responded to this call. Nearly twenty millions were cheerfully voted as supplies for war purposes, while the civil list was fixed at 800,000*l.*; the king on his part consenting to the disposal of the hereditary revenues of the crown as might best promote the interests of the nation. Among the supplies voted, none were more freely granted than the continental subsidies. The heroic Frederick of Prussia especially was sustained in his exertions by a subsidy of 670,000*l.*, and scarcely a murmur was heard in the country at the Commons' munificence to the king's "good brother and ally." Nor was the sum of 200,000*l.* granted to the American colonies grudged by the nation, for they had done good service in the war with the French in Canada, and were still right loyal to the House of Hanover. But while the country was on the whole content to be taxed for the support of a war which had brought so much "glory to the nation," one of the articles fixed upon by the committee for raising the supplies created considerable commotion, and especially in London. That article was beer, on which an additional duty of three shillings per barrel was to be levied to pay the interest of a loan of 12,000,000*l.*, the sinking fund being a collateral security. This additional tax on the national beverage excited a great outcry among the lower orders of the people. And there was some reason in this outcry, because the rich man's cellar was left untouched by this *patriotic* committee.

When George III. ascended the throne, all the prisons in the kingdom were crowded with prisoners incarcerated for debt. Petitions in favour of confined debtors had in the reign of his grandfather been presented to the House, but on his accession their claims were more strongly pressed upon the legislature. His known character encouraged the hopes of the applicants, especially as an accession to the throne was generally distinguished by acts of grace.

But apart from the hardships they endured, there were good reasons why there should be at this time a gaol delivery of debtors. These reasons were, that many thousands of valuable subjects were lost to society at a period when the population was thinned by a consuming war, and some of the manufactures were standing still for want of workmen. Humanity and policy, therefore, demanded their release, and an Act was passed for their relief. By one clause of that Act a creditor might compel a prisoner charged in execution to appear at the quarter sessions with a copy of his detainer, and to deliver upon oath a just schedule of his estate. After producing and subscribing the schedule, he was to be discharged; but if he refused to do so, or concealed to the value of twenty pounds, he was to suffer as a felon. The measure was an enlightened one, but it was productive of evil as well as good to the community. While it liberated many honest debtors—men who had incurred debts through misfortunes—its clemency was abused by fraud and collusion. Many seized the opportunity of relieving themselves of their debts by prevailing on some friend or relation to throw them into prison, and then to act the part of compelling creditor. By this artifice the gaols were filled with a constant succession of voluntary captives, and great numbers of creditors were thereby ruined. Personal credit, indeed, which is the life of trade, received such a shock that the common council of London instructed their representatives in the next parliament to endeavour to obtain the repeal of the clause, which, contrary to the design of the legislature, had proved to be a public grievance.

Towards the close of the session his majesty, in a speech from the throne, recommended an important improvement in the state. By an Act passed in the reign of William III. the power of displacing judges was taken from the crown, and their continuance in office was made solely dependent on the faithful discharge of their duties. At the same time, at the demise of the crown, their offices were vacated, and it depended on the new sovereign whether he would or would not renew their commissions. Thus, upon the accession of Queen Anne, three judges were left out, and all the rest had new commissions; and George II. had refused to renew the commission of one judge, because he had given him personal offence. In his speech from the throne the new sovereign recommended that the commissions and salaries of the judges should be continued without any reference to the demise of a king or the accession of his successor, and a bill was passed which made them thus independent of the crown. It received the royal assent on the 19th of March, 1761, on which day the session closed, and two days after it was dissolved by proclamation.

At this time France proposed as a basis of pacification, that each of the contracting powers should hold whatever territory they might possess, or an equivalent to such possession, on a day named; in Europe, for instance, on the 1st of May ensuing. Pitt could not agree to such a proposition, as by it everything depended on the chances of war. To humble France, therefore, still more than she had been humbled, and to secure better terms for his country, he sent an expedition to capture Belle Isle, an island near the mouth of the Loire. In itself such a conquest was comparatively valueless, for it was chiefly inhabited by poor fishermen, but Pitt designed it as a means to an end. Belle Isle accordingly was captured, though not without great sacrifice of life. About the same period the British forces had captured the island of Dominica in the West Indies, and had given a final blow to the French dominion in the East Indies by obtaining possession of Pondicherry. Pitt was now in a position to enlarge his demands. He required the restoration of Minorca in exchange for Belle Isle, and demanded other concessions which France would not yield. Pitt also insisted, that in making a separate peace with France, Britain should still be at liberty to lend her aid to the king of Prussia—aid of which the heroic Frederick, at the time when these negotiations were pending, greatly stood in need.

In Germany, the British, Hanoverians, and Prussians had been fighting as allies against the French with varied success. Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, ably seconded by the marquis of Granby, commenced the campaign by driving the French out of their quarters near Cassel, to which they then laid siege, as well as to Marbourg and Ziegenhayn. The prince, however, failed in capturing these places, and was compelled to retire into the electorate of Hanover. This was in April, in which month the French, under Marshal Broglie, defeated the hereditary prince of Brunswick. Then there was a pause in the war till June, for intelligence had reached the leaders of both armies that the English and French were negotiating for peace. But, as before seen, those negotiations were fruitless, Pitt demanding concessions which France would not yield. The contest was renewed by the French, under Broglie—who had been joined by the prince of Soubise with large reinforcements—endeavouring to drive Prince Ferdinand and the combined army of British and Hanoverians out of their entrenched camp at Hohenower. It was against the posts held by the British under the marquis of Granby that the French general chiefly directed his operations. On two several days he attempted to carry them, but on the second day he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. He left five thousand dead on the field, and several pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies. This defeat caused a rupture between the French commanders, Broglie and Soubise, and they separated. Broglie crossed the Weser and threatened Hanover, and Soubise the Lippe, and threatened Munster. But neither of them made any important conquests, for although the allies could not prevent the French from ravaging the country through which they marched, both Hanover and Munster were saved. At the close of the campaign the French went into winter quarters, Broglie at Cassel, and Soubise on the Lower Rhine.

At this period, when negotiations were pending for a peace between Britain and France, the latter had entered into a secret compact with Spain, and as a consequence of that compact raised her demands; but no sooner did Pitt receive precise information of this ominous alliance, than he broke off negotiations. The French envoy was sent home without any ceremony, and the British ambassador was recalled from Paris. The hope of peace was gone. So far from the treaty producing any of the happy effects that were expected from it, and so far was it from appeasing the animosities of the contending powers, that they parted with intentions more hostile, and opinions more adverse than ever. The seeming advances towards peace had operated like oil upon the flames of contention, and served only to spread them wider and make them burn with greater fierceness.

Nor was this the only result of the negotiations with France. Their failure resulted in the downfall of Pitt. It was Bute's opportunity to triumph over the great statesman—a statesman "whose shoe's latchet he was not worthy to unloose." Bute himself, indeed, considered many of the proposals of France, if not positively insulting to the king's majesty, at least inadmissible. But Pitt contemplated a bolder measure than simply breaking off negotiations with France, which laid him open to Bute's attacks. At the council-table Pitt called upon his colleagues to strike the first blow against Spain. That court, he urged, was only waiting for the arrival of her annual plate fleet before declaring war, and therefore its declaration should in common prudence be anticipated by Britain. War against Spain should, he said, be immediately proclaimed, and a fleet sent out to intercept the Spanish treasure ships before their arrival in port. It was the time, he declared, for humbling the whole House of Bourbon, and if the opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered. But Pitt was not able to bring over any of his colleagues to his views, except his brother-in-law, Lord Temple. Bute raised the laugh of incredulity as to the declaration of war by Spain, and even questioned the real meaning of the treaty entered into between the Houses of Bourbon. He denounced Pitt's proposal as both rash and unadvisable; and the duke of Newcastle, perceiving that his great coadjutor would be in a minority, supported the favourite. As for Pitt, he boldly declared that if he could not prevail in this instance, it should be the last time of his sitting in that council. "I was called," he remarked, "to the administration of public affairs by the voice of the people. To them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct, and therefore cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." This declaration was exactly that which Bute and the other members of the council—except Temple—wanted Pitt to make. Lord Granville, the president of the council, coolly replied:—"The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise certainly have compelled us to leave him; for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we here assembled? He may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility; still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes." Pitt resigned his seals to the king on the 6th of October, and although his majesty expressed regret at the loss of so valuable a servant, he did not request him to resume them. On the subject of declaring war against Spain, the monarch agreed with the majority of the cabinet. He was evidently led by Bute, for he frankly told Pitt that if his cabinet had been unanimous for war with Spain, he should have paused before consenting to such a measure.

Whether the young king was sorry to lose the valuable services of Pitt, may be a question. In political matters their sentiments were not in unison. King George had not been brought up in Pitt's school. At the same time, convinced of his entire faithfulness to the House of Hanover, he received Pitt, when he waited upon him to resign the seals, with the utmost courtesy and even kindness. His office as secretary was given to Lord Egmont, son of the great Tory Sir William Wyndham; while the privy seal, resigned by Lord Temple, was handed over to the duke of Bedford. Bute, however, was now the guiding power in the cabinet, and he at least had reason to dread the hostility of Pitt. Hence the necessity of conciliation. The king's kindness had done much when Pitt resigned the seals, but more was necessary to bind him over to keep the peace. He was offered a peerage, but he declined it personally, accepting it only for his wife and her issue. Lady Hester Pitt became Baroness Chatham, and the great minister retired with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, which was to be continued for three lives. Pitt's honours and rewards were published in a number of the "Gazette," which was replete with assurances of the pacific intentions of Spain. But Pitt's acceptance of his majesty's favours for the moment seriously damaged his fair fame.

The king had been married in September to the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh, and their coronation took place on the 22nd of the same month. The ceremony did not materially differ from preceding coronations, but it is said that there was such a concourse of spectators to witness the procession as had never before been assembled on such an occasion. There was one very extraordinary spectator among the lookers-on. This was Charles Edward Stuart, who but a few years before had been fighting for the crown, but who now came in disguise to see it placed on the head of the third king of the House of Hanover.

The new parliament met early in November. The general election had been characterized by the most shameful venality. In addressing the Houses when they met, his majesty declared plainly that the continuance of the war was inevitable. It had been his wish to restore peace, but though overtures had been made to him and his "good brother and ally," the king of Prussia, by the several belligerent powers, they were not of a character to be accepted. His majesty spoke most warmly of the magnanimity and ability of the Prussian monarch in resisting so many armies, and surmounting such great difficulties as he had encountered; but not a word was said by him about any further subsidy to aid him in his struggle. Nor was there a word said about the Spanish quarrel, or the probability of a war with that power. Concerning the recent conquests, the capture of Belle Isle and Minorca, and the reduction of Pondicherry, by which the French power in the East Indies was prostrated—the king descanted with great complacency. From the recent victories, indeed, he augured well for the future. And he had good reasons for thus divining, as the new government as yet had not time to frustrate the preparations which Pitt had made for further conquests. The officers whom he had placed at the head of our fleets and armies were still at their posts, ready to fight and die for the honour of their country. All that was wanted, therefore, was supplies to enable the king to prosecute the war with vigour, and these, after a long and stormy debate, were granted. Opposition to them chiefly arose from the circumstance that the sentiments of the people and even of the court were beginning to change respecting the German war. Pitt himself had once denounced German alliances and German subsidies, which had greatly contributed to his popularity; much more so, indeed, than his advocacy of war with France. But Pitt had found it necessary, to preserve the balance of power in Europe, to continue those alliances and subsidies, notwithstanding his denunciations of them. The government of Bute, however, contemplated the abandonment of all German connections. Both in parliament and by the press it was urged that the object of Britain in engaging in war on the soil of Germany was solely for the benefit of Hanover. But after all, Lord Egmont, who succeeded Pitt as secretary of state, was compelled to adopt the great war minister's policy. The large demands made for the continuance of the war in every quarter where the enemy might be attacked with advantage were pressed upon parliament, and finally received its sanction. It was a time when Pitt might have retorted upon the jealous and ignorant cabal by which he had been overruled; but although he no doubt exulted in their vindication of his once rejected policy, he proudly forbore to triumph over his late colleagues. He remarked that "a time of war was no season for personal altercation;" that "in the face of the common enemy, Britain should be united as one man;" and "to bring the war to a glorious end, to exalt the power and reputation of his country, was enough for him."

And Pitt had the more reason for exultation, because before the year closed ministers found that a rupture with Spain was inevitable. No sooner was it known at the Spanish court that Pitt was no longer sitting at the helm of the state, than its tone was altered. It no longer expostulated concerning wrongs endured, but demanded reparation. As for the information which the British government requested respecting the nature of the treaty between France and Spain, that was absolutely refused. It was as Pitt had suspected. The court of Spain was only waiting till the plate ships had arrived at Cadiz with all the wealth expected from Spanish America, before it came to an open rupture with Britain. Had those plate ships been intercepted, as Pitt had counselled, war with Spain might have been avoided. But they were not. They reached Cadiz in safety, and then it was seen that the political vision of Pitt was of far deeper penetration than that of Bute and his colleagues. The court of Spain no longer concealed the secret of the Family Alliance. The flimsy professions of peace by which that court had imposed on the earl of Bristol, our ambassador at that court, were no more reiterated. Complaining of the haughty spirit and the discord which prevailed in the British cabinet, General Wall, the Spanish minister, informed Bristol that he might leave Spain as soon as he pleased, and at the same time the Condé de Fuentes was recalled from London. War, therefore, was mutually declared by both countries.

It was declared in London on the 4th of January, 1762, and on the 19th the king informed both Houses of the measures he had been compelled to adopt. At first there were some murmurs, but Pitt supported government, and they soon died away. The war met with general approbation, and great preparations were made for the dread alternative. Meanwhile the Family Alliance sought to strengthen themselves by the support of some of those European powers which had hitherto remained neutral. Overtures were made to Holland, but were rejected. It was demanded of Portugal that she should detach herself from her ancient connection with Britain. Four days only were allowed for an answer. What was the court of Lisbon to do? It did the very best thing it could have done: it appealed to Britain for protection. And that appeal was not made in vain. In pursuance of a royal message, chiefly through the eloquent advocacy of Pitt, a subsidy of a million was granted by the Commons to our ancient ally, and a body of eight thousand British troops were sent to the Tagus to arrest the arms of France and Spain.

The war formed the chief subject of debate during the whole of this session. It closed on the 2nd of June, when his majesty expressed his warm approbation of the zeal, unanimity, and dispatch manifested during its sittings. His sentiments respecting peace and war, he said, continued the same as he had ever expressed. But parliament was prorogued without having voted the usual aid to that "magnanimous ally" whose services had received such high encomiums from the throne at its opening. On this subject there was a division which led to a change in the cabinet. It was evident from the first that Bute was disinclined to aid Frederick of Prussia by any more money from the English treasury. But the duke of Newcastle, who had always supported the German subsidies, would not admit that Frederick did not require further aid from Britain. He argued, that as another great European power had joined the alliance of the enemy, he was as much in need of it as ever. The old duke, indeed, took this opportunity of anticipating the last indignity which remained to be offered him, in a dismissal from office. For ever since the commencement of the new reign the first lord of the treasury had been treated almost as a nonentity. While Pitt was in office, the whole of the ordinary patronage of the government was left in the hands of Newcastle. He it was who disposed of boroughs, gave away places, and "gratified" members of parliament. It was his province and delight, and through successive changes of administration he jealously maintained his right of dispensing the government patronage. But this did not accord with Bute's designs. Newcastle's province was rudely invaded, and when he complained he was told that power had passed into other hands. It became evident to the duke, that if he did not resign he would ere long be dismissed from office, and the question of the German subsidies gave him the opportunity of resigning with honour. He waited on Bute and declared that he could not remain in the cabinet unless a subsidy of two millions was paid, and the continental war continued. Bute simply replied, "That if the money were granted, peace might be retarded." Thus thwarted and slighted, the duke repaired from the minister to his master, and resigned office. He retired from the cares of state with dignity.

The royal favourite, Bute, now became the head of the government. He succeeded Newcastle as first lord of the treasury. Nor was this the only honour conferred upon him. He was adorned with the blue ribbon of the Garter, which is esteemed the highest personal honour a British monarch has to bestow. From the very first Bute's cabinet was an unstable one. Grenville was appointed secretary of state, but he afterwards exchanged posts with Lord Halifax, the head of the admiralty. Then again Lord Barrington was removed from the exchequer and appointed treasurer of the navy, Sir Francis Dashwood becoming his successor. Soon after the duke of Devonshire resigned his post of lord high chamberlain, and the earl of Hardwicke retired from public life. The various changes made in the cabinet were perhaps necessary, because the principles upon which Bute proposed to conduct the administration were the very antipodes of those with which Pitt had conducted it. New measures required new men in the highest offices of the state to carry them out. But these new measures created opposition to Bute's government. Before the end of the year several noblemen—amongst whom was the duke of Newcastle—and commoners of distinction ranged themselves in the ranks of those politicians who, from the first, set themselves in array against the royal favourite's administration.

The foreign policy of Bute was of a twofold character; peace, and the abandonment of continental connections. But peace was only to be obtained by the edge of the sword. The year 1762 was marked by a war in which the British arms were everywhere victorious. Pitt had laid the foundation of many a brilliant victory. Convinced that war with Spain was imminent, he had projected an expedition against Martinique, the most important French possession in the West India islands, purposing that the same force should, when that conquest was made, be afterwards employed in the conquest of Havannah. This expedition more than carried out Pitt's views. Admiral Rodney and General Monckton, who were employed in this service, not only captured Martinique, but Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and a chain of islands extending almost to the continent of South America. Every French possession in the Caribbean Sea surrendered to the British. The fall of Martinique created a profound sensation in France, it being considered impregnable. It was still thought that Havannah would, from its great strength, be secure against the British. But that hope was vain. An expedition, under the command of Lord Albemarle, was equally successful. Joined by a strong squadron in the West Indies, the expedition sailed through the Straits of Bahama and arrived before Havannah on the 5th of June. Operations were commenced by laying siege to the Moro, a strong fort which defended the harbour. The difficulties were great. The besiegers had to make their approaches to the fort on a hard rocky soil, in the face of a numerous garrison. Sickness, fatigue, and the fire of the enemy thinned their ranks, but being joined by fresh reinforcements from New York and the West India islands, Havannah yielded to the British flag. It was the richest prize of the whole war. With it all the best part of the island of Cuba was surrendered, and nine ships of the line and three frigates were taken in the harbour. Treasure, also, to the amount of three millions, formed a part of this conquest, and its ultimate advantage promised to be greater than its immediate result. By the possession of Havannah, Britain obtained the command of the passage pursued by the plate fleets of Spain, and the whole wealth of that country was therefore laid at her feet. Nor was it in the western hemisphere alone that the dominions of the king of Spain were attacked. Pitt had further planned the conquest of the Philippine Islands, in the Indian Archipelago, which was effected by Sir William Draper, the English officer commanding at Madras. Manilla, the capital of Luconia and the surrounding isles, was taken by storm, and several ships and the military stores were surrendered to Britain, while four millions of dollars were paid as a ransom for the private property of its citizens. The whole group of islands, indeed, surrendered to the British flag, and the conquest was made more complete by the capture of the Santa Trinidad, a Manilla galleon, with a cargo valued at three million dollars.

By these victories, unchecked as they were by reverses, the pride of the allied House of Bourbon was humbled to the dust. In Europe, also, their forces encountered signal defeat. When the king of Portugal refused to join the Family Alliance, and appealed to Britain for aid, Spain poured her troops into his territories. Before the British troops sent to the Tagus had arrived, the Spaniards had made considerable progress, but on their appearance the aspect of affairs soon became changed. The events of the campaign were complicated and various; and it will be sufficient to record that in a short time the Spanish forces were compelled to evacuate the Portuguese territory. The final blow was given by a British colonel—Lee. Entering the quarters of the Spanish commander, under cover of the night, at Villa Velha, while Brigadier Burgoyne was amusing himself in the front, the Spaniards were routed with terrible slaughter and their guns spiked. This was a blow from which the Spaniards could not recover. France had promised its co-operation, but had failed in its promises; and as provisions were failing, and the autumnal rains descending in torrents, and the Portuguese peasantry were blocking up the roads and passes to prevent the escape of the invaders, the Count d'Aranda, who commanded the Spanish forces, dismantled the few fortresses he had taken, and led his troops back with all haste to Spain. Added to all these losses and defeats was the capture of the Spanish ship Hermione, off Cape St. Vincent, by the English, with treasure on board amounting to one million pounds sterling. Spain, therefore, was effectually everywhere humbled. Its monarch had sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind, and his people, at the close of the campaign, raised a loud cry from one end of the country to the other, for "Peace with England."

Events in Germany were equally adverse to the arms of France and Austria, as they had been to those of France in the West Indies, and of Spain in Havannah, the Philippine Islands, and Portugal. The fortunes of Frederick of Prussia were this year in the ascendant. Schweidnitz and Silesia were recovered, and the Austrians were driven into Bohemia. About the same time the allied armies, under Prince Ferdinand and the marquis of Granby, drove the French out of Hanover and captured Cassel, which had formed a base for their operations in Northern Germany.

As we have seen, the British arms were this year everywhere victorious. France and Spain were now equally desirous of peace. And yet proposals for peace were not made by the vanquished, but by the victor. In the midst of the nation's triumphs Bute made overtures to France and Spain. They were made through the medium of the Sardinian minister, and met with a ready response. The Family Alliance were as eager now for peace as they had been for war. Preliminaries were soon arranged. They were even arranged before intelligence arrived in England of the results of the expeditions to Havannah and the Philippine Islands. So eager was Bute for peace, that he even agreed that any conquests not known when the preliminaries were signed, which must have referred to those enterprises, should be unconditionally surrendered. But happily Bute was overruled by the British cabinet in making terms of peace. Councils more in accordance with sober policy prevailed among its members. It was thought, and that justly, that Spain should give some equivalent for the restoration of Havannah and the Philippine Islands. Accordingly, in the preliminaries of peace, which were signed on the 3rd of November, Spain agreed to resign East and West Florida to Britain. This bargain was a bad one, for although the province of Florida was extensive, it was barren and useless. It was by no means an equivalent for such important concessions, although it may have been the best Spain could afford. There were, however, other concessions made by Spain, which must have been very humiliating. The grounds of the Spanish declaration of war were threefold: the first referring to captures made by British cruisers; the second, to the claim of British subjects to cut logwood in Honduras; and the third, to the claim of Spanish subjects to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. These points were now all conceded. The question of the captures was referred to the British court of admiralty; British subjects might cut as much logwood as they pleased in Honduras; and henceforth no Spaniard was to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. But still better terms were made with France. First, the whole of the French provinces in North America, for which Pitt had planned, and Wolfe had fought to obtain, were ceded to Britain. Britain also retained Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada, in the West Indies; Senegal in Africa; and the French, while their factories were to be restored, were to have no military occupation in the East Indies. France and Spain were to make full restitution to injured Portugal, and the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished according to the terms of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Minorca and Belle Isle were to be exchanged; and in consideration of the advantages France had ceded to Britain, she was to have restored to her dominions, Goree in Africa, and Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalanta, Desirode, and St. Lucia in the West Indies. As regards Europe, it was agreed that Britain and France should withdraw their troops from Germany, thus leaving the heroic Frederick of Prussia and the empress queen of Austria to fight their own battles.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. The great question for discussion was the preliminaries of the treaty which had a few days before been signed. It was the burden of the royal speech. It was a speech well calculated to disarm hostility, but it failed in its object. A fierce war of words ensued. Fox moved an address in the House of Commons approving of the terms of the treaty, supporting his motion with all the fervid eloquence of his powerful oratory. Pitt was not then in the House, and it was doubtful to some whether he would be there, as he was suffering from gout, which seldom allowed him a moment's respite from suffering. His old friend Beckford, however, evidently expected him, for in order to gain time he proposed that the preliminaries of peace should be referred to a committee. This was resisted by the government, and a discussion ensued, in the midst of which loud acclamations were heard in the lobby. Pitt had arrived, and the populace were greeting their idol with hearty cheers. He came wrapped up in flannel, and he was borne to the bar in the arms of his servants. As he was borne along, some of the more violent of the hired majority tittered and jeered at his strange appearance, but his friends gave him a hearty welcome. Probably there were few there who thought that in his almost helpless condition he would be able to take any great part in the debate. If so, they were strangely mistaken. Sometimes supported by two members, and at others addressing the House in a sitting posture—an indulgence which the House courteously permitted—although often obliged to pause and have recourse to cordials, for more than three hours he opposed the motion, advancing every objection that could be urged against it. He denounced the whole tenor of the treaty as unsound and impolitic, and as derogatory to the honour of England, and vindicated his war policy with complete success. At the hazard of his life, he said, he had come to the House to raise his voice, his hand, his arm, against the preliminaries of a treaty which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by the abandonment of long-tried and faithful allies. The speech delivered by Pitt on this occasion was one of the most patriotic and memorable ever delivered in the British House of Commons. At its close Fox rose to reply, but either from physical inability, or from a desire to mortify his rival, or not wishing to witness his triumph, when he rose Pitt left the House. Fox, who was supported by Grenville, replied in a less eloquent tone, but with better arguments, and the division showed a majority of nearly five to one in favour of peace. In the House of Lords Bute undertook the defence of the measure. His task in that House was an easy one, for although he was opposed by Lord Temple and the two great law lords, Hardwicke and Mansfield, the debate was closed without a division. The treaty was therefore signed, and peace was restored to the nation. But to this day the nation is paying for the glories of that war, for it entailed upon posterity a burden of debt amounting to sixty millions. Yet the war, costly as it was in blood and treasure, cannot be said to have been needless or unprofitable. Setting aside its glories and acquisitions, Pitt was not far wrong when he placed against its costs "that spirit which made us what we are." By it the nation was awakened out of a degraded condition; for an exalted spirit of patriotism and loyalty succeeded to "a venal self-seeking and miserable abnegation of public duty," a spirit which has been largely transmitted to posterity. The treaty between these powers was signed on the 15th of February, 1763, and thus ended this Seven Years' War.

Ministers had triumphed, but the victory was brief. They used it unwisely and even maliciously. Rewards had been given to secure it—it was followed by punishments. Every placeman who had voted against peace was dismissed. The duke of Newcastle, Rockingham, and others were even deprived of the lieutenancies of their respective counties. But, although Pitt had been defeated in parliament, his voice was still all-powerful in the nation. He was resolutely bent on driving Bute from office. So also was the duke of Newcastle. Both soon forgot the gracious manners of the king on their retirement from office. Defeat in parliament had whetted their appetite for revenge on their victors. The baronial halls of the duke of Newcastle again swarmed with Whig politicians, all eager for the fray. Meetings were held in those halls in which nobles and commons combined to find means to make peace unpopular, and to bring Bute into still greater contempt with the public.

Bute, however, might have retained his high station somewhat longer, if the war had not necessitated a loan and increased taxation. This was not his fault, but he was unfortunate in his mode of raising the loan, and in his choice of new taxes. He wanted a loan of three millions and a half, but instead of throwing it open to competition, he disposed of the shares privately. Those shares immediately rose to eleven per cent. premium, by which it was asserted that he or his dependants netted 350,000*l.* at the public expense. His choice of new taxes rendered him still more vulnerable. He proposed an additional duty of eight pounds per ton on French wines, and half that sum on other wines. This was by no means agreeable to the rich, as it was laying an embargo on their cellars. Still this might have been passed over if he had not touched cider and perry, for the apple-growing counties, as Herefordshire and Devonshire, were soon up in arms about the tax to be laid on cider and perry. Sooner than the beverage should be made subject to such a duty and such annoyances, the apple-growers declared that they would let the luscious fruit rot on the ground. The cities of London, Exeter, and Worcester, whose interests were concerned in the matter, were equally averse to the obnoxious tax and the mode of levying it. Pitt seized this opportunity of damaging Bute's reputation as a statesman. Taking for his motto the well-known maxim—"Every man's house is his castle"—he inveighed bitterly against the intrusion of excisemen into the private dwellings of Englishmen. Even the Lords, subservient as they were, made stern opposition to the measure. But Bute would not yield. He "proudly bared his head to the tempest which was playing around him," and in defiance of the whole country he carried his apple-taxing bill. All kinds of cider, of which there were four, varying in price from five to fifty shillings per hogshead, were to pay the same duty. But this was Bute's last act of his administration. His own reason for resigning, as expressed to a friend, was that he had only two supporters in the cabinet of his own forming—Denbigh and Pomfret—and that he was fearful if he any longer retained his high station he should not only fall himself, but involve his royal master in his ruin. With Bute, Sir Francis Dashwood, chancellor of the exchequer, and Paymaster Fox, the leader of the House of Commons, retired. Both these were raised to the peerage; Dashwood became Baron le Despencer, and Fox, Baron Holland.

Bute resigned office on the 13th of April, and on the 19th the king closed the session. In his speech his majesty observed that the articles of peace had been rendered still more advantageous by the definitive treaty; that from a desire of strict economy the army would be reduced below the usual peace establishment; that he lamented the necessity of an increase to the public burdens; and that it was his intention to apply the money arising from the sale of such prizes as were vested in the crown to the public service. There was nothing in this speech at which any one could reasonably have taken exception, but there was a writer at this period, who in order to gain popularity, criticised it with the utmost malignity and insolence. This was John Wilkes.

Wilkes, who was member of parliament for Aylesbury, and a lieutenant-colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, was the leader of the host of libellers who wrote against the court and the government. In June, 1762, Wilkes, with the assistance of Charles

Churchill, set up a paper called "The North Briton." That paper was not marked by any great display of talent, but it was most daring in its personality. The pens employed in writing for it were dipped in gall, and none more so than that of Wilkes himself. From its boldness and personality "The North Briton" soon obtained a wide-spread circulation. Forty-four numbers had appeared, and still no notice was taken of them. At length, however, the famous forty-fifth laid him open to a state prosecution. It was issued a few days after the close of the session, and in that paper Wilkes attacked the monarch himself. A warrant was therefore issued from the office of the secretary of state, to seize all who were in any way connected with the issue of the famous forty-fifth, both authors, printers, and publishers. No names were mentioned in the warrant, but forty-nine persons were arrested and detained in custody for several days. These persons, however, were discharged as innocent, because they could not be fairly brought within the description of the warrant. But Wilkes did not escape so easily. Kearsby, the avowed publisher, and Balfe, the printer of the obnoxious paper, having confessed that Wilkes was the author of the offending article, messengers were sent to seize him and bring him forthwith before the secretary of state. Wilkes was committed to close custody in the Tower, debarred from all intercourse with his friends, or the use of pen, ink, and paper. These severe restrictions, however, were soon laid aside, and he was visited by Earl Temple and the duke of Grafton. Nor was he long confined in the Tower. On the 3rd of May he was brought to the Court of Common Pleas by a writ of *habeas corpus*, granted by the Lord Chief Justice Pratt. Counsel argued his case, but Wilkes himself harangued the court with a bold, defiant air, broadly asserting that ministers were plotting to destroy the liberties of the nation, and that he was selected as their victim because they could not corrupt him with their bribes. Wilkes saw that it was a golden opportunity to obtain popularity, and he eagerly embraced it. Nor was he disappointed. The witty profligate became the most famous man in England, because he was by this prosecution rendered the centre of a constitutional resistance to the prerogative of the crown and the privilege of parliament. Apart from his dissolute habits, who would not have been John Wilkes?

During these proceedings there were changes in the cabinet. Bute did not find George Grenville to be "the right man in the right place." He was a man of integrity, but he had neither the influence nor the abilities to give stability to any political party. But perhaps the independence, and not the incapacity of the minister, was the chief cause of offence to his patron. Taking advantage, therefore, of the opprobrium which Grenville had incurred by the prosecution of Wilkes—for which he was more to be pitied than blamed—and the death of Lord Egmont, one of the most powerful supporters of the administration, Bute was determined to displace his own nominee. He did not serve his purpose, but who could be his successor was the question? Bute looked everywhere, and at last fixed his eyes on—Pitt! Pitt, the great Whig commoner, whose power he had overthrown, whose reputation as a statesman he had not only undervalued, but held up to scorn, was again to be called to the helm of the ship of the state. For three long hours his majesty and Pitt held consultation. Pitt descanted on the infirmities of the peace and the disorders of the state, and his only remedy for these evils was the restoration of the Whigs to office. They only, he said, had the public confidence. This was striking at the root of the influence which Bute had over his majesty. Nevertheless the king acted as though he was convinced of the superior wisdom of Pitt, for he made no objection to his proposals. Pitt seemed convinced that all was settled, for he busied himself with the duke of Newcastle in forming his administration. It was on Sunday, the 28th of August, that Pitt and Newcastle made their arrangements, and he was to see his majesty again on the following day to receive his final commands. But that Monday proved to be a "Black Monday" to Pitt's expectations. Bute had been behind the scenes, and his majesty's mood was changed. He wished to make Grenville paymaster of the forces, and to restore Lord Temple to favour, but although they were both Pitt's relatives, he would not consent. He would have only Whig grandees and commoners in his cabinet; their alliance, as he represented, being indispensable to good government. Pitt claimed the privilege of changing both men and measures. The peace, indeed, was not to be broken, but it was to be ameliorated, and almost every man in office who had supported it was to be removed. As for the duke of Bedford, who had taken the chief part in negotiating the treaty, he was to be utterly set aside from place and power. Throughout the whole affair his majesty had acted with much dissimulation—first siding with Bute and his nominee Grenville, and then with Pitt—but at length he spoke out plainly. His honour, he said, could not admit of Pitt's propositions, and he was bowed out of the royal presence. A new administration was therefore constructed, but one which was not likely to remain long in power, for jealousies and heartburnings were in a very few days displayed among its members. The great bone of contention among them was patronage. Grenville was not adverse to the duke of Bedford giving his name to the ministry, but he wanted all the patronage for himself. The duke, however, considering that to be a test of power, claimed to have a share of it, as did also the two secretaries of state, Halifax and Sandwich. Grenville appealed to the king for support against these pretensions, and in the end it was settled that he should retain the distribution of all offices required for the management of the House of Commons, but those only.

Parliament was opened on the 15th of November. The most noticeable portion of his majesty's speech on this occasion was that in which he exhorted both Houses to promote domestic union, and discourage the licentious spirit which prevailed to the utter subversion of the true principles of liberty. This was an evident allusion to Wilkes and his associates. As a king's speech commonly indicates the business of a coming session, it was clear from this that Wilkes was to be called to an account by parliament for his misdoings. Ministers were, indeed, for some time busily preparing a case against him. The House resolved that John Wilkes should, on a certain day, be brought before their bar, to answer to a charge of a breach of privilege. On the same night Grenville laid the celebrated forty-fifth number of the "North Briton" on the table of the Commons, which was adjudged to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Both king, Lords, and Commons were arrayed against the demagogue, while Wilkes still maintained a defiant attitude.

But by these proceedings against Wilkes, the crown and the Lords and Commons had elevated the demagogue into a person of the highest importance. Throughout the country his name was associated with liberty. "Wilkes and Liberty!" was the universal cry. How popular he was among the people was seen when the common hangman appeared to carry into effect the senseless sentence of parliament upon the "North Briton." He was driven away by the populace, and they rescued the obnoxious paper from the flames. The riot was made a subject of debate in parliament. Both Houses concurred that the rioters were disturbers of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obstructers of national justice; and prayed his majesty to take measures to discover and punish the offenders; but they still echoed through the streets of London the popular cry, "Wilkes and Liberty!"

The best way for government to deal with demagogues is to despise them and let them alone. Instances are on record in British history in proof of this assertion. Such a man as Wilkes—an infidel and a profligate—could never have obtained an ascendancy over the British mind by his own native talent. But by their proceedings against him they had made him the idol of the people. However, Wilkes was compelled to yield to the storm. Harassed by the prosecutions of government, which he had not the means of resisting, and beset by its spies, he fled to Paris.

Government had well nigh suffered shipwreck during the discussions relative to Wilkes. When, however, that exciting question had been disposed of, there was a fair prospect of their bark riding with considerable security over the sea of politics. There was a calm. But soon, at their bidding, a storm arose in another quarter, where all had been serene—a storm which, lashed into fury by their unwise measures, not only broke the rudder of their crazy bark and sent them adrift, but endangered the strong ship of the state.

During the Seven Years' War hosts of smugglers infested the British coasts. Contraband goods were poured into the country from all quarters. The customs laws were rendered almost inoperative. At the return of peace, therefore, government wisely sought to remedy this evil. Ships which had been employed against the French and Spaniards were now employed against piratical adventurers. But if it was wise to clear the Irish Sea and St. George's Channel—because smuggling on the British coasts injured both the revenue and fair traders—of such adventurers, it was unwise of ministers to interfere with the contraband trade which had been long carried on in the wide Atlantic. That trade which was carried on by the American with the Spanish colonies, was alike profitable to England and the North American colonists. It could scarcely be deemed contraband, for America purchased the manufactures from Great Britain which she sent to the Spanish colonies, receiving from thence in return, bullion, live stock, medicinal drugs, and other commodities. The Americans never dreamt that a trade, lucrative alike to themselves and the mother country, would be rudely assailed by the home government. Yet so it was. The Spanish government had long complained of the traffic, and soon after the conclusion of peace orders were given that it should be suppressed. Ships were suddenly sent to the Atlantic to carry those orders into execution. Hitherto the Americans, as a body, had been dutiful, loyal, and even affectionate subjects of the House of Hanover. They had fought for that House with a bravery equal to the troops of Great Britain itself. When this blow fell upon them, therefore, they were not only astounded but enraged. It was a blow struck at the root of their welfare—a blow that threatened ruin to their trade and shipping, and to annihilate the means of performing their engagements with the mother country. It was a blind policy that dictated such a measure; for it was as ruinous to English manufacturers as it was to American commerce. Rather, indeed, than have any dealings with a nation which had thus insulted and oppressed them, the colonists resolved to have only those articles of manufacture from the mother country of which they absolutely stood in need.

This was the first cause which led to American independence. Other causes rapidly followed. While the British cruisers were sweeping the seas of colonial merchandise, that "gentle shepherd," Grenville, formed a project for shearing the great flock on the American continent. He conceived an idea that a direct revenue might be extracted from the American colonies. Grenville, therefore, on the 10th of March moved in the House of Commons a series of resolutions for imposing small duties on certain articles of American commerce. It was stated that these duties, which were to be paid in specie into the imperial exchequer, were partly for the purpose of raising a revenue, and partly for the protection of the newly-acquired sugar-growing plantations. But that they were mainly to be raised for the former purpose, is evidenced by the eagerness with which the country gentlemen adopted the resolutions. In the hope of obtaining a reduction of the land-tax levied upon their broad estates, they obtained their warmest approval. It is said that General Conway was the only member who protested against them. But one of these resolutions, which stated that it might be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations, was of such importance, that though the propriety of such duties was affirmed, the execution of it was postponed till the next session. Ministers appear to have had some misgivings as to what effect a stamp duty would have in America.

But they had already done enough in this session to create a commotion in that country.

It was while the Anglo-Saxon population of America were thus struggling for existence that their trade, their commerce, and their freedom, were attacked by the home government. The war, however, was over before the news of the proposed system of taxation reached them. The news created a profound sensation throughout the colonies. Meetings were held, and strong resolutions were passed against the measure. As a first step of resistance, these resolutions were transmitted to their agents in London, to be laid before government. The province of Pennsylvania took a prominent part in the matter by sending the celebrated Benjamin Franklin to oppose the Stamp Act if again brought forward; and indeed every other Act that might be proposed in the British parliament to tax the colonists without their consent. But while the Americans passed resolutions against the measure of taxation which Grenville had devised and the British parliament and King George had sanctioned, they already contemplated other modes of resistance should the scheme of colonial taxation not be abandoned. The war with the native Indians had put arms into their hands, and being now freed from their terrors in that quarter, they began to think that the weapons now hanging useless on their walls might one day be taken down and used against the mother country. They had fought for existence, and were silently resolved, if needs be, to fight for freedom.

Parliament met on the 10th of January, 1765. At that time the ill-humour of the Americans was well known to the king and his ministers. By their agents they had remonstrated in the strongest terms against the stoppage of their lucrative trade with the Spanish settlements, and the right which the imperial legislature had assumed of taxing them without their consent. It was clear that the colonists were not in a temper to submit to any tax which might be imposed upon them. Their agents, indeed, were instructed to oppose every bill, without exception, which had for its object the replenishing of the British exchequer at their expense. And this was the very design of the contemplated Stamp Act. It had been demonstrated that a stamp duty on vellum and paper in America would amount to upwards of 60,000*l.* per annum. This was no great sum, but it was thought that if the Americans submitted to such a tax, others hereafter might be levied with impunity. It was the right to tax the colonies which government chiefly desired, and that was the very thing which the Americans repudiated.

But if the Americans would not consent to a stamp duty, the king and his cabinet were resolved to impose it upon them. In his speech at the opening of parliament, his majesty not only warmly recommended the adoption of Grenville's measures in respect to American taxation, but the enforcement of obedience to those measures in the colonies should they be resisted. His language was:—"The experience I have had of your former conduct makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness in promoting that obedience to the laws, and respect to the legislative authority of this kingdom, which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole, and in establishing such regulations as may best connect and strengthen every part of my dominions for their mutual benefit and support." It is clear from this section of his majesty's speech that the resistance, stern and uncompromising, of the Americans to the stamp duty was anticipated. Danger was foreseen in the measure, but the monarch and his cabinet had gone too far to recede. They had made a claim which they felt they must establish, right or wrong. And the right of taxing dependent colonies for the general good by a sovereign state was in reality no new-fangled doctrine. When Grenville introduced his fifty-five resolutions, which were to be engrafted into the Stamp Act, there followed only a feeble debate and but one division in the Commons, while in the House of Lords it was passed without either division or debate. So resolved were ministers to carry the measure, that they would not allow the memorials presented against it to be presented to the House. Walpole says that "it was not thought decent or safe." But it must not be supposed that no warning voice was lifted up against it in the British House of Commons. Pitt was absent, but his place was filled by Colonel Barré. "He," says Walpole, "is the present Pitt." Charles Townshend having observed in his speech on the question that the Americans "were children planted by our care and nourished by our indulgence," Barré exclaimed vehemently: "They planted by your care! No! your oppression planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence! No! They grow by your neglect of them. Your care of them was displayed as soon as you began to take care about them in sending persons to rule them who were the deputies of deputies of ministers—men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men who have been promoted to the highest seats of justice in that country, in order to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own. I have been conversant with the Americans, and I know them to be a loyal people, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated; and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated the people at first will accompany them still." Colonel Barré's warning voice was unheeded. His prediction, indeed, was treated as emanating from the loss of the regiment which he had commanded in America, and of which he had been deprived for his adverse vote on the subject of general warrants. So the bill passed, and it received the royal assent on the 22nd of March. The Stamp Act became law, but Franklin repeated to government, what he had told them before, that the Americans would never submit to its operation.

Early in this session the question of general warrants was renewed, but ministers avoided a decision on that point. It is said that it was postponed to accommodate Pitt, but of all men in the House ministers most dreaded the effect of his oratory on the subject. They moved the previous question, which was carried, but only by a small majority. A complaint was made by Mr. Beckford that the court of Spain had not paid the Manilla ransom. This complaint gave rise to an angry debate. Grenville having defended the court of Spain, General Conway charged him with having become a Spanish minister, and the whole cabinet with striking at the laws and independence of parliament in the most profligate manner. But notwithstanding the murmurs of some, and the bitter invectives of others, till towards the close of the session the ministry seemed to rest on a firmer foundation than at any period since the commencement of this reign. They had by their prosecutions curbed the licentiousness of the press, and freed themselves from Wilkes by driving him into exile. Pitt, also, had ceased to trouble them, and two members of opposition, second only to the great orator himself—the duke of Devonshire and the earl of Hardwicke—had been borne to the silent tomb. Moreover, they were freed from the influence which Bute had held in their councils, for he had agreed with the duke of Bedford not to meddle with public affairs while he was at the head of the government, and had retired to his country seat. Strong, however, as the administration appeared to be, there were causes at work which threatened its dissolution. The Americans had already put their threats into execution concerning their abstinence from the use of British goods. The trade of Great Britain with her American colonies had never been based upon principles of commercial freedom. On the contrary, it was based upon restrictive principles. Thus the English were not allowed to smoke any tobacco but that which was grown in Virginia, while the Virginians were forbidden to wear coats of any other cloth than that which was manufactured in England. But the Stamp Act caused a complete revolution in matters of trade. The English might, if they pleased, smoke Virginian-grown tobacco from morning till night; but no more coats would the Virginians wear made up of cloth which came from the old country. This is but one example of the effect which the measure of taxation adopted by the king and his parliament had upon the trade of Great Britain and her colonies. The effect was so baneful to British interests, that while the Americans complained of taxation, the British shipowners, merchants, manufacturers, artizans, and labourers, were alarmed at the consequences of the blind policy which the king and his cabinet had adopted. It seems certain that the measure of taxation for the colonies when it became law would soon have proved the downfall of the ministry which had carried it into effect. That fate, however, was anticipated by their mismanagement of a question of simple domestic policy; for in settling that question, Grenville offended a royal personage whose resentment would have brought about the downfall of a far greater and more popular statesman than he was.

There can be no doubt but that the king had recently undergone great mental excitement. With his manifest strong desire to rule without control, the opposition he had met with from some of his home subjects and the Americans must have been irritating to his feelings. The cry of "Wilkes and Liberty!" which still sounded in his ears whenever he left the precincts of the royal residence; and that of "No Stamp Act!" which was brought by ship after ship from across the Atlantic, were cries which weighed heavily on the monarch's mental powers. Such at least we will presume was the exciting cause of the malady with which, during the progress of the bill for the taxation of the American colonies, the king was attacked. It was the first attack of that fearful malady by which the later years of his life were wholly obscured, but on this occasion the cloud quickly passed away. The attack, however, was sufficiently severe to make him tremble and provide for the future. Taking warning by it, he acquainted his ministers that he wished to see a regency settled by his parliament. At that time his family consisted of George prince of Wales, born August 12th, 1762, and Frederick duke of York, born August 16th, 1763. In expressing his desire for a Regency Bill, he acquainted his ministers with the particulars of his intention. But on this subject a serious difference arose between the king and his cabinet. The king wished to be invested with power from time to time, by instruments under his sign manual, to appoint the queen or any other person of the royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be guardian of his succession and regent of the kingdom, until his successor should have reached his eighteenth year. Such was his proposal to his parliament on the 24th of April in a speech from the throne, and although Grenville had advised his majesty to name a regent in accordance with precedent, he so far yielded to his majesty as to frame a bill according to his desire. But the bill so framed became the subject of warm disputation and contention. When it was introduced into the House of Lords such questions as these arose: Who were the royal family? Did the term include the princess dowager? Was the queen eligible? A grave debate arose on these questions, the result of which was to pronounce the king's mother ineligible, and to refer the question as to whether the queen, being a foreigner, could hold the office of regent, to the consideration of the judges. By the judges the queen consort was pronounced to be eligible, on which the duke of Richmond moved that the name of the princess dowager should be included in the bill as well as that of the queen consort. Although Grenville had declined to interfere, he had assured his majesty that if any member in the House of Commons proposed the insertion of the name of the princess he would not oppose it. A notice of such a nature was given by Mr. Morton, chief justice of Chester. As was natural, the king desired to know how his ministers would act—whether they would support or oppose it. Grenville was desired to give his opinion upon the question. It would be better, he replied, for her royal highness to authorise some member to state to the House that she was satisfied with what had been done, and to decline being named for the regency. It was clear, therefore, that ministers did not mean to support the motion, and the king was still left in a maze of perplexity. But, as will be seen, he was taking his measures for revenge on his administration. While still expressing his confidence in Grenville's zeal and fidelity, and seemingly acquiescing in the course Grenville recommended, he was resolved on the earliest opportunity to dismiss him and his colleagues from office. And that opportunity soon arrived. After considerable discussion, the motion for the insertion of the name of the princess dowager was carried in the Commons by a large majority, and on the 15th of May the king went in person to give his assent to the bill. At that time there was great distress in the country. In Spitalfields, families were starving for want of employment. Their distress was attributed to the treaty of Fontainbleau, which it was alleged had brought poverty and all other evils into the land. The importation of French silks had doubtless deprived the Spitalfields weavers of employment as well as those of Norwich, where distress equally prevailed. Taking advantage of the king's progress to St. James's Palace, those from Spitalfields assembled in large numbers, with black flags and other symptoms of mourning and distress. Both houses of parliament were surrounded by them, and in the evening they proceeded to mischief. The duke of Bedford's mansion was attacked, and though the mob dispersed on the reading of the Riot Act, soldiers paraded the streets for several days to preserve order. It was evident to his majesty that his ministers had not only become obnoxious to himself, but to the people, and this was his opportunity of at least seeking to get rid of them.

There was no longer any reason for the king to dissemble, while the yells of the populace were ringing in his ears. But he found that it was not so easy to get rid of Bedford's administration as he could have desired. His first step was to conciliate the duke of Cumberland, a member of the royal house long neglected, and even treated with contumely. Between the duke and those who occupied and frequented Leicester House there was no sympathy. The princess dowager hated him, and so did Bute; and his hatred of them was as bitter as theirs was of him. In these unhallowed sentiments the king shared so much, that when the duke was struck with apoplexy the year before, he would not send to inquire for him, alleging that he should consider himself a hypocrite if he affected any interest in his uncle's welfare. The head and front of the duke's offending appears to have been that when Fox, with whom he had been closely connected in politics, joined Bute's administration, he, the duke, made friends with Pitt, as the chief of the Whig party. But Pitt was now wanted by King George, and the best way to regain his services was through the influence of Cumberland. So at least it was thought, and therefore the duke was conciliated by his name being included in the council of regency. Thus reconciled to the king, on the very day the Regency Bill passed the House of Lords he received a commission to communicate with Pitt. He was then charged to conduct the negotiation with secrecy, but at the same time with celerity; but the duke's negotiation with Pitt failed, and the king was compelled to retain his old ministers. In itself this was a mortifying circumstance, but it was rendered still more so by the insolent behaviour of some of the members of the cabinet. Between the king and his ministry there was now no longer any feeling in common. Henceforth his majesty took no pains to disguise his repugnance to them. Parliament was prorogued immediately after they had resumed office; and as the king had no other opportunity of showing his aversion to them, he showed it by taking no notice of their recommendation of candidates for preferment. Every vacancy was filled up without their knowledge. Thus, when Lord Weymouth, one of the queen's household, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the earl of Northumberland, his majesty bestowed the office on the duke of Ancaster; and the command of a vacant regiment was given to General Keppel in preference to Lord Waldegrave, who was Grenville's nominee. It was evident that sooner or later a change of administration would take place. The change was precipitated by the proud and irritable duke of Bedford. If Grenville, contrary to his usual wont, refrained from complaining of the king's coldness towards him and his colleagues, Bedford could not be silent. He remonstrated, but in vain. His majesty felt that he was held in thraldom, and was resolved to break his chains. Once more the duke of Cumberland was commissioned to negotiate with Pitt, but a second time he failed in inducing him to return to office. The king, however, would not again submit to the yoke of the Bedfords and Grenvilles. A communication was opened with that old intriguer, Newcastle. Eager as ever for patronage and power, Newcastle readily undertook to form a new administration. And with him that was an easy task, for the Whig party, over which he ruled supreme, was quite willing to accept office under his auspices. But the question was, would the king agree to their terms, for they were even harder than those of the recalled Bedford cabinet? Not only was Bute to be removed from court—for that was the first article upon which every minister insisted—that he might not interfere in matters of state, but certain of his particular friends were to be banished from its precincts. Even Mackenzie was still to be made a sacrifice to party spirit. These terms, hard as they were, were accepted by his majesty without hesitation, for he was resolved to emancipate himself from the galling thraldom in which he had so long been held by Grenville and the duke of Bedford.

The members of Newcastle's administration were selected from the more moderate section of the great Whig party. Scarcely one among them, however, had any official experience, or was possessed of ability adequate to the requirements of the state at that particular period. Yet there was one man connected with the ministry, who, although he was only a subordinate, had talent of the highest order. This was the celebrated Edmund Burke, who became secretary to the marquis of Rockingham, and for the first time had a seat in parliament, where he became famous as a patriotic orator. Of such material was the Rockingham administration composed. Its weakness was known and acknowledged, but it was hoped that it would obtain strength and durability from experience. Among the first acts of the administration was the elevation to the peerage of Chief Justice Pratt, who had gained public applause by the acquittal of Wilkes. In this act the government had a twofold object in view—the conciliation of Pitt and the obtaining of the public favour. The support of Pitt would have been a pillar of strength to the Rockingham ministry, but he proudly stood aloof from them. To obtain it they even made his private solicitor, one Nuthall, solicitor of the treasury, but he only smiled at their devices. Their attempts thus to obtain strength signally failed. In the midst of these attempts, indeed, they were doomed to be weakened; for in the month of October they sustained a heavy, though not unexpected loss, in the death of the duke of Cumberland, the "butcher duke," as he was designated in scorn by the people for his severities during the rebellion in Scotland, but who, nevertheless, from the admirable qualities which he displayed in after life, as a man and as a disinterested politician, was held in such high esteem by all classes that he died universally lamented. The death of the duke of Cumberland was a blow felt more keenly by the Rockingham administration, because there was no union among its members, and where there is no union there can be no strength.

It was unfortunate that at this particular period of the history of England there should not have been a government able, by wise counsels and united strength, to steer the ship of the state clear of the quicksands and shoals by which it was threatened with destruction. At no period, anterior or posterior to the year 1765, was such a government more needed; for the storm which the anticipation of Grenville's Stamp Act had raised in the American colonies had by its consummation grown into a perfect hurricane. During the summer and autumn intelligence reached government of the spirit of discontent and resistance which that unwise Act had excited. The whole country resolved to resist to the death rather than submit to its enactment. At Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the principal cities of the colonists, the Act was publicly burnt; the houses of persons connected with the government set on fire; and those who were appointed distributors of the obnoxious stamps were compelled to renounce their offices on peril of their lives. But the assembly of Virginia was the first legally constituted court to set an example of disobedience by protesting against the aggression of the British legislature. Patrick Henry took the lead in that assembly in a debate on the Stamp Act. In a resolution which he brought forward against it, he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—" At this point a voice exclaimed "treason," and Henry, pausing for a moment, continued, "and George the Third may profit by that example. If that be treason, make the most of it!" The sentiments of the Virginia house of burgesses were in unison with those of the orator; for a series of resolutions were passed, asserting in the most emphatic terms the hereditary right of the colonists to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the people of Britain. They showed that by the charters of James I. that right had been granted and confirmed to them; and they claimed in their representative capacity the first and most important of these privileges, that of taxing themselves in their representative assemblies. Nor were these sentiments confined to the Virginian assembly. They pervaded the whole province. For when the British governor dissolved the House for the vote they had passed, all those members who had concurred in it were re-elected, while those few who had dissented from it were dismissed. As might be supposed, if the aristocratic and Episcopalian Virginians protested against the measure, the Presbyterian and democratic colonists of other provinces were not backward in their resistance. They made similar and even stronger demonstrations. The assembly of Boston recommended that a congress should be held at New York, whither each province should send deputies, in order to concert measures for averting the grievance of the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act was to come into operation on the 1st of November; but when that day arrived, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be procured in any of the provinces. All business, therefore, which could not be legally carried on without it was at a stand. The courts of justice and the ports were closed. And these measures were followed by others highly injurious to the interests of the mother country.

We have related that intelligence of this universal spirit of discontent and resistance reached the government during the summer and the autumn. The resolutions of the Virginian assembly, which were passed on the 29th of May, constituted the first important movement which came under the consideration of the Rockingham administration. Nothing however was done. The Board of Trade, to whom the matter was first referred, considered it a declaration of rebellion against British sovereignty, and in a memorial recommended the privy council to direct that the execution of the law should be vigorously enforced. The government, however, decided that the question was of too weighty a character for them to deal with. It was considered of sufficient importance to be brought before parliament.

It was on the 14th of January, 1766, that the debate on this momentous question commenced. It was a debate in which the fate of an empire was to be decided. At this important moment Pitt once more appeared in his place in the House of Commons. When parliament reassembled his majesty was more explicit on the subject of the American colonies. It was pointed out in his speech as the principal object of their deliberations. There had been riots and tumults, he said, and the governors of the provinces and commanders of the forces had done all they could for their suppression, and had failed; it now rested with the legislature to conciliate the colonists, without compromising their rights and the dignity of his crown. But never was a more difficult task imposed upon a British parliament. The petitions prepared by the general congress held at New York, which were laid before the two Houses, combined with their several weighty resolutions, showed that it would be no easy matter to conciliate the colonists, and at the same time to maintain the rights of the legislature and the dignity of the crown.

The debate on the great question which had produced all the accumulated evils, in the colonies and at home, was opened in the Commons by Mr. Nugent. That member condemned the opposition of the colonists. He considered the tax which they resisted was both just and reasonable. At the same time he was willing that it should be abandoned if the colonists would solicit it as a favour, and acknowledge the right of the British legislature to impose it. Nugent was followed in the debate by Edmund Burke. It was that celebrated orator's first speech, but no note of it appears to have been taken; but that it was worthy of his subsequent orations appears clear, as it obtained the praise of Pitt himself, and astonished the House by its eloquence. Pitt next spoke, and more to the purpose. Broken as he was in health, he delivered one of those orations by which he had so long exercised supremacy over his contemporaries. He was there "to deliver his mind and his heart upon the state of America," and he did so fearlessly. He commenced by condemning the fatal policy of the Grenville administration, and the indecision of their successors. He next entered into the great question of the day. His opinion of it was indicated in his first sentence. When the resolution of taxing America was first propounded he was ill in bed, and if he could have borne to be moved from that bed he would have been carried to the floor of that House, to have given his firm testimony against that measure. To the astonishment of the House, he contended that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. "The colonists," he remarked, "are subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural advantages of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in its free constitution. Taxation is no part of the legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alone concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone." Pitt then showed how the great bulk of the land had passed into the hands of the Commons, and then continued:—"When therefore in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty—what? Our own property? No! We give and grant the property of your majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown and the peers have rights to taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power." Pitt next exposed the fallacy of arguments which some had enunciated, that the American colonies were represented in the British parliament. He would fain know, he said, by what knight of the shire in any county, or by what member of a borough, they were represented? He concluded by reasserting that in all matters of legislation, including regulations and restrictions as to trade, navigation, and manufactures, the imperial parliament held supreme power and authority over the colonies; but that the colonies, being directly represented in their provincial assemblies, alone had the power of granting the money of their constituents.

Pitt's oratory awed the House to silence. For some time no one was able to reply. Conway, the leader of the House of Commons, first rose, but chiefly, convinced by Pitt's arguments, to express his concurrence in them. Grenville, however, was not so open to conviction. He defended his colonial policy at considerable length, with great warmth, and with much ability and success.

When Grenville resumed his seat several members rose together; but as it was observed that Pitt seemed disposed to rise, the House was clamorous to hear him, and contrary to its ordinary rules, he was permitted again to speak. His remarks were chiefly confined to Grenville's arguments and grave charges. Those arguments were ably combated by the great orator. The pages of Demosthenes scarcely contain finer passages than some of those which are found in this second speech on the question before the House. We select a few. "The gentleman tells us," he exclaimed, "that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." Pitt treated the instances which Grenville had cited of unrepresented classes being taxed by that House, with contempt, as the arguments of a lawyer. "He had not come to the House," he observed, "armed at all points with law cases and Acts of parliament; with the statute doubled down in dogs' ears to defraud the cause of liberty." Pitt then went on to show that no minister since the Revolution, however much the state stood in need of money, had ever thought of taxing the colonies; and that he had when in office refused to burn his fingers with the Stamp Act. He next recapitulated his arguments to prove that legislation and taxation were two different things; and that while Parliament had a right to regulate the trade, etc., of the Americans, it could not legally or justly impose taxes upon them. But Pitt was most happy in his reply to that part of Grenville's speech which dwelt upon the benefits England had lavished upon the colonies, and the return which she was entitled to expect for those benefits. "The gentleman," he remarked, "boasts of his bounties to America. Are not those bounties intended finally for this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. The profit of Great Britain from the trade of the colonies through all its branches is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years' purchase; the same may be now sold for thirty. You owe this to America. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, to compensate for the loss of millions to the nation?" The concluding summary of the great orator's opinions is very remarkable. "A great deal," he remarked, "has been said without doors of the power, of the strength, of

America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. On this ground, the Stamp Act, when so many here think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it. In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fall, would fall like a strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, on a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:—

> 'Be to her faults a little blind,
> Be to her virtues very kind.'

Upon the whole I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent."

Pitt's speech had a potent effect upon the administration, the House, and the country at large. Nearly all the ministers coincided with his views. Petitions against the Stamp Act were poured into the House from all quarters; and what was very significant, these petitions were received by the cabinet with marked deference. They, and the papers laid before parliament, occupied the attention of a committee of the House for three whole weeks. Several persons were also examined, among the more eminent of whom was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. In his examination, much practical information as to the condition of the North American colonies was elicited. It was gathered from it that there were three hundred thousand white men in North America from sixteen to sixty years of age; that the population doubled itself in twenty-five years; that, during the recent war, the colonists had supported nearly twenty-five thousand soldiers, and had spent many millions; that they paid many and heavy taxes amongst themselves to maintain the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the debt contracted in war; that, as a people, they were loyal to King George, and had a strong affection for Great Britain; and that it absolutely cost the home government nothing to keep them in subjection except "a few pens and a little ink and paper." But it was gathered also from Franklin's examination that, loyal as the Americans were to the crown, and dearly as they loved old England and its people, they would never submit either to the Stamp Act, or to acknowledge the right, if it was repealed, of parliament to tax them, unless compelled by force of arms. So great was the change wrought in public opinion upon this momentous subject, that ministers themselves brought in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was carried in the Commons by a large majority, and after some opposition assented to by the Lords, when it received the reluctant consent of the crown. It was, however, accompanied by a declaratory bill setting forth the supreme right and sovereignty of Great Britain over her colonies in all other matters of legislation, and reprobating the tumultuous proceedings of the colonists; which, as will be seen, nullified the act of grace which parliament and the crown had thus bestowed upon them.

From the time Pitt came up from his retreat in Somersetshire and re-entered the House, government, weak and vacillating before, seems to have entered on a path of useful activity. His oratory, and perhaps his private counsels, inspired them with at least a flickering energy. But at length Northington informed his majesty that the government could go on no longer, and recommended that Pitt should be called into his councils. In thus acting, Northington was not free from unworthy motives. He had long courted the king's favour, and he knew that his intelligence would so please the king as to ensure it. For purposes of his own, also, he was desirous of being employed as the mediator of a new administration. And his desire was gratified. Pitt was to have the refusal of office, and Northington was desired to communicate with him on the subject. Pitt's answer to the call of his majesty was all humility, strangely contrasting in its tone to the haughty and dictatorial language he was accustomed to use in parliament. From his retreat in Somersetshire, he wrote:—"Penetrated with the deepest sense of your majesty's boundless goodness to me, and with a heart overflowing with duty and zeal for the honour and happiness of the most gracious and benign sovereign, I shall hasten to London as fast as I possibly can, wishing that I could change infirmity into wings, the sooner to be permitted the high honour to lay at your majesty's feet the poor but sincere offerings of my little services." Accordingly Pitt, confirmed invalid as he was, journeyed to London to take the burden of state affairs on his shoulders. He was offered a carte blanche for the formation of a new administration. But Pitt was not so humble as he appeared to be in the letter he addressed to his majesty. Before he proceeded to form his cabinet, he stipulated for his own exaltation. The great commoner, whom the nation thought they should always be able to call their own, proposed taking to himself, not the premiership, with the direction of the House of Commons, but the office of privy seal, which implied a peerage. The king stared with astonishment at his proposition, but it was readily conceded. Pitt then commenced his arrangements for the new ministry. Both the king and himself wished Lord Temple to take the office of first commissioner of the treasury, but his terms were similar to those which had the year before defeated the opportunity of forming an efficient administration under Pitt. Temple wanted his brother George Grenville as a colleague, and when this was refused, he objected to act with some of those whom Pitt had selected. Pitt proposed to retain several of the members of the Rockingham administration, such as Conway and the duke of Grafton; but Temple insisted on the removal of the whole of the connection. Walpole says that Temple "was indignant at the idea of being stuck into the ministry as a great cypher at the head of the treasury, surrounded by other cyphers, all named by Mr. Pitt." But on this occasion Temple's opposition did not set aside the negotiations for a new cabinet. In the midst of them Pitt received an autograph note from his majesty, announcing his creation as earl of Chatham, and thus stimulated, he proceeded in his task. The ministry was at length formed. Pitt, as earl of Chatham, took the privy seal; the duke of Grafton became first lord of the treasury; General Conway and Lord Shelburne, secretaries of state; Lord Camden, lord chancellor; and Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded to the admiralty, and the earl of Hillsborough was nominated first lord of trade. Other minor changes were made in the treasury and admiralty boards, and the strange medley soon became more diversified.

The transformation of the great commoner into an earl greatly dimmed his popularity. Lord Chesterfield described his exaltation as "a fall up-stairs;" a fall which hurt him so much, that he would never be able to stand upright again. But if by his taking his seat among the nobles of the land he could no longer charm and sway the House of Commons by his eloquence, he had still a power remaining to him equally, if not more important. He entertained large projects of statesmanship, and if he failed in carrying them out, it was more the fault of others than himself. He was desirous of cementing an alliance with the Protestant states of Europe, to counterbalance the family compact of the Bourbons, which was leading those powers again to meditate attacks upon Britain. The czarina of Russia and Frederick of Prussia were invited by him to enter into that alliance; but the Prussian monarch, indignant at the treatment he had received when Bute was at the head of the government, declined entering anew into a close connection with Britain until he saw more stability in our administration.

Chatham's administration entered upon its duties at a season of domestic trouble. The summer of 1766 was distinguished for its humidity. The harvest was a failure, and the people apprehended a famine. Corn rose in price rapidly, and riots occurred in consequence in various parts of the kingdom. The price in the home market had not reached the limit—namely 53*s*. 4*d*. per quarter—at which exportation would cease by law; and as parliament was not sitting, it was for the executive government to consider whether the emergency was such as to interpose that power beyond the law which, as an immediate resource, must exist in every polity. The executive deemed that such an emergency did exist, and accordingly, by an order in council, an embargo was laid on exportation. All outward-bound vessels laden with corn were stopped from proceeding on their voyages. This was the principal, if not the only measure adopted by Chatham's administration. The order in council was issued on the 24th of September, and parliament should have been assembled as soon after as the law would permit; but as it stood prorogued until the 11th of November, it was not deemed necessary to alter the arrangement by anticipating the session a few days for the sake of a constitutional punctilio. But out of trifles sometimes important events are produced, and so it was on this occasion. When parliament met, the burden of the king's speech was the scarcity of corn. Measures were recommended, if necessary, to remedy the evil. Amendments were moved in both Houses, but emphatically negatived. On the subject of the embargo, however, and the delay of assembling parliament to obtain a bill of indemnity for the order in council, ministers had a harder battle to fight. The matter was brought forward in the House of Lords by Chatham himself, in a speech calculated to disarm hostility. He had long been the advocate of popular rights, and had no wish now he was raised to the peerage to encroach upon those rights. His defence of the embargo was on the ground of necessity, and that alone. He knew that it could not be defended on legal grounds, and therefore did not attempt such a defence. But the law lords by whom he was supported—Northington and Camden—were not so discreet. Northington maintained that the order in council was not only justifiable but legal; while Camden broadly asserted that the necessity of a measure would constitute its legality, and that Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to entrust such a power even to a Nero. Camden, indeed, treated the matter so lightly as to say it was "at most but a forty days' tyranny;" an expression long remembered to his disadvantage. Ministers were opposed by Lords Temple, Lyttleton, and Mansfield; the latter of whom had formerly upheld the authority of parliament against the advocates of liberty, but who now "rode the great horse Liberty with much applause." The constitutional principles which Mansfield laid down were unanswerable. The Act of Indemnity, however, was passed to exonerate those who had advised and acted upon the order in council; thus admitting the necessity of the order, but at the same time declaring that the exertion of the prerogative was not constitutional.

The arguments used by the law lords, Northington and Camden, in the Upper House, and by Beckford, the friend of Chatham, in the Commons, on this occasion, greatly damaged the administration. A cry was raised that ministers had sold their consciences to the court, and were in league to extend the prerogative beyond the precedent of the worst period in English history. Such a cry was not well founded, but it shook the stability of the ministry. In the midst of it the affairs of the East India Company were brought before parliament. Alderman Beckford brought forward the subject in the Commons by a motion for papers. The papers moved for were to ascertain the exact affairs of the company, and the state of the revenues and the government of India. This was a preliminary to the measure, which Chatham contemplated, of placing the territorial revenues arising from the British conquests in India on a different footing from the mercantile profits of the company; and perhaps to provide for the separation of functions so essentially distinct as those of government and commerce. For at this period the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street held the "gorgeous east in fee." They had acquired principalities and kingdoms, and therefore were not only merchants, but rulers. That, however, such a man as Alderman Beckford, who was not a member of the cabinet, and was alike deficient in information and judgment, should have been selected by Chatham, as he was, to move for such a momentous inquiry, was a fatal error. It was a cabinet question, and therefore ought to have been brought forward by some one of his colleagues charged with the public business in the House of Commons. At this time, however, a rupture had taken place between Chatham and the Rockingham party, and he chose thus to insult them. As was natural, the breach from such a circumstance became wider. Even Conway and Townshend joined the Rockingham party against their chief, so far at least as not to support Beckford's motion. But notwithstanding the silence, or cold and qualified support of the members of the cabinet in the House of Commons, and the opposition by which the motion was assailed as a breach of faith and a violation of charters, it was carried, and the House resolved itself into a committee of inquiry.

Every step taken at this period by Chatham appears to have been rash and ill-advised. He set his colleagues at nought, and they paid no deference to his orders. Several of the Rockingham party, indeed, resolved to secede from him. He had said that he would never again have any connection with the old duke of Newcastle; but in order to strengthen his hands, Lord Edgcumbe was dismissed from his office of treasurer of the household to make room for Sir John Shelley, a near relation of his grace. But instead of strengthening his hands, he weakened them by this step. Indignant at the treatment which their colleagues had received, several connected with the administration resigned and joined the opposition. Among these were Lord Bessborough, the duke of Portland, the earl of Scarborough, Lord Monson, Admiral Keppel, Sir William Meredith, and Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty. Chatham had now to form new combinations of public men. Sir Edward Hawke became first lord of the admiralty; Sir Percy Brett and Mr. Jenkinson filled the other seats at the board; and Lords Hillsborough and Le Despencer were appointed joint postmasters. But the ministry, as thus patched up, became more anomalous than ever. Aware of this, and seeing his popularity daily more and more declining, Chatham became a prey to disappointment and vexation. But the opposition which he encountered rendered him haughtier than ever. Before the recess he put a bold front upon his affairs in the House. He took occasion to tell the peers that he defied their combinations; asserting that he could face and dare the greatest and proudest connections. But the great orator found that he could not domineer over the peers as he had been accustomed to do over the Commons. He was plainly told that the old nobility of England would not submit to insolence. Chatham found that he had made a mistake. He attempted to vindicate himself, but it was an utter failure, and when he left the House he never re-entered it as a minister.

During the Christmas recess Chatham went to Bath, where he was taken seriously ill. Parliament reassembled in the middle of January. He had written to the duke of Grafton on the tenth of that month, announcing his intention of being in London in a day or two. But weeks passed away, and Chatham was still at Bath, ill and unable to attend to business. The business of government was at a standstill. Chatham was able to write, for another letter was received from him expressing disapprobation of the proceedings of the East India Company. But that was all. He refrained from stating his views and opinions on the subject: he would reserve himself for parliament. His colleagues were in a dilemma. He would neither give any directions himself, nor authorize his colleagues to exercise their own discretion. The country, therefore, when parliament reassembled, was without a government. It was an anomaly in English history. There is no parallel to this state of things in its voluminous records. The cabinet was distracted, and knew not what to do. Not one among them, in the absence of their chief, would assume to himself the responsibility of taking a leading part in the business of the House: those who were able being unwilling, and those who were willing being incompetent for the task. It was under these circumstances that the East India question, which had increased in magnitude and difficulty, was resumed in the Commons. In the absence of Chatham, whose power alone they feared, the company had almost everything their own way.

There was another question of greater delicacy and importance, upon which, in the absence of Chatham, his colleagues could not altogether avoid the responsibility. It would have been well if they could have done so, although Chatham himself would probably not have been able to have dealt with it to the satisfaction of the parties chiefly concerned. The attempt to impose taxes on America had an effect on the minds of the colonists which even the reversal of that policy could not remove. Some there were, indeed, who welcomed the repeal as a perfect peace offering; but there were many who conceived that it had been extorted from the British parliament through fear. It had left scars on their memories which could never be healed. Moreover, the Declaratory Act, with which the repeal of the Stamp Act was accompanied, was an offence and a stumbling-block to them. Fierce republican spirits in New England viewed the one in the same light as they did the other, and it was made the subject of their declamation, and a stimulus to popular excitement; but the British parliament was not disposed to yield to the irritated colonists. It felt that the onward progress of the march of insubordination should receive a check, and a bill was passed with great unanimity, suspending the assembly of New York until it should have complied with the terms of the Mutiny Act to the very letter. In the course of the debate on this measure several members used language ill-calculated to soothe the feelings of the irritated colonists. But before this bill was adopted by the British parliament, it had done enough to kindle the smouldering embers of rebellion in America into a lambent flame. Early in the session Grenville, who could not give up his favourite idea of taxing the Americans, had made some proposal for saddling that country with the support of troops, to relieve the home government; and Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, more eloquent than wise, had pledged himself to the House to find a revenue in the colonies for the purposes named by Grenville. Freed from the control of Chatham, Townshend became the ex-minister's willing disciple in the matter of extracting a revenue from the colonies. Nor was the House of Commons averse to such a fatal policy. It had yielded to Pitt's eloquence and authority, and the importunity of merchants, in repealing the Stamp Act, but it was unwilling to concede the right claimed by the colonists of independent fiscal regulations. Townshend's pledge of extracting a revenue from the colonies was received with favour, and accordingly during the session he introduced a bill to lay certain duties on glass, tea, paper, and painters' colours in America. The revenue which would be derived from these articles was calculated at forty thousand pounds only, and it was thought that such a trifling revenue could never be objected to by the colonists. But if sixty thousand pounds, which the Stamp Act was calculated to produce, had driven them to the very verge of open rebellion, why should not forty thousand have the same disastrous effect? It was not the question of pounds, shillings, and pence, but the principle of taxation with which the Americans quarrelled. It was clear that the measure was intended to lay a foundation for the renewal of that financial system which the Rockingham administration had reversed. It was argued, however, that the articles in question were included in the category of external taxes, to which the colonists made no objection, and the bill was carried through both Houses with fatal facility. And it was accompanied by another bill which proved equally offensive to the colonists, for it placed all their customs and duties under the management of King George's resident commissioners. So this blind policy of extracting a revenue from the American colonies was leading the way to a war which cost Great Britain a hundred millions, and the loss of that empire which his majesty looked upon as one of the brightest jewels in his crown.

Parliament was prorogued at the end of July. Chatham had been absent from his post during the session. He arrived in London on the 1st of March, where he continued for a few weeks, when he retired to Hampton. While in London he would not see either of his colleagues. Not even the duke of Grafton or Lord Shelburne, who had endeavoured to carry on the government, as far as they were able, upon his own principles, could gain admittance into his presence. Lord Bristol, the viceroy of Ireland, was the only minister he saw, or with whom, while in London, he had any communication; and he was not a member of the Cabinet. While at Hampton, however, at the intercession of the king, who clung to him as he had never before clung to any prime minister—except Bute—the duke of Grafton was favoured with an interview. When, at the close of the session, the king called upon Chatham to arouse himself from his lethargy, and to resume the direction of affairs, which every day became more and more hopelessly bewildered, the call was only answered by an effusion of anguish and imbecility. His once lofty spirit was brought low; and his mind, which had for years grappled successfully with the affairs of an empire, now busied itself alone with its own vague communings.

Still though Chatham was thus mentally prostrated, he retained the seals of office. His administration, however, was virtually at an end. A new cabinet required to be formed, but it was a difficult task; for the pretensions of the two parties of Whigs, which acknowledged the duke of Bedford and the marquis of Rockingham, to whom he applied, were found to be irreconcilable. At length, however, the three principal members of the Bedford party joined the administration. Lord Gower became president of the council instead of Lord Northington; Lord Weymouth succeeded Conway as secretary of state; and Lord Sandwich was made postmaster-general. A more important change in the administration was brought about by death. In the full vigour of his age, Charles Townshend was struck down by fever. He was a man of brilliant talents, but they were neutralized by his levity and rashness. His ambition led him to aim at becoming head of a new administration, but had he succeeded, it is probable that he would have become a curse instead of a blessing to his country. He was succeeded in his office of chancellor of the exchequer by Lord North, who had refused it when offered to him on the formation of Chatham's administration. As joint paymaster of the forces, Townshend was succeeded by his cousin, Thomas Townshend, and his place as one of the lords of the treasury was filled by Mr. Jenkinson. The earl of Hillsborough, who was a Tory of some note and greater promise, was appointed a third secretary of state, his duty being to manage the colonial department.

The ministry as thus reconstructed took the name of the Grafton administration. It was completed soon after the autumnal session, which was singularly barren of both party conflicts and legislative enactments. Its chief business was of a routine character, preparatory to the dissolution. Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of March, 1768, and two days after, as it had nearly completed the legal term of its existence, it was dissolved by proclamation.

The general election took place in the spring, and it was one of an extraordinary character. But before we record its characteristics in our pages, it is necessary to revert briefly to the state of affairs in

America. Charles Townshend's "Revenue Act" excited great commotion in that country. It was as hateful to the colonists as the Stamp Act had been. It was looked upon, indeed, as its counterpart. Both, it was believed, had the same object in view, although the Revenue Act had been speciously termed "external taxation." To such a mode of taxation the Americans had never before objected; on the contrary, they had claimed relief from internal taxation on the grounds of their not objecting to external taxes. Now, however, they saw no difference between the one or the other, and determined to resist both with equal hostility. They would neither submit to internal nor external taxation. The press teemed with bitter invectives against the British legislature. The cry went forth throughout the land from that powerful organ of public opinion that England was resolved to reduce the colonies to a state of abject slavery, which roused the colonists to a state of open and stern resistance. Such were the first warnings of a terrible commotion, the first intimations of a terrible irruption more frightful in its nature and disastrous in its consequences than the pouring forth of the lava of burning mountains, or to the upheavings of an earthquake.

England itself at this time was scarcely less disturbed than America by internal troubles and commotions. This was the age of ministerial revolutions and cabinet abortions. On the difficulties by which the constitution was at this time beset, Burke observes:—"Our constitution stands on a nice equipoise, with steep precipices and deep waters on all sides of it: in removing it from a dangerous leaning towards one side, there may be a risk of oversetting it on the other. Every project of a material change in a government so complicated, combined at the same time with external circumstances still more complicated, is a matter full of difficulties." This has evident reference to the grand contest between the king and the old Whig aristocracy, whose power he had sought by means of Bute and Chatham, but vainly sought, to crush. Some of the links in that chain of power had been dissevered, but fresh ones had been supplied, and it was still a whole. The aristocracy had formed new parties, which acted upon new principles, equally calculated to annoy the sovereign and to disturb the machinery of the state. If ever there was a time when the jewels of a crown were intermingled with sharp piercing thorns, it was at this period of England's history. His majesty's cabinets were weak and unstable: and why? Because they had not the support necessary to render them powerful and lasting—public opinion. Parliament itself, also, from its indecisive measures, stood very low in the public estimation. It had forfeited their confidence, and political associations became the order of the day. Taverns in town and country became so many parliament houses, where the business of the state was discussed, and the king and his ministers, as well as the legislature, brought into contempt by the oratory of self-made patriots. The people seemed as if they were resolved to take the government into their own hands, being, as they conceived, wiser and more patriotic than those who ruled over them.

It was in the midst of such a state of society as this when writs were issued for a new election, but at that period not a representation of the people. The representation of the people had been and still was a mere phrase. In a population of eight millions there were not two hundred thousand electors! But in the election of the spring of 1768 the voice of the people began to be heard. Tavern parliaments were not wanting in wholesome as well as unwholesome effects. The people had discernment enough to perceive, that while the crown and the aristocracy were carrying on an internecine war, their interests were neglected, and the country was approaching the brink of ruin. They had discovered that they had an interest in matters of state, and that they had the ability of saving the institutions, if they chose to exert it, from becoming a prey to the intrigues of courts and factions. Pitt had himself taught them that they had this power. He had said when he resigned the government, that "he could no longer administer it upon a full and entire responsibility to the people, by whom it had been committed to his charge," and these memorable words had sunk deep into the heart of the nation. If it was true that he had been called by the popular voice to power, the country had been saved by the interposition of the people, and what they had done once, they rightly argued they might now do again. But who was now to be their leader? Pitt, as earl of Chatham, had deserted them; who was now to be their champion? He had won the popular applause by public virtue and great deeds; on whom now could they bestow it? They made their choice, and it was an unfortunate one; it was bestowed on John Wilkes.

Encouraged by the public discontent, Wilkes once more stepped upon the stage. It was a bold act, but it was no miscalculation on the part of the demagogue. He saw a chance of regaining popularity, and he was not mistaken. If he had been, he would not have been a great loser. He could not well have been brought lower than he was when he returned from France, to offer himself as a candidate for the suffrages of the people. As an outlaw he was disqualified from obtaining any civil right, and as soon as he stepped on English ground he might have been arrested. But this latter evil he cunningly averted by writing to the solicitor of the treasury, pledging himself to appear in the Court of King's Bench on the first day of the ensuing term. Thus safe for a few weeks, Wilkes presented himself at Guildhall as a candidate for the representation of the city. He was rejected, but was shortly after elected by the freeholders of Middlesex.

The ministry were thus placed in a dilemma. The man against whom process had been issued at the suit of the crown on two charges of libel, and had been outlawed for his non-appearance, had been elected by the Middlesex freeholders as their representative in the House of Commons—how should they act? Should they acquiesce in the choice of the Middlesex electors, or provoke a new collision between the people and the House of Commons? It would have been wiser for the ministry to have allowed the demagogue to have taken his seat, for then the people would soon have found that their choice of a representative had been a mistake, and he would have sunk into insignificance. But the king and his ministers proceeded in the matter according to the forms of law, which gave the demagogue an undue importance; and by his incarceration, the already infuriated passions of his adherents were roused to the highest pitch, and riots took place in London of a most serious and alarming character, in which many lives were sacrificed. Nor were tumults confined to the metropolis. There was "either actual or impending riot in every part of the country. From the miners of Cornwall to the colliers of Newcastle, the spirit of insubordination prevailed."

The remedies for the prevailing disorders lay far beyond the courage and capacities of the Grafton administration. Its heterogeneous members were fit for nothing more than the ordinary routine of office. All their credit and all their hopes had been sustained by the name of Chatham. But during this recess, even this support—which was but a broken reed—was withdrawn. In the summer Chatham's faculties were partially restored, but he was still unable—and perhaps more unwilling than unable—to resume the duties of the privy seal. His disinclination to act was elicited by the duke of Grafton, who was weary of presiding over the government. Grafton urged the countess of Chatham—for he dared not trouble the earl—to state whether she thought her lord would resume his duties. Her reply was in the negative, and soon after her opinion was confirmed by Chatham's formally separating himself from the administration which had been formed under his auspices. It was in vain that both the king and Grafton sought to dissuade him from his purpose—he was inflexible. The duke urged that his services at this critical season were indispensable, and his majesty informed him by letter that he thought he had a right to *insist* on his remaining in office; and that he must not think of retiring at a time when his assistance in stemming the torrent of faction, under which the country was labouring, would be invaluable; but Chatham insisted upon adhering to his purpose. The privy seal, therefore, was returned to his majesty—by proxy—and the name of Chatham was dissevered from the administration he had formed, but which no longer retained any trace of his policy. The privy seal was given to Lord Bristol.

Meanwhile the name of John Wilkes had not been suffered to sink into oblivion. His case was heard in the King's Bench on the 8th of June. Lord Mansfield, who was the presiding judge, in giving judgment, pronounced that the outlawry of the demagogue was null and void through a defect in the pleadings, but that the original judgments against him for libels were binding. Wilkes was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to pay two fines of five hundred pounds each — one for the seditious sentiments contained in the "North Briton," and the other for publishing the "Essay on Women."

During the spring of this year a vacancy was caused in the representation of Middlesex by the death of one of its members. There were two candidates, Serjeant Glynn, a nominee of Wilkes, and Sir William Proctor, the defeated candidate at the general election. Glynn obtained an easy victory, but the election was attended, as before, with riot and bloodshed. A man named Clarke was killed, and two partisans of the unsuccessful candidate were tried for murder. They were convicted, and yet they were not only pardoned, but one of them had a pension conferred upon him. The king and the government seemed resolved to brave the people. There appeared to be no grounds for interfering with the course of justice in either case; but when it was found that both had escaped the justice due to their crimes, and one had actually been rewarded, the resentment which had been excited by the largesses given to the soldiers for the "massacre in St. George's Fields" was aggravated tenfold. And Wilkes did not fail to pour oil on the flames of their resentment. About this time a letter sent by Lord Weymouth to the Surrey magistrates, expressing the warmest approbation of their conduct, fell into his hands; and he published it with a preface, in which he denounced the affair of St. George's Fields in the most unmeasured language.

Parliament reassembled on the 8th of November, and six days only elapsed when a grand contest commenced between the prisoner in the King's Bench and the House of Commons—a contest which raised him to the highest pinnacle of popularity. Bent upon keeping alive the spirit of animosity among his admirers, on the 14th of November Wilkes presented a petition for redress of grievances. As a member of the House of Commons he claimed his liberty. Much time was spent in the consideration of this petition, and the debate thereon was marked with great acrimony. It was agreed that Wilkes should appear in the House to support his allegations, but the time for his appearance was several times postponed. It is clear that the Commons did not want him there at all, except as a prisoner at their bar. And as such, on the 2nd of February, 1769, he was summoned before them. A complaint had been made in the House of Lords by the secretary of state, Lord Weymouth, that Wilkes had published a libel against himself. This matter, after a conference with the Lords, was taken in hand by the Commons. Wilkes was brought to their bar in custody. The libel with which he was charged was contained in the letter which he had sent to the Surrey magistrates, and before the whole House, he not only owned that he was the author of it, but claimed the thanks of his country for having exposed Weymouth's "bloody scroll." The House at once resolved that it was an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel; and the next day, on the motion of Lord Barrington, he was expelled the House by a large majority.

In the midst of the conflict between the House of Commons and the Middlesex freeholders, with Wilkes at their head, a message from the crown was brought down by Lord North, announcing that the civil list was in debt to an amount exceeding half a million. North said: "His majesty trusted the House would enable him to discharge this debt; and he attributed its existence to various causes, such as the expenses of George II.'s funeral, the marriage and coronation of the present king and queen, the repurchase of the crown jewels from the duke of Cumberland, to whom his father had bequeathed them, and the high price of provisions. The annual income of George III.

had been, during the eight years the debt had been accumulating, 800,000*l.* per annum, and Grenville and others treated the causes assigned for the debt as mere excesses. They demanded that inquiry should precede supply, but it was opposed by government as contrary to precedent. There was no fear of King George being taken prisoner for debt, but ministers argued as though he really was in fear of his creditors. His necessities, they said, were urgent, and admitted of no delay; and to avoid inquiry it was argued that it would be indecent to inquire into his majesty's expenses. To this it was replied that there need be no delay, as the treasurer of the household could at once furnish what was wanted; and that as to the propriety of examining the accounts of the civil list, so long as it defrayed its expenditure it was confessed parliament had no right to inquire, but that when it exceeded the expenditure, and parliament was called upon to make good the deficiency, it then became a sacred duty. But the only point the opposition could gain was a promise that when the money was voted papers should be produced, and on the faith of that promise his majesty's debts were ordered to be paid. The circumstance brought great discredit on both the king and his ministers, and greatly aggravated the public discontent.

On the opening of the parliament on the 8th of November, the king spoke in severe terms of the proceedings in North America, recorded in a previous page. No mention was made by him of the cause of the disturbances in the colonies. All that he called upon the parliament to do, was to see that the turbulent and seditious colonists received condign punishment for their wrong doings. In such a spirit both Lords and Commons acted throughout the session. There was to be no conciliatory measures used to heal the breach which had been made by the attempt to tax the Americans, but they were to be made to submit to the will of the king and the dictum of the imperial parliament wholly and unconditionally. Thus on the 15th of December, in the House of Lords, an address to the king was moved by the duke of Bedford, recommending that the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders in Massachusetts should be punished for their offences. The address even recommended that the criminals should be brought over to Britain and tried by a special commission, according to the provisions of a statute of the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. This most arbitrary proposal was carried in the House of Lords without a division, and was then sent to the Commons for their concurrence. There too the motion was carried, but not without a stern resistance from some of the members of the minority. Burke warmly denounced the proposed remedy for disaffection. "You fire a cannon," he remarked, "upon your enemy which will react upon yourselves." "Why," he asked, "do you call for this Act of Henry VIII. to be put in force? Because you cannot trust a jury of that country. If you have not a party among two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the colonies for ever." The advice which Mr. Pownall, who had been governor of Massachusetts, gave to the House on this occasion, was both practical and sensible. "Let the matter of right rest," he said, "upon the declaratory law, and say no more about it." But Pownall's advice was thrown away upon members who had made up their minds to act with the court. The subject of the colonies was again and again renewed during the session, but was always treated in the same unconciliatory spirit. In March a petition, or remonstrance, was presented from New York, which denied the right of parliament to tax the Americans in any way; but on the motion of Lord North, the House resolved that it should not be received. On this occasion Colonel Barré reminded the House that he had predicted all that had occurred on passing the Stamp Act; and he now boldly asserted, that if ministers persisted in their present course, the whole continent of America would rise in arms, and these colonies would then perhaps be lost to England for ever. The colonists were at that time preparing for the dread alternative. Every ship that arrived from its harbours brought intelligence more and more indicative of a wide-spread rebellion among them. To avert it, towards the close of the session Pownall moved that the revenue acts affecting America be forthwith repealed, as the only mode of preserving their allegiance; but, all-important as the subject was, it was pleaded that the session was too far advanced to enter into it, and its discussion was deferred till the next meeting of parliament. And then the season for conciliation was gone: the colonists were arming for the battle.

Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of May, 1769. The session had been signalized by a threefold mal-administration. The court and the government and the legislature combined had invaded the highest privilege of the people; had tampered with the public money; and had, by a blind policy, utterly severed the bonds of allegiance and affection between the American provinces and the parent state. In what light the people looked upon the conduct of his majesty for the part he had taken in these matters was evidenced when he went from his palace to the House of Lords to close the session. Everywhere on his route he was grossly insulted by the populace. And it was not in London only that the people were disaffected. Everywhere discontent and disaffection prevailed. In his closing speech his majesty exhorted the members with more than ordinary earnestness to exert themselves in their several counties to maintain "public peace and good order," but they were powerless to effect that which he desired. The expulsion of Wilkes from his seat in parliament, and the American quarrel, kept the public mind in a state of constant excitement. And this excitement was increased by the pen of an anonymous writer, who, under the signature of Junius, wrote for the "Public Advertiser," and whose one paramount design was to destroy the Grafton ministry. But after all the virulent attacks of Junius, he did not succeed in breaking up Grafton's administration, but at the same time he powerfully contributed to the prevailing dissatisfaction. So marked was faction during this summer, that ministers sought to counteract it by procuring loyal addresses; but only four counties responded to their call, while on the other hand petitions of a contrary tendency were presented at the foot of the throne from every quarter.

Disaffection was not confined to England and America. There was commotion in Ireland. That country was overrun by factions bound together by secret oaths and a mutual detestation of tithes. Levellers, White-boys, Oak-boys, and Hearts of Steel, were banded together in one common cause. Nor was the Irish parliament loyal at heart. On the recommendation of the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, after a violent opposition, a bill was carried for increasing the military establishment in that country; but about the same time—in the autumn of 1769—the Irish Commons claimed the right of framing all money bills, which hitherto had been sent over to them by the English cabinet. It is evident that the Irish Commons had taken a leaf out of the book of the American houses of representatives. Like them they wanted to have a voice—the voice—in voting away the money of their constituents. But this was deemed rank rebellion. Although the Irish Commons voted a more liberal supply of their own free will than the bill sent over to them by the English cabinet, which they repudiated, the lord-lieutenant would not recognize the newly claimed right. Denouncing it as an encroachment upon his majesty's prerogative, he prorogued the Irish parliament before it had done any business besides the nugatory vote of increasing the Irish military establishment—nugatory because the supplies for its maintenance were not provided. Thus, at the close of this year, the crown of George III. was hedged round with thorns. England, Ireland, and America were arrayed against him, and there was not a statesman in his cabinet possessing sufficient ability to rescue him from his difficulties. Even if there had been, it is doubtful if his majesty would have consented to any measure of a saving character; for he stood proudly on his prerogative, that ground which had failed the House of Stuart, and might—if the people, notwithstanding their grievances, had not been attached in heart to the throne—have involved his own in ruin.

It is remarkable, that although troubles and commotions surrounded the throne on every hand, parliament did not meet during the autumnal season of 1769. It reassembled on the 9th of January, 1770, and was opened by the king in person. And even then there was a singular absence of any note of these troubles and commotions in the king's speech. No mention was made of the petitions which had been presented to the throne from counties and corporations. The grand feature of the speech, indeed, partook of the ridiculous rather than the sublime. It opened thus:—"My lords and gentlemen. It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the session of parliament with acquainting you that a distemper among the horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom." Never was there a more unfortunate topic for the burden of a royal speech. It became the jest and the scorn of the people, who, to show their contempt of it, nicknamed the session by which it was opened—"the horned cattle session!"

A voice, however, more potent than that of Junius, and more heeded by the government, was now once more lifted up in the great councils of the nation. In the summer of the previous year Earl Chatham emerged from his long retirement. "*In propriâ personâ*," as Walpole writes, "and not in a strait waistcoat," he then attended the king's levee. After that levee Chatham was called by the king into his closet. Walpole says that his reception in the king's closet was most flattering. His majesty was all condescension and goodness, but it does not appear that Chatham was satisfied with the interview. At all events it did not soften his opposition to the measures of the government, for when parliament met he took his place in the House of Lords, and, like a giant refreshed with wine, made the ministry tremble by the power of his eloquence.

The address moved in the House of Lords was as general and unmeaning as the speech from the throne. As that had said nothing about the discontentment at home, the address was most loyally silent on that subject. But this did not suit Chatham. He moved one amendment, the purport of which was to censure the conduct of the House of Commons in the affair of Wilkes, and to assert the right of the constituency to make a free choice of their representatives. How boldly he supported his amendment may be seen in a few brief sentences. "The liberty of the subject is invaded not only in the provinces, but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints; they demand redress; and depend upon it, my lords, that one way or another they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity till they are redressed. Nor ought they. For in my judgment, my lords, and I speak boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota in the constitution." Chatham's amendment was opposed by Lord Mansfield, who treated it as a gross attack upon the privileges of the House of Commons, whose judgment, he urged, in the matter of the expulsion of Wilkes was final, and must be received as the law of the land. The reply of the great orator to Lord Mansfield's dictum is most memorable. It was a speech of wondrous power. The constitution of the country, he said, had been openly invaded, and he had heard with horror and astonishment that invasion defended upon principle. "What," he asked, "was this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak without reverence—which no man may question, and to which all men must submit?" He continued:—"I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown and the rule of their government had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility attributed to any other branch of the legislature. . . . We are told that the House of Commons have a supreme jurisdiction, and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as *ipso facto* the law of the land." He denied that the House of Commons was possessed of this supreme jurisdiction. "Why," he demanded, "were the generous exertions of our ancestors made to secure and transmit to their posterity a known law and a certain rule of living, if instead of the arbitrary power of a king we must submit to that of a House of Commons?" Then with a voice of thunder, which reverberated round the walls of the House, he exclaimed:—"Tyranny is detestable in any shape, but more especially when exercised by a number of tyrants!" Chatham's amendment was negatived, as was a similar one moved by the opposition in the House of Commons. In that House it was supported by the marquis of Granby. The lord chancellor, therefore, and the commander-in-chief of the army were in open hostility to the other members of the cabinet. It would appear that in adopting this course both were under the influence of Chatham. At the same time, although they had continued in the ministry, they were averse to the measures adopted by the majority in the cabinet, both home and colonial. There had long been a division in the camp, and it had been greatly widened by the question of Wilkes. At length, therefore, silent opposition broke out into open hostility. But such an anomalous state of things could not long endure. It had been foreseen by Earl Chatham and the Grenville family, who had been reunited, and with whom he acted to put an end to the administration, that the opposition of Camden would, when boldly avowed, lead to his dismissal. And so it happened. Immediately after the division on Chatham's amendment, Lord Rockingham gave notice that he would on the morrow move for an inquiry into the state of the nation.

It was while the ministry were discredited, that Lord Rockingham moved that the House of Lords should on the 24th of January take into consideration the state of the nation. In his speech Rockingham censured every act of the government. He dated the discontent from the king's accession, and ascribed it to twofold causes: the change which had taken place in the system of government, and the prevalence of the maxim that the royal prerogative was alone sufficient to support government, of whatever members it was composed. The duke of Grafton in reply stated that he was ready to enter into the question at any time, and vindicated the policy of the administration. The earl of Chatham then rose and made another of his memorable orations.

He concluded his speech by announcing his cordial union with the Rockingham party. On a previous occasion he had overthrown the head of that party as an incapable statesman, but he now justified his coalition with the noble lord on the grounds that it was formed for the salvation of the state. It is evident that his aim was to bring Rockingham again into power; but in this he was disappointed. A change was brought about, but the noble marquis was not called upon to kiss hands. The duke of Grafton expressed his willingness to enter into an inquiry into the state of the nation, but after all he shrank from the question. The debate was deferred till the 2nd of February, but before that day arrived he resigned, and the king had committed the charge of government into the hands of Lord North. In pressing the premiership upon North, his majesty remarked that he was more strengthened in the "rightness of the measure," which would prevent every other desertion. His lordship's acceptance of the post *did* prevent any more serious desertions, but the "rightness of the measure" in placing him at the head of the government may be questioned, as it was succeeded by twelve years of national calamity.

For the most part, Lord North's ministry was a continuation of that of the duke of Grafton. The post of commander-in-chief was still left vacant, and the great seal was still in commission. The few changes that were made were not of any real importance. The only man of mark in the cabinet was Lord North himself.

Lord North's acceptance of office as the head of the government inaugurated a momentous era in the annals of Great Britain. It was not an act of temerity. The people were against him, but the court was with him, and the court could command a parliamentary majority. It is true there was a powerful opposition in parliament, but it was rendered nugatory by disunion among its members. Their course of action was ill-defined and irregular. A difficult motion for Lord North to grapple with was brought forward by Mr. Dowdeswell. It was this:—"That by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right can be incapacitated by a resolution of the House, but by an express act of parliament only." This was an undeniable proposition. Ministers were placed in a dilemma by such a motion. But North proved equal to the emergency. He acknowledged its real import, but he qualified its effect by moving this addition: "And that the judgment of the House on the Middlesex election is conformable to law and the usage of parliament." Lord North's amendment was eventually carried, but only by a majority of forty-two in the fullest House which had divided for many years. The king, however, expressed his satisfaction at the division, as he well might; for if the court could carry such a proposition as Lord North's, they could carry anything.

A similar motion to that of Mr. Dowdeswell was made by the marquis of Rockingham in the House of Lords, but with a similar result. The Lords, indeed, were more emphatic than the Commons on this subject. As a body they were by no means jealous of the power which the Commons had assumed to themselves. On the contrary, they sought to confirm them in that power, however unconstitutional it might be. On the ministerial side it was moved by the earl of Marchmont:—"That any resolution of the Lords, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to general confusion." In supporting his proposition the noble earl lost his temper and discretion. He went so far as to say, that if the opposition went one step farther it would be necessary to call in the aid of foreign assistance. This was a dangerous assertion, and when called to order the noble earl stammered and mumbled some sort of an explanation, but not a very satisfactory one. He was relieved by Lord Mansfield, who still held fast with the court. The noble Lords, he said, had no right to interfere with the decisions of the House of Commons. This the earl of Chatham denied. He asserted that the Lords had a right to interfere when an invasion of the people's liberty was attempted, or an unconstitutional determination arrived at by that House. The debate on this occasion lasted till midnight, and Chatham thus urged an adjournment. "If," said he, "the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey." Little, however, could have been gained by an adjournment, for king, Lords, and Commons were all agreed to continue and even enlarge the breach which had been made in the constitution, and at two o'clock in the morning the earl of Marchmont's motion was carried. At the same time forty peers were bold enough to sign a protest against the decision.

During the session Mr. Dowdeswell brought forward a motion of considerable importance as regarded its practical bearing. Since the war there had been a great and growing increase in the customs and excise. As a matter of course this necessitated the employment of a greater number of persons in the collection and supervision of the revenue. Most of those so employed had votes for members of parliament, and holding their places at pleasure, and liable to be dismissed the service if they voted against the government, their votes could always be reckoned upon by those who supported the government. Dowdeswell moved for leave to bring in a bill to disfranchise these revenue officers, but, as might have been expected, it was warmly contested by the treasury members, and finally rejected. But there was one measure relative to the constitution of the House of Commons, which, notwithstanding the hostility of the ministry, obtained its assent. For more than sixty years the House had been sole judge of the qualification of electors and of all other matters regarding the election of their own members. All controverted elections were tried before a committee of the whole House; its members not being bound either by oath, promise, or pledge, to act impartially. On the 2nd of April Mr. George Grenville brought in a bill for regulating the trial of controverted elections; the main provision of which was to withdraw the trial of election petitions from the body of the House, and transfer them to a committee of thirteen sworn members, such members to be chosen on the principle of a special jury, though in the numbers, and in the mode of deciding by a majority, it resembled the grand inquest. The plan was clear and simple, and well calculated to remove a generally acknowledged abuse in parliamentary elections. The bill passed by a considerable majority in the Commons, and when sent up to the Lords it scarcely met with any opposition, and on the 12th of April it received the royal assent. At first the bill was made temporary by way of trial, but its good effects, when reduced to practice, became so evident, that an Act was subsequently passed for rendering it perpetual. With a few improvements, it still remains a lasting monument of the sound sense of its author.

In the midst of these contests in parliament, the city of London espoused the cause of the people. Its old love of liberty had not died out, and its advocacy of the popular rights had not been abated by the touch of court influence. The members of the corporation, being elected by popular suffrage, were desirous of seeing that principle extended throughout the country. History records several occasions on which this great and ancient corporation had interposed between the crown and the people; and at this time they resolved to petition in a most emphatic manner. When a copy of the petition was sent to the secretary of state, the attorney-general was consulted as to whether it was impeachable! The question was so absurd that no answer was given; and then it was debated at court as to whether the address should be received. For some days the king refused to receive it, but at length he consented. The address was pronounced disrespectful to his majesty, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable with the constitution. The king denied that he had ever invaded the powers which the constitution had placed in his hands, and claimed for himself the affections of his subjects from his making the law of the land the rule of his conduct—which he asserted he had done. Thus rebuked, the petitioners withdrew, the courtiers smiling at their discomfiture. But it was an uncalled-for rebuke; for, although the terms of the address were doubtless exaggerated, and somewhat inaccurate in their assertions, it was not what the courtiers called it, "an ebullition of civic insolence." It had been provoked by his majesty's contempt of the former petition of the corporation. On the 19th of March, Sir Thomas Clavering, a county member, more loyal than wise, moved, "That to deny the legality of the present parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable, and has a manifest tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, by withdrawing his majesty's subjects from their obedience to the laws of the realm." This gave rise to a violent debate, in which Beckford and other members of the corporation challenged the censure of the House for what had been done. Such a censure would no doubt have been voted, as the majority took part with the king, if Lord North—who saw the danger of provoking a collision with the city, which would have revived the agitation of the preceding year—had not imparted a calmer tone to the debate. Clavering's motion was carried, and an address to the king was also agreed to both by Lords and Commons, condemnatory of the city memorial, which was graciously received. He thought, however, that the city magistrates ought to have been proceeded against by parliament. But if the court was indignant at the city address, the people of London and Middlesex and Kent were not less exasperated at the royal answer to the remonstrance, and the subsequent conduct of parliament. The city of Westminster immediately sent up a petition answering, as "face answereth to face in a glass," to that of the corporation, and the counties of Middlesex and Kent followed the example.

In the midst of these commotions Chatham, on the 1st of May, brought in a bill condemnatory of the resolution of the Commons with respect to the

Middlesex election. The substance of his bill was to make void to all intents and purposes the adjudications of that House which had declared John Wilkes, Esq., incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament, and the freeholders of Middlesex deprived of one of their legal representatives. Chatham's bill was rejected; but when it was lost, he desired that the House might be summoned for the following day, when, he said, he had a motion to make of great importance relative to the king. That motion was one of direct censure on the royal reply to the city remonstrance; in moving for which he denounced that reply as harsh above all precedent in the history of the country; defended the right of the people to petition—a right which the Stuarts themselves had never dared to deny—and pronounced a warm eulogium on the lord mayor and the liverymen of London. On this subject ministers did not venture to hazard a debate, but at once negatived the motion; and a motion which Chatham subsequently made for an address to the crown to dissolve parliament shared the same fate. It is evident, however, that the king and his cabinet dreaded the power of Chatham's oratory, by reason of the influence it might have upon the people; for on the day when this last motion was brought forward the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was rigidly enforced.

During the session a petition was presented to parliament by merchants trading with America, showing that in consequence of the duties and taxes imposed upon the Americans their trade had been ruined. Nothing was imported *from*, and nothing exported *to* the colonies. To have restored their ruined trade would have been an easy task for the legislature. By repealing the whole of Townshend's Act, ships laden with merchandize would soon have sped their way to and fro across the Atlantic as in times past. And there were few public men of credit who did not acknowledge that it would be wise to discontinue American taxation. But ministers were not disposed to go thus far. However, they did something on receiving this petition — they brought in a bill, and carried it, which repealed all the American taxes and duties, *except tea*. By retaining the article of tea, the virtue and the grace of the concession was utterly ignored. Grenville, the parent of the Stamp Act, foresaw that a partial repeal would not satisfy the Americans, for he declared during the debate that they would not be satisfied with anything short of the renunciation by parliament of the right to tax them in any way, either externally or internally. In this General Pownall coincided; and he proposed, as an amendment, that the repeal should be extended to all articles, as the only means of restoring harmony in the colonies. This was opposed by Lord North, on the ground that so long as the Declaratory Act was retained, it would be useless to repeal the statute; as, while the right of imposing taxes upon the Americans was thus asserted, so long they would be discontented. But this argument was fallacious; for when the Stamp Act was repealed the agitation of the colonies had immediately subsided. It was not of the Declaratory Act that the Americans complained. That was a matter of indifference to them so long as it was not followed up by taxation. When it was thus followed up, then it was that murmurs were first heard, which presently grew into loudly expressed discontent, and finally into open and avowed rebellion.

On the evening of the 5th of March, upon one of the numerous occasions which had been daily occurring, a conflict took place between the soldiers and the Boston townspeople. The British troops had been represented by the newspapers as a set of poltroons, who would quail before the sons of liberty, and these representations were now put to the test. Some of the troops in Dock Square were attacked by a mob, armed with sticks and clubs. An officer appeared, who ordered the soldiers thus attacked to their barracks, and they escaped thither with difficulty. This was the beginning, the first open resistance of the American revolution.

The session closed on the 19th of May. At its close the government was left unshaken by the opposition it met with in both Houses, as well as out of doors. Indeed, before the end of the session Lord North's government was rather strengthened than weakened; for several members who had supported Chatham in his attacks, seeing that their leaders were not cordial in their alliance, withdrew from them and gave in their adhesion to the policy of the court and the cabinet. But if the government had proved too strong to be overthrown by the attacks which had been made upon it, it was by no means popular. Deep offence had been given to the people, and its remembrance was not easily eradicated. The treatment which the citizens of London had received at the hands of the king on the presentation of their famous remonstrance was particularly offensive to them. Unwilling to submit patiently to the rebuke which the royal lips had administered to them, a few days after the prorogation they went up to the king with another address, expressive of their discontent. This address was resolute in its tone; but it was clothed in words which could not offend his majesty, except by the speech which Beckford delivered in connection with it. It would appear that the king was now more offended than ever, for he immediately issued orders through the medium of the lord chamberlain that no lord mayor should be allowed to presume to address him in a speech. But if the king was displeased, the people were charmed with Beckford's boldness. Chatham and the more uncompromising asserters of popular rights were especially loud in their applause. Shortly after this Beckford died, and the corporation caused his statue to be erected in the Guildhall, with his celebrated speech engraved in letters of gold on the pedestal.

Dangers at this time thickened round the English throne. Ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, it was generally believed that the "Family Alliance" was only waiting for a favourable opportunity of provoking a new war to avenge their disgrace. Thus impressed, this country watched narrowly every movement of France and Spain. The French had recently obtained, partly by intrigue and partly by gold, possession of Corsica, which had been a dependency of the Genoese republic. It was thought by the British government that this acquisition would have a tendency to disturb the balance of power in Europe. The British ambassador was instructed to make a strong remonstrance against this addition to the French territory; but it was disregarded, and Corsica, after some resistance by a band of patriots, was also annexed to the French empire.

The Americans in the mean time received the news that the British parliament had repealed all the duties imposed by the Act of 1767, "except that on tea." This intelligence somewhat allayed the spirit which had prompted the non-importation agreements. Some of the provinces renewed their commercial intercourse with the mother country. With the exception of tea, large orders were sent in July for every kind of merchandize. Notwithstanding, the progress of the revolution was not impeded. There were other provinces not so easily to be appeased. Massachusetts especially maintained a position of sullen defiance. Still for two or three years there was an apparent calm throughout all the provinces. But the calm was deceptive.

Parliament assembled for the autumnal session on the 13th of November. Before that day arrived, three of its most noted members had paid the debt of nature—Grenville, the marquis of Granby, and John, duke of Bedford. The prominent part of his majesty's speech was the quarrel with Spain, which had not then been brought to a close. He asked the counsel and aid of parliament in this affair. It was a golden opportunity for the opposition to renew their attacks upon government. For on this subject, as well as that of the Middlesex election, they were supported by the people. As before seen, government had put several ships in commission with a view to war; but attempts were made to prevent seamen from manning them. A petition was even presented to the throne against the legality and justice of recruiting the navy by means of impressment. The policy of going to war with Spain respecting the Falkland Islands was indeed loudly condemned throughout the country. In both Houses the conduct of the ministry in the transaction was assailed with great asperity, but with little effect. In the Upper House the duke of Richmond moved for an address praying that the king would order all papers received by the ministers or any of his officers touching hostilities commenced, or about to be commenced, by the crown of Spain, to be laid before parliament. This motion was supported by the earl of Chatham, who, after charging ministers with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home by a series of oppressive and unconstitutional measures, and with having delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy, thus warned them of a twofold danger in which he conceived they had placed themselves: "If," he remarked, "they are forced into a war, they stand at the hazard of their heads; if, by an ignominious compromise they should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety." The motion was opposed on the ground that the production of the papers would embarrass the negotiations, and that the Spanish government was entitled to respect and delicate management. It was negatived, as was a similar motion in the House of Commons.

On whatever point the opposition considered ministers to be vulnerable they turned their attacks. There had been much discussion among the legal profession concerning the sentiments promulgated on the law of libel. They were held to be an attempt to infringe the rights and powers of juries, and to reduce their verdicts to a mere echo of the opinions of judges. In the House of Lords Chatham denounced the mode of direction which Mansfield had adopted; namely, that they were merely to inquire into the fact of printing and publishing, and not to judge whether the matter in question was or was not a libel. Mansfield justified his charges to the jury; laying it down as an axiom, "that a libel or not a libel was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and the question to be left to the jury was only the fact of printing and publishing." Mansfield subsequently laid a paper on the table, which contained the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench on the subject, and here the matter dropped. In the Commons Serjeant Glynn moved for a committee to "inquire into the constitutional power and duty of juries;" but it was negatived.

In these attacks on the administration of justice the government refrained from taking any part. They were content to leave the defence of the judges to themselves and the law officers of the crown, knowing that Chatham was only supported by his own immediate friends and the people out of doors. But they were not so quiescent on the subject of the war with Spain. Opposition on that subject caused them serious alarm. It was a question on which every section of the opposition was united; and if war really took place, it was certain that Chatham would again be called to the head of the government —called by the people, despite court intrigue, secret influence, and parliamentary corruption. Before the Christmas recess the question was renewed upon a motion of the duke of Manchester for accelerating warlike preparations.

But during the Christmas recess the quarrel between Britain and Spain was brought to an amicable conclusion regarding the right of possession of the Falkland Islands. Louis XV. of France, who was sunk in debauchery, was averse to a policy which might disturb his voluptuous pleasures, and having dismissed his war-minister, Choiseul, at the instigation of his new mistress, Du Barri, wrote with his own hand to the Spanish monarch, declaring that he would not have war; and then Britain obtained the naked rocks and bogs of the Falkland Islands without drawing the sword. Lord North's administration thus escaped the twofold danger by which Chatham conceived it was threatened. But during the recess North busied himself in strengthening his administration. Lord Sandwich became secretary of state in the room of Lord Weymouth, who resigned; the Honourable Mr. Thynne became postmaster-general, vice Lord Sandwich; Wedderburne, the pet of Chatham and the city, was tempted by the offer of the solicitor-generalship to the queen to abandon his friends; and Thurlow became attorney-general in the place of De Grey, who was created chief justice of the Common Pleas. The lord chancellorship, which had been so long in commission, was now filled up, the Hon. H. Bathurst taking the post, with the title of Baron Apsley. Sandwich held the seals of secretary of state for a few days only, being transferred to the head of the admiralty instead of Sir Edward Hawke, and his seals were given to Lord Halifax, whose privy seal was bestowed upon the earl of Suffolk.

It was with the administration thus strengthened that parliament assembled on the 22nd of January, 1771. Lord North was jubilant in his announcement of the happy termination of the dispute with Spain. He was happy to inform the Commons that the convention between the two countries had just been signed. Lord Rachford announced it in the same joyful terms to the Upper House. Ministers evidently felt that if they had been in danger on this question, they were now delivered from it.

After the general election of 1768, a great number of petitions complaining of undue elections on the ground of bribery were presented to parliament. There can be no question but that a wholesale system of bribery was carried on at this period, but there appears to have been a difficulty in bringing it home to individuals. It was known that adventurers went about canvassing from borough to borough, with pockets full of money, which soon became empty; but who among those who touched the golden guineas could be expected to blab? During this session, however, the public was startled by strange disclosures of corruption in the elections for the borough of Shoreham. So gross was the bribery of this borough, that a bill was brought in and passed by which it was disfranchised, and the franchise given to the forty-shilling freeholders of the neighbouring district, called the Rape of Bramber.

This session was marked by a contest between the House of Commons and the corporation of London, which was ultimately productive of the highest public benefit. It was held by both Houses of Parliament that the publication of their debates was a breach of privilege. The people were not to know what their representatives uttered within their sacred walls. Hitherto, indeed, the people had only occasional glimpses of the proceedings of those who presided over their destinies; and these glimpses, often very obscure, were for the most part obtained after the discussion was over, and the matter in debate settled. But as the people became more enlightened, they became more curious in matters of state. They longed for what they ought long ago to have possessed, a full reporting newspaper. Two papers, called "The Gazetteer" and the "Middlesex Chronicle," had given deep offence to Colonel Onslow. They had not only dared to print a motion he had made, and his speech in support of it, but had dared, in commenting thereon, to call him "a little scoundrel," and "little cocking George." Onslow complained to the House of Commons of these papers, and upon his motion copies of them were produced and read, and the offence being proved, their printers—R. Thompson and J. Wheble—were ordered to attend the House. Messengers were sent to serve the orders upon them, but they were nowhere to be found, and then the House addressed the king that he would issue his royal proclamation for their apprehension. Subsequently another printer, named Evans, was ordered to attend the House, but he kept himself concealed. But Onslow was not to be thwarted in the rash step he had taken. On the 12th of March he resolved to bring this matter to an issue. On that day he said he should only "bring three brace of printers before the House for printing the debates;" others were reserved for a future occasion. But this wholesale proceeding was resisted by motions for adjournment and amendments, which protracted the debates till five o'clock in the morning. For there were members in the House who thought that the public were entitled to know what was passing in the House. And among these no one was more conspicuous than Burke, who nobly contended that the privilege enjoyed by constituents of knowing what was said and done by their representatives was founded on the true principles of the constitution. In his battle for the people's rights, Burke wielded the powerful weapon of sarcasm. On this occasion the king and his good city of London came again into collision. King George—to his honour be it recorded—at all times wished his subjects to possess Bibles, but he had no desire they should spend their time in reading the debates in parliament. On the first complaint of Onslow, he had written to Lord North, asking him if the House of Lords would not be the better court to bring the "miscreants" before; inasmuch as their lordships could fine and imprison them, and their shoulders could well support the odium of so salutary a measure. Now, when the plot had thickened, his majesty writes to his minister thus: "If the lord mayor and Oliver be not committed, the authority of the House of Commons is annihilated." It will be observed that the king omits the name of Wilkes, and it would appear that he had discovered the demagogue was too dangerous a person to meddle with. He would have nothing more to do, he said, "with that devil Wilkes." His majesty's wrath, therefore, was to fall upon Brass Crossby, Esq., lord mayor, and Oliver, alderman of the city of London, for espousing the cause of the printers. Crossby was first ordered to attend in his place, and he obeyed the summons. He came down to the House in the midst of huzzas which pierced its walls. Having defended his conduct he desired to go home to his chamber, and was then permitted. But he had not escaped punishment. A few days later Crossby came down to the House again, this time being accompanied by Alderman Oliver. It was proposed that they should be committed to the Tower, and during the debate a mob was collected round the House, which the magistrates of Westminster were called upon to disperse. Being still unwell, the lord mayor was again permitted to withdraw, having first stated he should submit himself to whatever the House should do. His return to the Mansion House was a perfect ovation, for the populace took his horses from his coach, and with shouts that rent the air drew him thither in triumph. The debate still proceeded, but it was throughout clear, although the culprits were supported by many members in the House, what would be the result. Oliver himself knew what the House would do. On being asked by the Speaker what he had to urge in his defence, he remarked, that he knew his punishment was determined upon, and that he should say nothing, either in his own defence or that of the city of London. He added, "Do what you please. I defy you!" Oliver was committed to the Tower on the 27th of March, and on the same evening the lord mayor came down again to the House. He came through the midst of a tumultuous mob, who cheered him in his route. But not so was Lord North received by the people. His chariot was broken to pieces, and but for the interference of Sir William Meredith, his life would have been sacrificed. The lord mayor was now committed to the Tower.

Before the close of the session the earl of Chatham moved for an address to the king to dissolve the present parliament at the end of the session, and to call a new one with all convenient dispatch. In his speech on this occasion he told the peers some wholesome truths on various matters, but especially on the subject of the publication of parliamentary proceedings. The recent policy of the government, he said, had justly alarmed the nation, and made them attentive to the operations in parliament. And where, he asked, was the injury, if members acted upon honest principles? He held it to be monstrous for a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published. The practice of locking their doors was sufficient to open the eyes of the blind to the fact that all was not right within. And they not only did this: they were attempting to destroy the liberty of the press. Chatham defended the resistance of the printers, and warmly eulogised the city magistrates for espousing their cause. They had done only their duty, he asserted, in having defended the printers and protected the laws and the city franchises. It was the Commons he blamed in the matter. They had acted with outrageous violence in committing the lord mayor of London to the Tower for not violating his oath; and had voted criminal the most sacred obligation of morality and religion, because it happened to stand in competition with their assumed privileges. As regards the principles which Chatham enunciated in advocating the publication of the debates in parliament, it was some years before they were completely recognized; but there can be no doubt that his voice, coupled with the triumph of the "miscreant" printers of 1771, paved the way for "that wonderful system of reporting which has rendered the newspaper press of this country the clearest mirror of the aggregate thought of a reflecting people."

The session closed on the 8th of May. As the power under which the privilege of committal is exercised is suspended by a prorogation, the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver were released from the Tower; and in the ensuing session the House wisely abstained from renewing the dispute with the city, and with equal wisdom from arresting or even threatening the printers and publishers of the debates. Ministers, indeed, began to see that they were treading on dangerous ground, as their proceedings were viewed with great jealousy by the nation. At the same time, at the close of the session, by the adhesion of the Grenville party, they had nothing to fear from an opposition in parliament. And during the recess they were further strengthened by the return of the duke of Grafton to power as lord privy seal—an event which called forth the atrabilarious bile of Junius, who had boasted that his pen had sent him into the shades of political oblivion.

During the recess, the citizens of London, inflamed by the imprisonment of the lord mayor, drew up another strong petition and remonstrance. And they now had another grievance of which to complain. In the course of the late session a bill was passed for enclosing and embanking a part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham Yard, or that site on which the pile of buildings called the Adelphi now stands. The right of government to the possession of this site was disputed by the City, but without avail; the bill passed, whether right or wrong. The petition now presented, therefore, complained of the wicked proceedings of the House of Commons in imprisoning the city magistrates and members, and of the invasion of the property belonging to the corporation. The petition concluded by a prayer that his majesty would dissolve parliament, and dismiss his despotic ministers from his councils; but their remonstrance and prayer were alike unheeded.

At the commencement of the year 1772 Britain was in a state of political repose. The storm of strife, which had so long disturbed that repose, was hushed to peace. Parliament met on the 21st of January, and there was no topic in the king's speech which gave rise to a debate. Addresses were carried *nem. con.* in both Houses. The first debate of consequence in the House took place on the 29th of January. At this time Russia was carrying on a maritime war with Turkey, and France began to manifest hostility in the East and West Indies. Government, therefore, called for an augmentation of our naval force, as a safeguard against these contingencies. It was moved that twenty-five thousand men should be added to the navy; and after some resistance, in which it was urged that ministers, or the lords of the admiralty, wanted more patronage, the motion was carried without a division.

Early in the session a royal message was brought down to both Houses of Parliament, requiring them to pass a law which should, to a certain extent, place all matrimonial alliances of the royal family under the sovereign. The Marriage Act of 1753 required that a marriage should either be preceded by the publication of banns in the parish church where the ceremony was to take place; or that, if a licence was obtained for a minor, or minors, it should be with the full and free consent of either parents or guardians. Special licences might still be granted by the archbishop of the diocese, as heretofore. This Act, however, especially exempted members of the royal family from its operations, for George II. declared he would not have his family laid under such restraints. They were therefore free to marry where and whom they pleased. The dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester had married beyond the pale of royalty, and George III. naturally concluded that what his brothers had done, at some future day his own sons might do. Acting upon this conclusion, therefore, he called upon parliament to provide a remedial measure. The Lords and Commons were called upon to make "a provision effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty George II.—other than the issue of princesses who have married or may marry into foreign families—from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, or successors, first had and obtained." A bill to that effect was presented next day to the House of Lords. The bill also provided that if any such descendants of George II., being above the age of twenty-five, should persist in a resolution to marry, and the king's consent being refused, then he or she might give notice to the privy council, and might within twelve months after such notice contract marriage, unless both Houses of Parliament, before the expiration of that time, should expressly declare their disapprobation of such marriage. George III. himself had in early youth nearly committed a similar error to that of his brothers, and if his queen had died, he might, for all this bill contained, have raised his first love, or even the meanest of the human race, to be the partner of his throne. All that the bill empowered him to do, was to interdict any person in the line of succession to the crown—taking George II. as the common stock—from marrying before the age of twenty-five. The sole purpose of the bill seems to have been to exalt the royal prerogative and to degrade the law of nature. And yet it was in vain that in both Houses arguments founded upon reason and morality were urged against this iniquitous measure. A servile and corrupt parliament, which had ever been ready to obey "a stubborn, bigoted, and selfish will, which would not be, thwarted," gave their sanction to this Royal Marriage Bill, and it became, and still continues to be, the law of the land, the advancing legislation of recent times having never grappled with this delicate subject. But what has been the fruits of the measure in the family of George III. future pages will unhappily unfold. It was too true what was then said of it by one of its opponents, that it was "an Act for encouraging fornication and adultery in the descendants of George II." But it must be recorded, to the honour of the nation, that this Royal Marriage Act has never had its sanction. Both in its provisions and its results it ever has been, and ever will be, so long as it remains on our statute book, the scorn and derision of the people.

This Royal Marriage Act—this law out of the book of the royal families of the Teutonic race, and therefore foreign to England—was the chief business of this session. All other business was merely formal and ordinary. There were, however, some great questions mooted before its close, questions of an important and significant character. Among these was a debate on "Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles." During some months past a section of the clergy had held meetings in London for the purpose of procuring relief from what they considered to be a grievance—the being compelled to subscribe to these articles. They required the whole, or a part of them at least, to be abrogated. Soon after parliament met a petition was presented, which was signed by two hundred clergymen and some members of the learned professions, praying for relief; the clergy praying for it on the ground that they were entitled to freedom of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture; and the laity, that it was unjust to call upon them to subscribe the articles as a test of admission to university degrees in law and medicine. The learned professions had certainly greater reason to complain of the restriction than the clergy; for while the "Thirty-nine Articles" had much to do with divines, they had nothing whatever to do with lawyers and doctors. But although every argument was against the clerical, and every argument in favour of the lay petitioners, in the debate to which the petition gave rise, very little note was taken of the obvious distinction between the merits of the two classes of petitioners. At the same time, while the petition was denounced as the manifesto of the latitudinarian clergy, and as praying to overturn the Church of England, there was no attempt made to defend the propriety of requiring lawyers and doctors to qualify themselves by subscription. The House saw the difference, but was not disposed to afford relief to either party, for the petition was rejected by a large majority.

In the midst of his triumph over party, George III. was this year visited by other family anxieties beside those of the "low marriages" of his two brothers. In January a courier arrived from Denmark with the intelligence that his sister, the queen of Denmark, had been sent by her husband, Christian VII., to the castle of Kronberg. Caroline Matilda, queen of Denmark, was the youngest daughter of Frederick prince of Wales. She is represented as being very beautiful, and as possessing a sweet nature. Such a princess was worthy of a better husband than King Christian, who was both low in intellect and debased in morals. Proceedings were taken against the queen on the unfounded charge of conjugal infidelity. Happily for her, however, she had a brother on the British throne, whose arm was to be dreaded, and whose power could preserve her from her enemies. The Danish court was compelled to give her up to the care of that brother, for after a captivity of four months she was received on board a British man-of-war, and conveyed to the castle of Zell, in Hanover, where she passed the remaining years of her unhappy life; and where, in 1775, on her dying bed, she made a solemn declaration before her Protestant pastor, M. Roques, that she had never been unfaithful to her husband.

At this time George III. wielded almost absolute power. The voice of opposition, save and except faint murmurs in the city, no longer troubled him. But while England was in a state of political repose, there were events of a grave character unfolding themselves, in which her future greatness was deeply concerned. In the new world, America, the portentous form of a confederated republic was becoming more and more visible; while in the old world, a plot against the independence of an ancient and gallant people had nearly reached maturity, thereby threatening the balance of power in Europe, in which Britain ever has had, and ever must have, a most momentous stake. This latter subject, although it forms no part of the history of England, first claims brief notice as bearing upon Britain's destinies; especially as her passive acquiescence in it has been censured as a fatal error of her policy at this period.

It was in this year that a great wrong was committed on Poland. That country had for some time been torn by civil wars, harassed by religious discord, and wasted by famine and the plague. It was in a helpless and almost hopeless condition; a condition, however, which might in a few years have been redeemed by the patriotism, the bravery, and intelligence of its people. But there were spoilers in the eastern hemisphere at this period who looked upon Poland as fair and legitimate prey. As an eagle from its height pounces upon the defenceless lamb in the fold, so did the powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, pounce upon defenceless Poland. By a definitive treaty signed on the 5th of August, nearly a third of the Polish territory was divided among these powers. Russia laid violent hands on the greater part of Lithuania; Austria on Galicia and portions of Podolia and Cracow; Prussia on Pomerania and the country of the Vistula; and thus this once powerful kingdom was dismembered.

During the summer of this year several changes occurred in the ministry, which had a tendency still further to strengthen Lord North's administration. North, indeed, seemed so firmly seated in power that he was courted by many who had opposed him. The waverers and time-servers especially were now ready to give him their willing support. And before the autumn session he regained the support of one who for a brief season had deserted his standard, one whose support he could ill-afford to lose. This was Charles Fox, the best of his debaters, and the most promising of all the orators in the House of Commons. From some cause which is not clearly known, Fox had early in the spring resigned the admiralty and commenced patriot. He began to lisp the words, "country," "liberty," "corruption," and others of a similar character in the patriot's vocabulary; but before he could pronounce them clearly he again changed sides. Fox was in need of money, and North, feeling the value of his services, restored him to the ministerial ranks as first lord of the treasury.

The British parliament reassembled on the 28th of November. At that time the partition of Poland was known to all the world. It might have been supposed that some allusion would have been made to it in the king's speech, but no word dropped on the subject. In truth, both the government and the people were strangely apathetic on that subject. "We behold;" said Burke, "the destruction of a great kingdom, with the consequent disarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, with as total an indifference and unconcern as we would read an account of the extermination of one horde of Tartars by another in the days of Ganghis Khan and Tamerlane." The topics of the king's speech chiefly related to the East India Company, the late bad harvest, the dearness of corn, and the propriety of doing something to relieve the suffering poor. The two Houses were equally silent in their addresses on the subject of the dismemberment and political annihilation of Poland. Burke only appears to have felt deeply concerning it, but his eloquence was reserved to a future period.

At the king's earnest desire, the first subject taken into consideration was the East India Company's affairs. Some time before this an arrangement had been made between the East India directors and the administration, by which the company were to hold the territorial revenues of India for five years, on condition that they paid 400,000*l.* annually into the exchequer. Since that time their resources had very materially failed. The princes of Leadenhall Street had suffered a reverse of fortune. In 1770 there had been a terrible famine in Bengal, in which it was said nearly one third of the inhabitants perished. This had so great an effect on the resources of the company, that during this year the company declared a deficiency of above one million pounds sterling. In their distress the merchant princes had recourse to the Bank of England. Loans were obtained to a large amount. These loans, however, served only a temporary purpose. At the risk therefore of provoking amore stringent inquiry into their affairs than had ever before been instituted, the company asked the aid of parliament. In the previous session leave had been given to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the company's officers and concerns in India, and it had reached a second reading, when it was laid aside. The debate had elicited certain charges against some members of the House and others that had acquired fortunes in India, which charges led to a committee of inquiry. That committee had not finished its task when the session closed; and on the reassembling of parliament, Lord North resuming the question, moved for a secret committee of thirteen members to examine certain points independently of that previously appointed. These thirteen members were men of business. In seven days they brought up a report recommending a bill to prevent the company from sending out certain supervisors whom it had selected to settle matters in India. This was what the company neither expected nor wanted. They asked only pecuniary assistance, not interference in the government of India. Not only was leave given to bring in the bill, but it was brought in, and passed both Houses before the Christmas recess. Thus the first step was taken towards the annexation of the Indian empire to the British crown, although many years elapsed before the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street were finally called upon to resign their power to the House of Hanover.

Before the Christmas recess it had formed a subject of complaint in parliament that the island of St. Vincent had been made a scene of iniquity and cruelty; that our troops had committed the most shocking barbarities upon the native Caribbs, who were represented as an innocent and defenceless people. At the same time it was said that our troops had been made to suffer more evils than they had inflicted on these harmless Indians. This was the first question taken into consideration when parliament reassembled in 1773. The island of St. Vincent had been ceded to Great Britain at the close of the Seven Years' War. At that time it was occupied by two tribes of savages, a few of whom only were the original possessors, the greater part being the offspring of some African negroes shipwrecked on the coast about a century before. No mention was made of these tribes when the island was ceded to Great Britain. Very little, indeed, appears to have been known concerning them, for they were scattered in huts over the country. On their refusal to remove, the planters submitted a plan to government for transporting the Caribbs from their fertile lands, whether they would or not. That plan was approved of, and two regiments were despatched from North America to carry it into execution. The Caribbs were a brave people, and boldly for a time resisted the aggression, but ultimately submitted to the sovereignty of King George, retaining their ancient customs and usages in their intercourse with each other, but ceding a large tract of valuable land to the crown as the price of peace granted them.

The chief business of the session related to the affairs of the East India Company. The objects of the inquiry were so various and of so great an extent that the committee appointed did not produce their report till April. In the meantime the company was pressing for money to save their sinking credit. A petition for aid was presented to parliament early in March, and Lord North moved a series of resolutions tending to establish the grant of a loan as a matter of necessary policy, but not as a claim of right and justice. An Act was passed by which 1,400,000*l.* was lent to the company, and the annual payment of 400,000*l.* was suspended. Certain terms were annexed to this loan, which the creditor imposed upon the debtor for their mutual welfare. Hitherto the company's dividends had been of the most lavish character, but it was now restricted to six per cent. until the loan should be repaid. In order to enable the company to repay the loan, another Act was passed giving them permission to export teas to any of the British plantations in America, with a drawback of the duty payable in Britain. At this time the directors had in their warehouses seventeen million pounds of tea for which they wanted a market, and the concession was accepted by them as a great boon. But it was fraught with fatal consequences which no one foresaw. The colonial tax of threepence in the pound was to be paid in the American ports, which tax soon led to war.

In the course of this session several heavy charges were brought against some of the servants of the East India Company. Lord Clive himself was not excepted. For it does appear that although in his last sojourn in India he had been a stern reformer of abuses, he had during his two previous visits to India made a princely fortune, which laid him open to censure. He had, it was said, received the large sum of 234,000*l.* as private donations; but, in opposition to Lord North, a vote of censure for thus abusing the powers with which he had been intrusted was negatived. Whether the charge was true or false, the odium it brought upon his character so deeply affected his mind that he fell into a state of despondency, and finally put a period to his own existence.

The other business of this session, which Burke called "a tedious session," was of no great moment. Among the first measures was the renewal of the provision bills to alleviate the distresses of the poor, in consequence of the bad harvest of 1772 in England, and the general scarcity of corn throughout Europe. The subject of "Subscriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles" was again brought forward, and was this time, as regards the Protestant dissenters, favoured by Lord North; but though a bill for their relief passed the Commons, it was again rejected by the Lords. It is singular that on this occasion the Wesleyans, who were dissenters themselves, made common cause with the Church, and denounced by petitions any change or innovation in the Act of Toleration as dangerous. In the Lords, Drummond, archbishop of York, laid himself open to a cutting reproof from the lips of Chatham, by calling dissenting ministers "men of close ambition." "Whoever brought such a charge against them," replied Chatham, "defamed them. The dissenting ministers are represented as men of close ambition. They are so in some respects. Their ambition is to keep close to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals; and to the doctrine of the inspired apostles, not to the decrees of interested and aspiring bishops. They contend for a spiritual creed and a spiritual worship; we have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." But neither argument nor sarcasm could prevail on this subject, the age not being sufficiently enlightened to pass such a measure as this Act of Toleration.

At this time, far away across the Atlantic, there were now outward and visible signs of "rank rebellion." The breach between Britain and her American colonies, which had every year been widening, was now rapidly advancing to an open rupture. It was the fixed determination of George III. to compel the submission of his American subjects. And in this instance, unhappily, the obstinate pride of the British people coincided with that of their sovereign. The temper of the king and the people of Britain was well known to the colonists, and therefore every step taken by the British government was viewed with the utmost jealousy. It would not now have mattered if those steps had been really taken for the welfare of the colonists. They would have been regarded with a jaundiced eye and rejected. The breach had become too wide for any healing measure to prevent the coming catastrophe. No such measure, however, was proposed. It was henceforth to be all coercion, and no conciliation. As agent of the king, who was the sole director of the policy of the government, Lord North very readily undertook to reduce the Americans to full and complete subjection to the rule of King George. All his measures were designed to that end. The breach between Britain and her colonies was now widened by an attempt on the part of Lord North to take the payment of the colonial judges out of the hands of the provincial assemblies. This was a most unwise measure. It was regarded by the Americans as an attempt of the British government to impose its own arbitrary instruments upon them; in fact, to destroy the very essence of their charters and liberties, by making the judges and governors independent of the people, and dependent on the crown. Throughout the whole of the colonies, therefore, the assemblies resolved upon a stern resistance to such a measure. It was a mighty lever to help on the Revolution, although other aids were wanting to its consummation, and yet these aids were not long wanting. While the minds of the colonists were agitated on the subject of this new grievance—this fresh usurpation of their rights to legislate for themselves—communications arrived from Britain which set the whole country in commotion.

It would appear that the governor and lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts—Hutchinson and Oliver—had, during the recent events, corresponded as friends with Whately, the private secretary of Grenville, now only a private member of parliament. These letters were entirely free from reserve, but they were at the same time confidential. They were written as from a friend to a friend, and therefore sacred to friendship. These letters, however, by some means or other, which is to this day unexplained, came into the possession of Dr. Franklin, agent for Massachusetts in Britain. The letters of which he had become possessed avowed sentiments opposed to what the writers—Hutchinson and Oliver—considered the licentiousness of the colonists; and expressed opinions favourable to the assertion of its authority by the British government. There was matter enough in them to inflame the excited passions of the people; for they pronounced the colonists to be unfit for the same degree of liberty which was accorded to the people of the parent state, and advised the British government to put down the existing agitation by military force. Copies of the letters were disseminated over the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the far regions of the west. The effect was electrical: opposition to the British government in almost every quarter became as glaring as the sun in noonday.

In the midst of the commotion which these letters produced, on Sunday, the 28th of November, the ship Dartmouth, laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company, sailed into the harbour of Boston. The appearance of this ship was the signal for a tumultuous gathering. Consignees had previously been appointed by the company in Boston for the sale of their cargoes of tea, and they had been requested by a committee of the assembly not to sell them, but to send whatever vessels arrived with the taxed, and therefore obnoxious article, back to London. The agents of the company in Philadelphia had complied with a similar request, but those of Boston refused. In consequence of this, meetings had been held, in which it was resolved to resist the landing of the teas whenever they arrived. It was in this state of things that the good ship Dartmouth sailed into the harbour; but the Bostonians had prepared for extremities. Disguised as Mohawk Indians, and raising a war-whoop, a body of them rushed to the wharf where the ships lay alongside, took possession of them, broke open three hundred and forty tea chests, and emptied their contents into the sea. No other damage was done, nor was any violence offered to the ships' companies; and having thus got rid of the obnoxious article, the mob returned to their homes, well pleased at the mischief they had committed. But the moment of excitement was soon followed by trembling anxiety; for the Bostonians began to fear the loss of their charter, their property, and their trade. And well they might. The dispute was now no longer a mere matter of customs duties—for the question of taxation was virtually settled by this signal failure to enforce the law—but a question as to whether or no George III. was to remain sovereign over the American colonies.

When parliament met on the 13th of January, 1774, intelligence of these events had not arrived in Britain. In his speech the king represented the state of foreign affairs to be so quiescent, that the legislature would have but little to do except to attend to the improvement of domestic concerns, and the prosecution of measures connected with the revenue and commerce of the kingdom. But this pleasing dream soon passed away, and his majesty and his ministers soon awoke to dread realities.

Early in this session a bill was passed for rendering Grenville's Controverted Election Act perpetual. It was opposed by Lord North, but many of his friends forsook him on this occasion, and it was carried by a large majority. From this period controverted elections have been tried with the same solemnity as any other titles; whereas the nation had been "previously insulted by mock elections, and parliament filled with spurious representatives." This was the only domestic measure adopted during the session, for the Houses were soon called upon to enter into the great question of the coming period of peace or war with America.

In due time the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly, together with attested copies of the letters, were received by Dr. Franklin, who delivered them to Lord Dartmouth, who presented them to the king. It was his majesty's pleasure that they should be laid before the privy council, and a more ill-advised measure could hardly have been taken. It was a question for the king's responsible government, whose plain duty it was, after the disclosure which had taken place, to have dismissed the writers of those letters—Hutchinson and Oliver—from their posts. It was therefore a pitiful evasion of their duty to hand such an important matter over to the privy council, to be dealt with after the manner of a law-suit. For in such a manner it was dealt with before the council—the king being the prosecutor, and the Massachusetts Assembly and the American people and Franklin the defendants. Lawyers were engaged on both sides: Wedderburne, one of the law officers, being appointed for the crown, and Dunning, a celebrated opposition lawyer, retained for the Assembly. It was on the 29th of January that the privy council commenced sitting in judgment on the Bostonian petition, or rather on those who were connected with that petition. Franklin was there in person, as a culprit and as agent to the Assembly. Dunning ably and temperately conducted the cause of the colonists, but Wedderburne used the most virulent language in his personalities against Franklin. He concludes thus:—"Amidst tranquil events here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge.'

> 'Know, then, 'twas I:
> I forged the letter—I disposed the picture—
> I hated—I despised—and I destroy!'

I ask whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American." This violent language of Wedderburne did more harm than the publication of the letters; and the harm was increased by the conduct of the privy council, all of whom, except Lord North, laughed with exultation during the delivery of his oration, and who in the end reported the petition of the Assembly as "frivolous and vexatious." The petition was rejected, and two days after Franklin was dismissed from his office of deputy postmaster-general.

It was soon after the petition of the Boston Assembly was thus disposed of, that intelligence arrived in Britain of the refusal to admit the tea ships. This was considered a matter of such gravity that it was formally communicated to both Houses by a message from the crown. In reply to the king's message, an address was voted of the most loyal character. The king was assured that every exertion should be made to provide for the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies. But every step that was taken now only tended to make the colonists aim at independence. Hitherto it is generally acknowledged that the dispute might have been accommodated, and the colony reconciled, at least for a time, to the British dominion, but henceforth the breach became irreparable. In truth there was no attempt made at the healing thereof. One of the first steps taken to restore the obedience of the colonists to the crown was of the most fatal character that could have been taken. This was the introduction of a bill for closing the port of Boston, which, after a faint opposition, was carried through all its stages in as brief a time as the forms of parliament permitted, and which met with the ready assent of his majesty. This was a most arbitrary proceeding, inasmuch as it confounded the innocent with the guilty. By it the trade of Boston was annihilated, thus inflicting irreparable injury on the whole of its inhabitants and the surrounding country. Such a measure could only have been justified on a demand and refusal of the local authorities to make reparation; and as this demand was not made, or even thought of, it assumes the character of summary vengeance. Concurrently with the Boston Port Bill, Lord North introduced another measure "for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay." By a charter, granted by William III. to the colony of Massachusetts, the appointment of judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, belonged to the colonial council, and the council was elected, like the Assembly, by universal suffrage. The executive power, therefore, was in the hands of the democratic party, and the object of Lord North's bill for the better regulation of the government of Massachusetts was to take that power out of such hands and to vest it in those of King George and his appointed governor. The bill was carried by a large majority in the Commons; and when it was taken up to the Lords, though some few criticised it with severity, it met with their lordships' favour and passed into law. To qualify its severity, Rose Fuller moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the total repeal of the tea duty. But it was still to be all coercion and no concession. North contended that *no* act of lenity ought to attend their restrictive measures; and that to repeal the tea duty at this time would exhibit such a wavering policy as would defeat the good effect of the salutary measures which they were now adopting. Burke powerfully argued in favour of the repeal duty, and urged the House to leave the Americans as they anciently stood, free from taxation; but no arguments or entreaties could prevail. The motion was negatived. It was even followed by a third measure of restriction, a measure which Lord North argued was necessary to give effect to those by which it had been preceded. This was an "Act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned by any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, as for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England." This bill enacted that, during the next three years, the governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that colony, send him for trial to another colony, or to Great Britain, if it were thought no fair trial could be obtained in the colonies. North said that unless such a bill should pass into a law, the executive power would be unwilling to act, thinking they would not have a fair trial without it. But according to Lord North's statement on this occasion, the executive power was not now defenceless in Boston. The House of Assembly had petitioned for the recall of Hutchinson, and their prayer had been contemptuously rejected; but he now announced that Hutchinson had been removed, and that General Gage, the commander-in-chief in North America, had become his successor, and that four regiments had been ordered to Boston to support his authority. This measure was opposed with greater vehemence and better arguments than those which had preceded it. Colonel Barré warmly denounced it as unprecedented, unwarranted, and as fraught with misery and oppression to America, and with danger to Britain. North had said that the bill was not meant to screen guilt, but to protect innocence; Barré said that it stigmatised a whole people as persecutors of innocence, and as men incapable of doing justice. He warned ministers of the results of their restrictive measures, and earnestly entreated them not to urge them on to rebellion. But ministers were "like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear at the voice of the charmer." They would listen to no counsels, however wise and prudent, and this last Act, which Lord North said he had to propose in order to perfect his plan, passed into law.

During these debates Chatham had been absent from indisposition. But he had not been unconcerned at the measures which had been adopted.

An opportunity, however, was afforded him of uttering his sentiments on the 27th of May, on the third reading of a bill which was proposed "for the quartering and better regulating the troops in the colonies." On that day the dangers of his country called him forth from his retirement. Walpole says that his harangue was long and feeble; but there are passages in it worthy of his fame. The opening passage might have fallen from the lips of Demosthenes. "If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my lords, if the descendants of such characters spurn with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and despotism; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make when they are left to the free exercise of their own power." In his speech Chatham admitted that the conduct of the Americans, and the Bostonians in particular, was unwarrantable; but he contended, and that rightly, that the means adopted to bring them back were neither wise nor just. But there was no attempt made to restore peace in America by the law of kindness, for the bill which Chatham opposed was carried by a large majority. King George seems to have thought very much of majorities; for he wrote to Lord North expressing his belief that "nothing would be better calculated to bring the Americans to a due submission!" Nor was he singular in his belief, for there were many who conceived that the malcontents, numerous as they were in America, would be overawed by the voice of the British parliament.

Towards the close of the session a bill was brought into the House of Lords for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. The objects of this Bill were to secure to the inhabitants of that province the free exercise of their religion, and to the Roman Catholic clergy their rights, agreeably to the articles of capitulation at the time of the surrender of the province; to confirm the British laws, and a trial by jury in criminal cases; but in civil cases to restore the ancient French laws, and without a jury, as being more acceptable to the Canadians; to form a legislative council for all its affairs except taxation, which council should be appointed, and be removable by the crown; and to extend the limits of the province, which reaching far to the southward behind the other settlements, might be made to serve as a check upon them if necessary. This bill passed through the Lords without much difficulty, but in the Commons it encountered a storm of opposition. It was the most unpopular measure of the session, for although it passed both Houses by large majorities, out of doors the sentiments of the people coincided with those of the minority. The corporation of London, indeed, petitioned the king to refuse it, but their prayer was unheeded. It received the royal assent and warm approval on the 22nd of June, and on the same day his majesty prorogued parliament; first heartily commending the Lords and Commons for the measures they had adopted with reference to Massachusetts Bay, and assuring them that nothing on his part should be wanting to render those measures effectual.

It was now therefore to be "war to the knife," if the Americans did not submit to the king and his parliament. But if any one thought they would submit, it was a strange delusion. During the debate on the Boston Port Bill, Lord Mansfield thus urged the peers to adopt it: "Pass this Act, and you will have crossed the Rubicon." The Rubicon was now passed by the king and his government, but the passing of it led only to shame and confusion, not to victory.

The new governor of Massachusetts Bay, General Gage, arrived at Boston on the 13th of May. His appointment was not by any means offensive to the New Englanders, for he had lived amongst them, and had honourably executed the military authority with which he had been previously entrusted. While the mob, indeed, burnt Hutchinson in effigy, the council, magistrates, and others gave the new governor a hearty welcome. Under ordinary circumstances, no man could have been selected by the British government who would have been more acceptable to the people of New England as governor than General Gage. But he arrived in the harbour of Boston at a most unhappy hour. The Boston Port Bill had arrived before him, and when he came into the harbour the people were holding a meeting to discuss the act of the British legislature, which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world, and doomed their merchants and all those dependent upon them to utter ruin. There was but one feeling in that assembly. Resolutions were entered into by which they invited other colonies to co-operate with them, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the Act, which on the 1st of June was to make Boston a city of the dead, was repealed. In order to spread disaffection, copies of the Act having a black border were everywhere circulated. The effect was all that the New Englanders could have desired. In Virginia, Philadelphia, and throughout the whole of the provinces, there was not only the warmest sympathy displayed towards the Bostonians for the calamity that was about to fall upon them, but a stern resolution to support their cause. The Virginians especially became belligerent towards the British government. Simultaneously with Massachusetts itself, the colony of Virginia adopted a resolution that a general congress of delegates from the provinces should assemble to consider the state of affairs, which was an immense stride in the onward march of revolution. The Virginian Assembly, for its sympathy *with* and action *on* behalf of the Bostonians, was unceremoniously dissolved by Lord Dunmore the governor. But this only made the Virginians more resolute. Washington declared his readiness to raise a thousand men at his own charge, and lead them to Boston; and he was present at a meeting which adopted a petition to the king, beseeching him not to reduce his faithful subjects in America to desperation, and warning him that "from a sovereign there could be but one appeal."

Preparations were made to commemorate the 1st of June as an era in the struggle for freedom. It was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation, not only at Boston, but in Virginia, Philadelphia, and other provinces. But before that day arrived the people of Boston had made an advance in their conflict with the British government. They were too far committed to recede, and every step they took was calculated to provoke the hostility of the executive, and to engage the sympathy of their countrymen. The assembly met on the 26th of May, and an address was presented to the governor to appoint a day for a general fast, on account of the calamity which had befallen the province. This was of course refused, as General Gage could not comply without offending his majesty. Indeed, he treated the address as an insult, which in truth it was, and, alarmed at the spirit it manifested, he adjourned the Assembly. It was to reassemble on the 7th of June, not at Boston, but at Salem, in pursuance of the decree of the imperial parliament. Meanwhile, as the clock struck twelve on the 1st of June, the custom-house of Boston was shut up, and all lawful business ceased in its port. There was no tumult. The shops were closed and the church bells tolled dolefully as the people went up to the sanctuary to pray. Whether prayer was offered in sincerity and truth may be doubted, as men's passions were too much inflamed for calm devotion. These passions were signally displayed by the Assembly on reassembling at Salem on the day appointed. Their first act was to vote an address to the governor. But it was an address replete with bitter sarcasm. While affecting to congratulate him on his appointment, the House expressed a hope that his administration would present a happy contrast to that of his predecessor! Gage was stung to the quick by this sarcastic address; and when they proceeded to vote five hundred pounds towards the expenses of a general congress, and to prepare a manifesto condemning in the strongest language the conduct of the British government, the governor dissolved the Assembly, which never met again under the auspices of the British crown.

While things where in this state the time arrived for appointing the council according to the new law, namely, the law which took that power out of the hands of the democracy and vested it in those of the crown. But here again General Gage found himself in a maze of perplexity. Thirty-six members were nominated by him, but twenty-four friends of British connection only were willing to incur the odium of taking the necessary oaths, and the council therefore could not be constituted. Writs had been issued for a new Assembly to meet in October; but as there could be no council, Gage resolved that there should be no Assembly. A proclamation was issued recalling the writs; but the members had been already elected, and they voted the proclamation illegal. In default, indeed, of the governor's appearance to inaugurate the Assembly with the usual formalities, they declared themselves a provincial congress, and forthwith took upon themselves the management of the affairs of the province. And it was in vain that the governor denounced the Assembly and their acts as seditious and treasonable: his proclamation was treated with contempt, while the orders of the self-constituted convention were implicitly obeyed. All that they did was significant of coming events. Thus they provided for the receipt of taxes, settled all matters relating to the militia, named their generals—Pribble and Ward, who had seen some service in Canada—and deliberated upon the precise period for opposing or attacking the king's troops. Emissaries were also sent by them to Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, to request them to prepare their respective quotas so as to make up an army of twenty thousand men; and a committee was appointed to correspond with the Protestants of Canada, and especially those of the Presbyterian persuasion. Finally, they addressed a circular letter to all the dissenting ministers in New England, exhorting them to assist them from their pulpits in averting the slavery with which the country was threatened, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the happy union which existed throughout the colonies.

During the autumn of this year there was a general election. Parliament had more than a year to complete its septennial term, but it was dissolved in order to take the sense of the nation more fully concerning the affairs of America. Wilkes was again elected for Middlesex, and he was this time allowed to take his seat without opposition from government. He was this year raised to the pinnacle of his fame, for he was not only the acknowledged representative of Middlesex, but was chosen lord mayor of London, a proud position for a man whose chief merits were those of agitation.

The new parliament met on the 20th of November. The chief topic of the king's speech was the rebellious spirit displayed in America. It breathed the spirit of coercion. He was resolved, he said, to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of the legislature over all the dominions of his crown. He considered the maintenance of that authority essential to the dignity, safety, and welfare of the British empire; and while he acted upon those principles he was sure he should never fail to receive the support and assistance of both Lords and Commons. In this his majesty was not disappointed. Although in both Houses amendments were moved, addresses corresponding to his speech were carried by large majorities. Yet ministers, while they resolved to pursue coercive measures, made no extraordinary preparations for carrying out their resolve. They either underrated the strength of the Americans, or conceived that they would yet be brought back to obedience by the *voice* of parliament. The estimates were formed entirely upon a peace establishment. The army was continued as it had been, while the navy was actually reduced from twenty thousand to sixteen thousand men! It was felt that the conduct of ministers was in this respect irreconcilable with the speech from the throne, and vehement debates took place in both Houses on the subject; but it was contended that our navy establishment was all sufficient to overawe and reduce the colonies to obedience. Before they separated the Lords adopted one of the wisest resolutions they had done for some years, for by it they opened their doors not only to the members of the House of Commons but to strangers.

Parliament reassembled on the 20th of January, 1775. Important news had then recently arrived from America. As a measure of precaution, the king had issued a proclamation strictly prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores to America. As soon as this became known in the colonies, the people of Rhode Island seized upon forty cannon belonging to the crown, which had been mounted on batteries for the defence of the harbour; while those of New Hampshire surprised a small fort called "William and Mary," and carried off the ordnance, gunpowder, and other military stores. Mills were also errected for making gunpowder, and manufactories for making arms. If therefore ministers were impotent in execution, it was evident the Americans were earnestly and actively preparing for war.

On the reassembling of parliament, Chatham moved a resolution for withdrawing the troops from Boston; but though defeated by a majority of sixty-eight against eighteen, his voice was again heard on the 1st of February still more potently. This time he submitted to the House "A provisional bill for settling troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." Previous to bringing it forward, Chatham had submitted his plan to Franklin, who entered the House with the great orator to hear the debate. Chatham thought that his presence in the House would be of more service to America than his own, but neither was of any avail. It would seem, however, that Chatham did not expect his resolution to be adopted. As for Franklin, he had no desire for its adoption. What he chiefly desired was another brilliant speech from the veteran statesman, that government might be further embarrassed, and the resistance of the colonies further stimulated. The insults of Wedderburne were not erased from his memory. Although cultivating Chatham's friendship, and leading him to believe that the colonies were still loyal at heart to King George, and might be brought back to their allegiance by the great statesman's "Provisional Bill," he rejoiced to see the breach between the two countries become wider and wider as time progressed. And Chatham's exertions on this occasion to restore harmony between the mother country and her colonies had the effect Franklin desired. The introduction of his bill gave rise to the most vehement opposition on the part of the government. The earl of Sandwich, with his usual violence of language, moved that it should be at once rejected with the contempt it deserved. He could not believe, he said, that it was the production of a British peer. And seeing Franklin leaning on the bar of the House, he pointed him out as its author, and as one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known. He repudiated the idea of making any concessions to the American colonists, as it was well known that their one grand aim was absolute independence. The manner in which Chatham was treated by government called forth one of the bitterest rebukes that ever fell from his lips. In reply, after defending himself and the bill which he had introduced, he remarked:—"You well know that if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms; but sure I am, such are your well-known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such then being your precarious situation, who could wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you?" The language of Chatham on this memorable occasion was denounced as calculated to inflame the public mind both at home and in the colonies; and his bill was rejected. But it is evident that he had gained some converts to his idea of restoring harmony between Britain and her colonies, as on this occasion thirty-two peers voted on his side, against sixty-one on the side of the ministry. The rejection of the bill became a fine theme for animadversion out of doors to those adverse to the coercive policy of government. The corporation of London were in raptures with him for his humane design, and tendered him a vote of thanks for his exertions. As for Franklin, he denounced ministers as a set of madmen for rejecting it, although in heart he was well pleased with the result; feeling assured that, combined with the language of the debate *pro* and *con.*, his countrymen would more than ever be confirmed in their resolve to strike for independence.

It is difficult to understand the policy adopted by ministers towards the American colonies during the progress of this session. They seem to have been bewildered by the difficulties with which they had surrounded themselves. At one time they held the rod over the rebellious colonists, while at another time their language and their measures invited them to lay down their arms and receive the kiss of peace. On the very night Chatham's bill was rejected, the ministry declared that instead of recalling any, they would send out more troops to America. And in this temper they continued to act for some time. They would not hear anything by which they might be tempted to make any concession towards the aggrieved colonists. Various petitions were presented to the House of Commons without effect. Thus the humble petition of Franklin, Lee, and Bolland, which prayed that the petitioners might be examined at the bar in support of the demands made by the general congress at Philadelphia, was negatived on the ground that it would have the appearance of sanctioning the proceedings of the Congress. The voice of America was not even to be heard in the British legislature. The Americans were to be brought on their knees by means of the rod of power. And Lord North now conceived a notable plan for reducing them to submission: it was to starve them into subjection to the rule of King George. As though the fine country which they inhabited could not produce food enough and to spare for their sustenance, without having recourse to foreign countries and the sea, on the 10th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill for cutting off the commerce of New England, and their profitable fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. Lord North, however, was merciful enough to make provision in his bill, that all those who could obtain certificates from the governors of good and loyal conduct, and who would subscribe a test acknowledging the supremacy of the British parliament, should be excepted. This "great penal bill," as Burke called it, by which sentence was to be passed on the trade and sustenance of America, was warmly opposed in both Houses. It was denounced as confounding the innocent with the guilty; as the destruction of a trade which perhaps might never be recovered; and as an act of bitter cruelty, tending to starve whole provinces, and to irritate the Americans to withhold debts due to British merchants. Ministers supported the measure as a righteous retaliation. This iniquitous bill chiefly referred to New England; but it was followed by another of a similar character, which comprehended in its ban the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina, all now belligerent.

Having adopted such measures as these, it could hardly be expected that Lord North would, during this session at least, have altered his tone. Yet to the surprise of all parties he threw away the rod, and invited the Americans to return to their allegiance, and offered them "the kiss of peace." Perhaps Chatham's "Conciliatory Bill" had made some impression upon Lord North, which could not readily be effaced. Be that as it may, he had scarcely obtained the sanction of the legislature to his penal measures, than he proposed a resolution in the House of Commons, "that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the king and parliament, then it might be proper to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to impose any duties, tax, or assessment, except such only as might be expedient for the regulation of commerce." This was a very weak measure. The resolution was however adopted; but its results were an apt illustration of the well-known adage of "the mountain in labour."

If powerful argument could have arrested the headlong course of government, that honour would have belonged to Edmund Burke. Without any strong hopes of arresting that course, and perhaps chiefly by comparison to reflect censure on North's plan of conciliation, on the 22nd of March he proposed a series of conciliatory resolutions more comprehensive in terms than those of the minister, but of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham. Had, indeed, the minds of the members of the House of Commons been open to reason and conviction, the speech by which Burke introduced his resolutions must have led to their adoption. It was the great parliamentary display of the session, and fortunately it has survived the excitement of the day, and will enable future ages to appreciate the genius and patriotism of its author. Burke seems to have felt that it would be the last of many efforts to avoid the dismemberment of the empire, and therefore put forth all the strength of his powerful intellect to convince the legislature of the headlong course they were pursuing. His speech was a complete history of the colonial controversy, interspersed with the most eloquent and powerful appeals to his hearers to pause ere it was too late. One or two passages must suffice to illustrate his justly celebrated oration. In descanting on the energy of the American people he remarked:—"While we follow them into the north amongst mountains of ice, while we behold them penetrating the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay, while we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, they have pervaded the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of the poles; while some of them strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others pursue their gigantic toils on the shores of the Brazils. There is no climate that is not a witness of their labours. When I contemplate these things, when I know they owe little or nothing to any care of ours, but that they have arrived at this perfection through a wise and salutary neglect, I feel the pride of power and the presumption of wisdom die away within me, and I pardon everything to their spirit of liberty." Burke dwelt long and eloquently on the American love of freedom, unfolding the causes from whence that love arose. Among these was their distance from the seat of government. On this subject he remarked:—"Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and your subjects! This is a powerful principle in the natural constitution of things for weakening government, which no contrivance can prevent. Seas roll and months pass between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry your bolts to the remotest verges of the sea. But there a power stops that limits the arrogance of raging passion, and says, 'Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further.' Who are you that you should fret, and rage, and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than to all nations possessing extensive empire, and it happens in all the forms in which empire can be thrown." The resolutions of Burke had for their one sole object the preservation of our trade and empire in America by the grand medium of conciliation, but they were not seriously considered. They were combated by ministers with heat and passion, and the House in the same temper rejected them. Burke appealed to the public by printing his speech, and it was read and admired but soon forgotten. On the other hand Dr. Samuel Johnson wielded his pen in defence of American taxation, and his high-sounding and sonorous periods had a great effect on the public mind, which was predisposed to admit his arguments. For on this subject the voice of the people loudly echoed that of the king and his cabinet and the legislature. Measures of retaliation were far more agreeable to the temper of the people and the government than conciliation; and so the session closed on the 26th of May with the doors of the temple of Janus wide unfolded. His majesty, however, in expressing his satisfaction at the course which had been pursued, augured the happiest results from the measures which had been adopted.

While parliament was deliberating on the course to be pursued by the colonies, Dr. Franklin left Britain, having first put a protest into the hands of Lord Dartmouth against the measures which the legislature was adopting. To Burke he professed his regret at the consequences which he anticipated would arise from the ministerial resolutions; but there can be no question that his chief motive for leaving Britain was to widen the breach between the mother country and her colonies. His presence and influence, however, were scarcely needed for that purpose when he landed in America. While the walls of the British Houses of Parliament were yet echoing with the oratory of its impassioned members, the hill sides of America were reverberating with peals of musketry. It was in Massachusetts Bay that the banner of revolt was first unfolded, that the first scene of the bloody drama was enacted; and it was vaunted by the colonists as a discomfiture of the British arms, and the *skirmish* was termed "the glorious victory of Lexington." Its immediate effect was to diminish that deference which the colonists had hitherto given to the military predominance of the mother country. In a few days, indeed, Boston was blockaded by twenty thousand men, all eager to engage with King George's "lobsters."

While the Americans were thus in hostile array, the provincial Congress of America assembled at Water Town, about ten miles from Boston. Resolutions of a bolder character than ever were now passed by that assembly; and afterwards, when the general Congress assembled at Philadelphia, decrees were passed for raising an army, for the issue of a provisional paper currency, and to prohibit all dealings with the civil or military agents of Great Britain.

Contemporaneously with the decrees of Congress, military reinforcements arrived from Britain. There was now no alternative: it must be either rebellion or submission. The colonists were prepared for the former, but they spurned the latter. More than twenty thousand troops were now assembled round Boston. They were ill disciplined, but they had hearts of steel, and did not shrink from the contest. Nor did General Gage with his ten thousand well-disciplined British soldiers, led by officers of high reputation, now shrink from asserting the king's authority. Thus reinforced, Gage proclaimed martial law, at the same time offering an amnesty to all who should lay down their arms, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. This was the general's last proclamation. It was answered by the Americans drawing closer and closer round Boston. Very soon they swarmed on a rising ground, from the summit of which the whole of the town of Boston could be commanded within the range of cannon shot. It was Bunker's Hill; a hill which, as soon as General Gage was reinforced, his troops should have occupied. But he seems to have waited to see the result of his proclamation before he pushed his troops forward to that most important position. He discovered his error only when it was too late. On the 19th of June a strong detachment of the blockading force passed over Charlestown Neck unchallenged and unobserved, and took possession of that eminence. When Gage arose in the morning, there were the Yankees looking down upon him and his troops with the eye of proud defiance. Before daybreak they had defended their position by a formidable entrenchment and redoubt. Their very guns were fixed, and very soon were firing away on Boston Neck and the shipping. Gage saw his error, and sought to remedy it. A small battery was opened on the Americans from Copp's Hill in Boston, and a cannonade from a sloop of war which lay in the river; and after a severe and bloody contest the British troops obtained possession of Bunker's Hill, but the victory was purchased at a great cost. The contest proved that the "rebels" were not such a despicable rabble as had been represented, for the British lost above a thousand killed and wounded, of whom eighty-nine were officers, while the Americans scarcely suffered a third part of that loss. The affair made it sufficiently manifest that the king's troops had to encounter men as brave as themselves, led by officers not unskilled in the art of war.

It was immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill that Congress appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces. No fitter person could have been found in all the colonies. Washington had seen some active military service in his youth, for he had been engaged in the Canadian war; but having quitted the army, he for a time followed the profession of a land surveyor. Subsequently he married a lady of fortune, which enabled him to live at his ease. His time was chiefly employed in the cultivation of his estate and the ordinary pursuits of a gentleman. When, however, the rupture became inevitable between Britain and her colonies, when the sword had been drawn and blood had been shed, he did not hesitate to accept the post of honour and of danger which he was called upon to take. There may have been mingled with his patriotism some lurking feelings of ambition, but there he *was*, ready to obey the call of his country. At the time when he assumed the command of the army he was forty-three years of age, and therefore in the prime and vigour of life. He was known to be brave, and his countrymen were willing to give him credit for skill in the art of war. To accomplish the task which was before him, Washington had need of both these qualities in the highest degree. He commenced his career as commander-in-chief in the midst of the gravest difficulties. When he arrived at head-quarters in Cambridge, if he did not find the blockading army dismayed, he at least found them greatly discouraged by the result of the battle of Bunker's Hill. It was in no condition for further action at present. The greater part of the army was deficient in almost every military appointment. During the spring and summer he was occupied in collecting military stores, and in organizing and concentrating his forces. Entrenchments also were formed, and works erected to defend his lines from attack. In order to give consistency to his lines he greatly contracted them; the centre, including the reserve, being under his own command at Cambridge; the right being under Ward, resting on Roxburgh; and the left under Lee, near the Mystic river. The British troops were thus completely blockaded by land, while cruisers fitted out by Congress intercepted their military stores and supplies, thereby causing great distress among them. Yet nothing was done by General Gage to rescue his army from its perilous situation. At one time Washington made a demonstration for the purpose of drawing the enemy from his defences and offering him battle. His troops seized a height close to Charlestown Neck, but Gage was content to dislodge them by a cannonade from Bunker's Hill, and the year closed ingloriously; for while the British bands were daily playing "God save the King," the Americans in a true spirit of mockery responded by playing "Yankee Doodle." But before the year closed General Gage was recalled, and was succeeded in the command by Lord Howe.

Early in this year, whilst the provincials of Massachusetts and the British troops were contending for the mastery, a bold and successful attempt was made in another quarter by a band of Americans, which could only have been interpreted as a deliberate act of warfare. At the instigation of some leading men of Connecticut, forty volunteers set out to attack Fort Ticonderago, situate on a promontory near the junction of Lakes George and Champlain. It was an important post, for it was the key of communication between New York and Canada. That captured, the road to Canada would be opened, and the invasion of that country by the American militia greatly facilitated. On their route the volunteers were joined by Ethan Allen with a more numerous band, and by Benedict Arnold, a name which afterwards became famous and ultimately infamous. Arnold agreed to act under Allen, and they proceeded together towards Ticonderago. Ethan Allen was a stern Presbyterian, who was not ashamed to use any means, however questionable, in what he deemed to be a righteous cause. The captain of the fort was a friend of his, and leaving his men in an adjacent wood, he repaired to the fort, and asked his friend to lend him twenty soldiers to assist him in transporting some goods across the lake. His request was complied with, and Allen's next step was to make these soldiers drunk and incapable. There were still about forty soldiers with the captain, but Allen was not afraid of that number, especially as he had observed there was not a single sentry on duty. Drawing his men from the woods, therefore, he rushed to the fort on the morning of the 10th of May, and entering it undetected, demanded its surrender "In the name of the Great Jehovah and of Congress!" There was no alternative: the fort was captured with all its military stores and provisions. Crown Point Fort, also, was surprised by the same body of adventurers, and a sloop of war, the only remaining defence of this important position, was likewise seized without resistance.

At the time these daring acts were committed, Congress was expressing a desire for accommodation with the mother country. It was for them, therefore, now to determine whether they would avail themselves of the military advantages which were opened, or abide by the profession which they had hitherto maintained—that their armed resistance to the unjust laws by which the provinces were oppressed was consistent with their allegiance to the British crown and their union with the parent state. If the acts of Allen and Arnold were adopted, there was an end of the pretence: if not, then they ought to have been treated as rebels and pirates, as invaders of the territory of Great Britain. For the present, however, Congress took no decided action in the matter. But the breach was soon widened, and a gulf impassable to anything like conciliation was made, when Congress, listening to the advice of Arnold, sent an expedition to invade Canada. This was the most unjustifiable act of the American Congress at this critical period of their history, though done as a diversion in their own favour by embarrassing Britain. Partial success attended their arms at the commencement, for they captured Montreal, and kept possession of it for a short time, and afterwards laid siege to Quebec, endeavouring to take possession of the city after the manner of the brave General Wolfe, by scaling the heights of Abraham; but this attempt was an utter failure, and this unwise and unpolitic step of the colonists ended disastrously. As for General Carleton, whatever errors he may have been chargeable with when the invaders first touched the Canadian soil, he finally showed himself to be a brave soldier and skilful commander, by the preservation of Canada to the British crown.

Washington had hoped that the campaign in Canada might have compensated for the want of any important operation in Massachusetts. He received, therefore, the intelligence of its disastrous results with the deepest concern. He saw that the prospect of a diversion in Canada was desperate, if not hopeless. Nor were his own prospects at the close of the year greatly encouraging. His mercenary troops, having fulfilled their engagements, insisted on being paid off, that they might return to their homes. It was with difficulty that he induced the militia to remain even for a few days in camp, while others were being enlisted to supply their places. At the opening of the year 1776, indeed, he had but ten thousand men under his command to fight the great battle of independence against the power of Britain. But Washington was not left without hope. If his troops were but few in number and ill equipped, the insurrection had become more formidable than ever. The spirit of resistance everywhere existed. All the principal northern provinces had declared for the Congress, and had rejected the military propositions of the British government with scorn. In every quarter the Americans were sweeping away the king's governors. The great southern state of Virginia, once the most loyal of all the provinces, compelled Lord Dunmore to take refuge on board a man-of-war; and Governor Martin in North, and Lord William Campbell in South Carolina, were driven to the same extremity.

What had now become a real war in America caused great agitation in Britain. Public opinion found its expression in the usual form of addresses to the throne. For the most part these addresses urged a vigorous prosecution of coercive measures against rebellious subjects. As it has been observed, "the people rushed to the foot of the throne with addresses breathing the utmost contempt for those principles on which their own liberties were based." Still there were a few counter-petitions. Prominent among these were those of the cities of London and Bristol. The commercial interests of these cities were deeply involved in the maintenance of friendly relations with the American colonies, and therefore they prayed for conciliatory measures. Lord Mayor Wilkes once more showed himself antagonistic to the throne. Under his auspices an address was framed, justifying the resistance of the Americans on the principles of the British constitution, and repeating the annual demand for the dismissal of ministers. As this address purported to come from the livery of London, not from the citizens in their corporate capacity, the king refused to receive it on the throne. If presented at all, it was to be presented at a levee, where all addresses of unprivileged bodies were usually received. Wilkes was stung to the quick by this refusal, and resented it as a fresh indignity offered to the citizens of London. But, after all, the claim to present it to the king sitting on the throne, as an undoubted privilege, was withdrawn, and a more moderate address was agreed to by the common council, and was presented in accordance with ancient usage. And this time his majesty received it graciously. While the authority of the kingdom was resisted, he said, by a portion of his American subjects, he owed it to the rest of his people to continue to enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests would be asserted and maintained. The king, however, was evidently irritated at the tone of the counter-petitions which were presented to him, and by the opposition, faint as it was, to the measures which government adopted towards the American colonies. With a view of crushing all feeling of sympathy with the cause of the colonists, on the 23rd of August his majesty issued a proclamation for suppressing rebellion, preventing seditious correspondence, and forbidding assistance to the rebels. As lord mayor, Wilkes was ordered to have the proclamation read in the usual manner at the Royal Exchange, his lordship standing by with the corporate authorities in their robes of office. Wilkes, however, held the proclamation up to public contempt, by causing it to be read by the herald, attended only by the common crier, contrary to the common rules of decency and all precedent. But the good citizens of London were not all animated by the spirit of Wilkes. As fresh intelligence arrived from America from time to time, relating and confirming the determined hostility of the colonists, their loyalty grew warmer and warmer, until at length in the autumn it rose to fever heat. First came the news of the battle of Lexington, then of Bunker's Hill, and finally, the invasion of Canada, that most unjustifiable of all the acts of Congress; and the very liverymen of London, to the number of more than a thousand, signed an address of the most ultra loyal character.

Parliament met on the 26th of October. The chief topic of the king's speech was the revolt of the colonies. It was a speech from which no hope of conciliatory measures could be gathered. "Conciliation was to be cast to the winds." The whole strength of the military and naval power of England was to be put forth to crush the "desperate conspiracy." The Americans had now openly avowed their hostility and rebellion, and henceforth could only be treated as rebels. And his majesty entertained no doubt of the result of the exertions which were to be made to crush the rebellion. The spirit of the British nation was too high, he said, and the resources with which God had blessed her too numerous, to tamely give up so many colonies which she had planted with industry, nursed with tenderness, and protected and defended with a lavish expense of blood and treasure. The aim of the colonists to obtain independence was a dream, from which they must be awakened by the edge of the sword and the roar of England's artillery. Already, the king intimated, preparations had been made to put an end to the "rebellious war." The naval establishment had been increased, and the land forces augmented. But it is clear that neither his majesty nor his ministers thought that Britain could crush the rebellion single-handed, for he announced that he had implored the aid of other countries in this work, and that he had "received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance." This announcement, however, was not strictly correct. As of old, Hessians and Hanoverians were willing to receive British pay to fight for King George, but he was disappointed in some of his overtures to great powers. But if the king had not the hearty support of foreign potentates, that which parliament gave him was all that he could have desired. The address proposed by ministers was, as usual, a mere echo of the royal speech, and was carried in both Houses by overwhelming majorities. Amendments were moved, but to no purpose. In his speech the king had informed parliament that Hanoverian troops had been sent to garrison Port Mahon and Gibraltar, in order that British regiments defending those fortresses might proceed to America. During the debate this measure was loudly condemned by the opposition as dangerous to the safety of those fortresses. But the debate was chiefly remarkable for the conversion in the Upper House of some of the noble lords to the ranks of the opposition. And among these converts none was more conspicuous than that of the duke of Grafton, who held the office of privy seal. Grafton boldly condemned all the proceedings with regard to America for the last twelve months. He even charged his colleagues in office with gaining his countenance to what had been done by withholding information and misrepresenting facts. Grafton also declared that nothing but a total repeal of all the American Acts passed since 1763 could restore peace to America, or prevent the most fatal consequences to the mother country. Nor was Grafton less bold before the king. When he waited upon him to resign the privy seal, as a necessary consequence of voting with the minority, his majesty entered upon a discussion on this grave subject. Grafton writes in his memoirs: "He informed me that a large body of German troops were to join our forces, and appeared astonished when I earnestly answered, that he would find too late that twice that number would only increase the disgrace, and never effect his purpose." Grafton was succeeded as privy seal by Lord Dartmouth, and Lord George Sackville took his place as secretary of state. But what created most astonishment was that Lord Lyttleton—a wit and a profligate—should be called to the privy council, and appointed to the sinecure office of chief justice in eyre beyond Trent. At the opening of this session that nobleman had distinguished himself by the severity of his attacks upon the measures of government; but thus bought, he now agreed to support them.

Before parliament met, the king had said to Lord North, that as he was fighting the battle of the legislature, he had a right to expect almost unanimous support. Nor was he disappointed. Ministers were triumphant on every point. On the 1st of November the duke of Manchester moved: "That bringing into any part of the dominion of Great Britain the electoral troops of his majesty, or any other foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, is dangerous and unconstitutional." A similar resolution was moved in the Commons by Sir James Lowther. In both Houses the motions were rejected by what the king was pleased to call "handsome majorities;" so handsome, that he expressed a hope they would have the effect of shortening the debates. In truth, debate was now useless, for "the controversy had gone out of the region of argument into that of brute force." It was upon that conviction that ministers acted in the navy and land estimates for the ensuing year. The number of land and sea forces to be employed indicated great designs: twenty-eight thousand seamen, and fifty thousand men for the land service, being voted. And that they might be free to act against the American rebels, a bill was passed by a large majority for enabling the king to assemble the militia in case of rebellion at home.

Subsequent proceedings in parliament all tended to the same end. In the Lords the duke of Grafton on the 15th of November sought to delay the commencement of hostilities, by moving that ministers should lay before the House the exact number and state of the forces serving in America, and of the military force necessary to be sent against that country, together with the precise amount of the number of artillery, &c., required for the war. If Grafton's resolution had been assented to it would have had the effect of unveiling to the Americans what measures Britain was taking to subdue them, as well as the extent of her resources; and as this was not only contrary to the rules of office, but to every maxim of war and common sense, it was emphatically rejected.

Before the recess one circumstance occurred which somewhat damped the warlike ardour of some of the country gentlemen. In clamouring for war they had forgotten their pockets, and hence, when Lord North proposed to raise the land tax to four shillings in the pound, they were sensibly touched by the proposition. An amendment was moved that it should be three shillings instead of four, but North wanted the other shilling, and after considerable murmuring it was granted. It was an ungracious return for the support the country gentlemen had given to North's measures, but it appears to have been in part soon forgiven; for when, three days after, Burke moved for leave to bring in "a bill for composing the present troubles, and quieting the minds of his majesty's subjects in America," after a warm debate, in which all the old arguments on the subject were reproduced on both sides, the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and ten against one hundred and five. This, however, was a nearer division than had been customary, so that it may be presumed that some of the country gentlemen held their pockets in higher estimation than their opinions. But there were no signs of any extended defection among the supporters of government. On the contrary, when on the 20th of November Lord North brought in a Prohibitory Bill, forbidding all commerce with the thirteen American colonies, it was carried in all its severe enactments by one of his old "handsome majorities." It was in vain that Fox declaimed against it, as cutting off all hopes of future accommodation, and as calculated to ruin our manufactures. The bill passed by a majority of one hundred and twelve against sixteen only. In the House of Lords the bill caused one of the warmest debates of the session. Chatham was absent through sickness, but those who sided with him warmly opposed it. In doing so, however, they went beyond the bounds of truth. In the face of all matter of fact they contended that the Americans were not in a state of rebellion. They had taken up arms by necessity, and not by choice. They had been driven to it by violence, injustice, and oppression. This immoderate license of language brought down upon them a severe reproof from the lips of Lord Denbigh, who asserted that those who defended rebellion were little better than rebels themselves, there being no great difference between traitors and those who openly or covertly defended them. In the Upper House, however, it was Lord Mansfield whose voice proved most potent in hounding on the people to the extremities of war. On all occasions he was the consistent advocate of the coercive measures adopted by government. And previous to the third reading of the bill in the House of Lords the news of the invasion of Canada had arrived, which enabled him to make a bolder stand than ever against the arguments of the opposition. In the course of his speech he remarked: "If we do not get the better of America, America will get the better of us. They have begun to raise a navy; trade, if left free to them, will beget opulence, and enable them to hire ships from foreign powers. It is said the present war is only defensive on the part of America. Is the attack on Canada a defensive war? Is the prohibition of all trade and commerce with every part of the British dominions, and starving our sugar islands, acting on the defensive? No. Though these people never offended us, say they, we will distress them because it will be distressing Great Britain. Are we, in the midst of all outrages of hostility, of seizing our ships, entering our provinces at the head of numerous armies, and seizing our forts, to stand idle, because we are told this is an unjust war, and wait till the Americans have brought their arms to our very doors?" The House replied emphatically, "No!" for North's Prohibitory Bill passed the third reading without a division, and on the 23rd of December it received the royal assent.

Parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess on the 23rd of January, 1776. Its first important measure related to Ireland. There was in Dublin, as in London, great sympathy exhibited towards the Americans, and a corresponding opposition to the measures of government. In imitation of the city of London, the sheriffs and common council of the Irish capital had sent over a strong petition and remonstrance to the king. Petitions on this subject were of little moment; they were only presented to be laid aside as mere waste parchment. But if the common council could not disturb the repose of the British government, the Irish parliament could. That assembly in the previous autumn had displayed sympathy for the American cause, which greatly perplexed the ministry. They had not only rejected a money bill transmitted from England, upon the plea that it had been altered in council, but had shown still more unequivocal symptoms of a refractory spirit. Lord Harcourt, the lord-lieutenant, had proposed to the Commons to send four thousand men for the American service, and to accept in their stead an equal number of foreign Protestant troops: the charges of both were to be defrayed by the British government. The first of these propositions was reluctantly conceded, the second absolutely refused. These embarrassing matters were brought before the British parliament. On the 15th of February Mr. Thomas Townshend moved "That the earl of Harcourt, having made an offer of the public money without consulting the British House of Commons, had thereby been guilty of a breach of privilege." Ministers were not prepared to meet this motion. They were taken by surprise, and no two of them agreed in their mode of defence. One declared that the viceroy's message was misunderstood, that he only meant to say that his majesty would pay the foreign troops; while another contended that when the Irish establishment was increased, the king had engaged to pay twelve thousand troops in that country, except in case of rebellion in, or the invasion of England; and that the present demand not being within these exceptions, his majesty therefore should be absolved from his promise. It was clear from this unsatisfactory mode of defence that either the viceroy of Ireland or the king's ministers had committed a grave error; but as Lord Harcourt was popular on both sides of the House, he escaped censure by the result of the motion, for it was negatived without a division, and other motions on the same subject were equally unavailing.

Hopeless as the task was, opposition still continued to harass ministers with resolutions deprecatory of their American war measures. The dukes of Richmond and Grafton in the Lords, and Fox, Hartley, and Sawbridge, now lord mayor of London, all made attempts to make a breach in the ministerial policy, but to no purpose. The duke of Richmond's motion would, if it had been adopted, have turned aside the whole course of events. It was for an address not only to countermand all foreign troops, but to forego hostilities, a motion which was rejected by what Burke called "a vast and invincible majority." The motion had its origin in proceedings which had taken place in the House of Commons. On the 20th of February Lord North presented to that House copies of treaties between Great Britain and the duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the count of Hanau, for the hire of troops. These petty German princes had agreed to supply seventeen thousand troops for the American service, and Lord North indulged in a day-dream that in all probability this force would compel the Americans to agree to terms of submission, and perhaps without any further effusion of blood. North moved to refer these compacts to a committee, and in doing so expatiated on the fairness of the terms agreed upon between his majesty and these German princes, as well as the advantages of employing foreign troops. It was found, however, on the perusal of the copies of the treaties, that these German princes had made a hard bargain with the British government. This was not lost sight of by the opposition. It afforded a new theme for declamation, which, after the constant reiteration of old arguments on the American question, was perfectly refreshing to the orators, as it must be to all readers of the debates on this most momentous question. But all the weapons of argument, invective, and ridicule used in this debate were of no avail, as the question for referring the treaties to a committee was carried, like the motion of the duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, by "a vast and invincible majority." This was the one measure of the session after the recess, although parliament was not prorogued till the 23rd of May.

In his closing speech his majesty declared that no alteration had taken place, or was likely to do so, in his relations with foreign courts. And the secretary of state for foreign affairs expressed similar sentiments. While the British parliament was indulging in a wordy warfare, and authors and printers were using floods of ink on the American question, Washington had obtained his first triumph over the British forces. He had continued the blockade of Boston from July, 1775, to February, 1776, when he became tired of what he describes as "the irksomeness of his situation." During the winter both the British and American forces had undergone many miseries. The small-pox had broken out among the British troops, and the want of fresh provisions and of fuel made sickness and cold more fatal. Still Lord Howe had sufficient force, and was in a position at any moment to assume the offensive. He was favoured, also, by having his communications open to the sea. But Howe showed no disposition to attack the blockading force, and in February Washington, having received reinforcements, prepared for action; and he pressed the blockade so stringently that there was now no alternative for the British commander but to evacuate Boston. The embarkation lasted ten days, and it was effected without any molestation from the enemy. On the 17th of March the last British soldier "quitted the cradle of the revolution." Howe sailed with his troops to Halifax in Nova Scotia. Before they departed, the fortifications of Castle William were blown up, as they would have rendered all future attempts upon the town by sea impracticable. In the hurry of their departure, however, their barracks were left uninjured, and large stores of ammunition and several cannon, of which Washington was in want, were left behind. This was a grave blunder, and it was not the only one Howe committed. In sailing away, no cruiser was left off the harbour, to warn the ships expected from Britain that Boston was not in our possession; and the consequence was that after Washington had taken up his quarters in the town, several of our store-ships and transports fell into the hands of the Americans. It was a proud triumph for Washington and Congress.

While the British arms were successful in Canada in repelling the colonists who had invaded it, they suffered a signal reverse in the south. It has been seen that the governors of the two Carolinas—Lord Campbell and General Martin—had been compelled to take refuge on board the king's ships lying off the coast. They had hopes of seeing their respective provinces soon reduced to obedience; for it was known that a squadron of men-of-war, with a large body of land forces, were to be sent to reinstate them in their governments. Meanwhile Governor Martin was not idle. Recently a body of Highlanders had emigrated to his lost province of North Carolina, whose services he engaged, and to these he added another body of men, called "Regulators," who had long lived in a state of savage independence in that province, principally by the chase. Not partaking in the general feeling of the colonists, these two bodies were willing and even eager to fight for King George. They were commanded by Colonels MacLeod and MacDonald. Had the royal troops arrived in time these Highlanders and Regulators would have been valuable auxiliaries, for they were equally brave and warlike. But the royal troops were long in coming, and before they arrived they were surrounded by the provincial troops and militia, and were cut off almost to a man. No second attempt could be made to erect the royal standard in the Carolinas before the arrival of the royal troops, and then it was too late. It was in May that the British forces, under the command of General Clinton, reached Cape Fear. His orders were to endeavour by proclamations and other means to induce the Carolinas to return to their allegiance. If he found the royalists sufficiently numerous to take up arms, then he was to leave a part of his troops with them, and proceed with the remainder to New York to join General Howe. But Clinton found no signs of loyalty in the Carolinas. All the means he tried were of no avail. His proclamations were treated with the utmost contempt. Thus thwarted, General Clinton, in conjunction with Sir Robert Parker, whose squadron had conveyed his troops to those coasts, resolved to go beyond their commission. Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, was a town which supplied the two provinces with the munitions of war, and they resolved upon its capture or destruction. This was no easy task, but the attempt was made, and the British sustained a severe defeat. Burke has thus described this day of carnage:—"Whilst the continual thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the firmness of the bravest enemy, and damp the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort could not fail of calling for the respect of, as well as highly incommoding, the British seamen. In the midst of that dreadful roar of artillery they stuck with the greatest constancy and firmness to their guns, fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered severely, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, nor never did our marines, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springe of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner as to be most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still, with noble obstinacy, disdained to quit his duty; until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the commander, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness which has seldom been equalled, never exceeded." General Clinton having thus failed, sailed with his troops to New York to join General Howe; and all eyes were now turned towards the province of New York, which was regarded as the ground upon which the decisive struggle between Britain and the colonies would take place.

On the 15th of May Congress passed a vote recommending the various assemblies to abjure their allegiance to King George, and to establish provincial governments. Some of the assemblies hesitated to respond to this appeal, while in others a reactionary movement took place. But it was not so with the conventions of New York and Virginia. The men of the hot south especially instructed their delegates at Congress to propose an immediate declaration of independence. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, Lee, one of the Virginian delegates, moved a resolution that all political connection between the colonies and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be dissolved. A debate which lasted several days followed this proposition; but the resolution was carried, and the irrevocable decree of Congress, that henceforth America was free and independent, went forth to the world.

Having resolved upon a separation from the mother country, Congress appointed a committee to draw up a Declaration of Independence. The preparation of this famous manifesto was chiefly intrusted to Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson. Those patriots drew it up, and the committee gave it their sanction. The document concludes thus:—"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

The declaration was immediately promulgated throughout the newly-constituted union. It was issued as the unanimous act of Congress and of the whole American people. And now both sides made vigorous preparations for the impending struggle. It has been seen that when General Howe evacuated Boston he sailed for Halifax. Expecting that he would spread his sails for New York, Washington repaired with the main body of his army to that city. But although Howe was not there, Washington was convinced that New York would be the final resort of the British general. Many of its inhabitants were disaffected to the American cause, and therefore when Howe arrived he would find considerable support. To prevent the junction, therefore, of the king's troops and the loyal New Yorkists, Washington took possession of the city, where he threw up strong intrenchments, as well as on Long Island, in order to close the river Hudson against the British fleet. He was pressing forward the defences of the city when General Howe at length landed at Staten Island. Howe was joined on that island by Tryon, the expelled governor of New York, and a body of loyalists who had taken refuge with him in an armed vessel. Thither also came his brother, Admiral Howe, with military reinforcements; and after the defeat at Charleston, Sir Peter Parker with his squadron and General Clinton with the remnant of his little army. Altogether General Howe mustered thirty thousand men, British and foreign. Washington had about an equal number under his command; but it is represented that a fourth of them were on the sick list, and therefore unfit for action. Indeed Washington's situation does appear to have been one of extreme peril; but he was well supplied with artillery and military stores, and his confidence remained unshaken.

Upon his arrival off New York on the 12th of July, the first measures of Lord Howe were of a conciliatory nature. When Franklin was in Britain, his lordship had endeavoured to arrange with him some terms of accommodation. His interviews with the philosopher led to no satisfactory results, but at the same time they had been productive of mutual friendly feelings. No sooner, therefore, had the admiral entered the American waters, than he wrote to Franklin to bespeak his good offices. His letter did not reach the American patriot till after the Declaration of Independence, and the reply, though written in courteous terms, was a complete rebuff. So far from listening to offers of pardon and partial concessions, Franklin intimated that the Americans were more likely to demand reparation for injuries inflicted upon them in the assertion of their rights. Nor was Washington more inclined to listen to overtures from the British admiral than Franklin.

There was now no time to be lost, for it was now August, and the season for warfare would soon pass away. The main body of Washington's army was at New York, under his own immediate command. But there was a strong detachment at the western extremity of Long Island, nearly opposite to, and separated from New York by a channel about three quarters of a mile in breadth. This force, under the chief command of General Putnam, estimated by the British at ten thousand men, was strongly intrenched at Brooklyn. But before the British could reach the fortified lines and camp at Brooklyn, they had to pass through woods and defiles among hills which were well guarded by the American forces. It was necessary to clear away these obstacles before any attack could be made on New York. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd of August, General Howe commenced operations. A division of his army under General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis was sent over to Long Island to dislodge the enemy. The forces were about equal. Each army had its peculiar advantage—the Americans of position, the British of discipline. Some days were spent in skirmishing; but on the 27th, for the first time, the two nations met in battle in the open field. The conflict was severe, but it was soon determined. The disciplined valour of the British troops prevailed. The Virginians fought desperately, but the raw militia from the northern states recoiled from the impetuous attack of the royal troops. The Americans fled in confusion to their lines at Brooklyn. The battle of Brooklyn cost them dearly, for they lost upwards of three thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter were three generals of division—Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodball—and ten other field officers. The ardour of the British troops was such that they followed the fugitives to their intrenchments. It seems clear that, had they been permitted, they might easily have carried them; but General Howe, who had hastened to the ground soon after the action commenced, conceiving that the remnant of the force in Long Island must surrender to him at discretion, recalled his troops from the pursuit. That was a grave error. Washington, like Howe, had hastened to the field of battle, and finding that the lines of Brooklyn were not attacked, he determined on retreating to New York. While, therefore, the British were making approaches to the American lines on one side, Washington was smuggling his forces out on the other, and ferrying them over the East river to the city. His retreat was favoured by a fog, and it was effected with such order, secrecy, and silence, that the British were not aware of it till the rising sun showed them that the enemy had made their escape. Washington was even enabled to bring off all his military stores and some of his artillery. But although the American general had effected this masterly retreat, he was in no enviable position; for a superior and victorious force was in front of him, and the success of the British arms had encouraged the anti-revolutionists to make hostile demonstrations in favour of King George.

It was conceived by Lord Howe that this was a favourable moment to renew his pacific overtures. Accordingly he sent General Sullivan on parole with a verbal message to Congress, proposing a conference with some members of that body—not in their official capacity, which he could not recognize, but as American gentlemen representing the opinions of their countrymen, and willing to concert with him terms of pacification. Howe intimated that he and his brother had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America on terms mutually honourable and advantageous. When Congress received this message they were in a maze of perplexities. A letter had just been received by them from Washington of a most desponding character. Their prospects were gloomy, but they showed very little disposition to meet Lord Howe's advance. They could not imagine that he would have any proposals to make which they, having gone so far as they had, could accept. There were many in Congress disposed to reject the message altogether; but the moderate party, who were very nearly a majority, would not consent to its rejection. After much discussion, therefore, Howe's invitation was accepted. But the three members selected for the conference were not men from whom any good results could be expected. Franklin and Adams were notoriously committed to extreme measures, and although Rutledge was moderate in comparison with his colleagues, it could not be expected that even he would listen to Lord Howe's proposals with complacency. Each and all of them, indeed, had promoted the revolution, so that it was clear that the conference would be worse than useless. Nevertheless the trio met Lord Howe on Staten Island on the 11th of September. The interview was of some duration, but Howe spoke to men whose ears were deaf to the voice of the charmer. He was proudly informed that the united colonies could only treat for peace as free and independent states, and the conference proved bootless. The committee returned to Philadelphia.

Meanwhile General Howe had been engaged in surrounding Washington on all sides. After the conference on Staten Island his situation became critical. The British fleet was rapidly encircling York Island. Thus threatened, Washington evacuated New York, and transferred his head-quarters to Kingsbridge, close to the narrow channel which separated the island on the north from the main continent, or the New England provinces. If that road had been closed, as it might have been by a more active and skilful general than Howe was, Washington must have staked the whole fortune of the war on a single battle. And had he been left to his own will he would have fought that battle. New York island, he told his officers, was the ground on which the fate of America must be decided. And if every one of his troops had possessed his high courage, he might have gained the victory. But defeat had turned them for the moment into cowards. Are these the men, Washington exclaimed, in a half despairing tone, with whom I am to defend America? He might well ask that question. On the day following the transfer of his head-quarters to Kingsbridge, after a brief cannonading of New York from the Hudson, two divisions of the royal army, landing at different points, marched to the attack, and at their approach the Americans fled in wild confusion to a strong position in advance of Kingsbridge. New York once more fell into the possession of the troops of King George. And that was no trifling acquisition, for it not only enabled them to command the sea-board, but also to threaten the provinces of Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Nor were these the only advantages obtained by this signal success, for with the junction of Carleton by the passage of the Hudson, which was anticipated, they would have the entire command of the southern states. When the troops of King George entered New York there were great rejoicings among its citizens.

After the capture of New York, General Howe remained nearly a month without making a single movement. Washington was encamped on the heights of Haarlem, about nine miles from the city, and profiting by Howe's inactivity, he spent his time in rendering his position more secure. His lines and works ran right across York Island, the strongest being at Kingsbridge and Fort Washington. At length Howe marched up York Island with the main body of his army in front of Washington's lines, his own extending across the island, and being covered on either flank by the British ships. While thus situated, on the 16th of September there was some skirmishing in the plain that lay between the two armies, which resulted in favour of the British. Their uniform success by this time had a depressing effect upon Washington's troops. Desertions were frequent, and as the time approached when their period of service would expire, Washington conceived that he would soon be left without an army. He saw plainly, that if Congress did not establish a standing army, the cause of independence would be lost. These "sons of liberty" were not high-souled patriots. They did not like fighting for their country without pay or reward. Both officers and soldiers were daily quitting his camp, some joining the royal army for English gold, and others retiring to their homes. Washington's army was melting away like snow before the sun, but at his urgent request Congress stayed the progress of its dissolution. They outbade King George! Those troops, officers and soldiers, who engaged to serve during the war, were not only to receive high bounties and good pay, but portions of land whereon they might live at their ease at its close. This was deemed worth fighting for, and Washington thus kept his army together. Howe was therefore compelled to exert himself for victory. As he could not tempt the Americans to come down into the plains to offer battle, he conceived that he should be able to force them to an engagement by menacing their communications with the main land. To this end a large body of troops were conveyed to a small island close to the main land in the rear of the Americans, while some of the ships moved higher up the North river, so as to cut off any retreat to the Jerseys. It was at this point of the campaign when the only road open to escape was one leading to the New England provinces, and there Washington desired to decide the fate of America by a pitched battle. That desire was overruled in a council of war, in which it was resolved to break up their camp and remove further up the country to White Plains. Although harassed in their retreat by the British, the American army was enabled to take up a strong position on the edge of those plains, its line extending about twelve miles on a ridge of hills, and having the deep river Baunx in its front. While thus posted, there was a serious skirmish between the two armies, but Howe made no serious attempt to dislodge the enemy from his intrenchments. Washington was astonished that Howe did not attempt it, as he knew that the British forces were far superior to his own in numbers, discipline, and courage. But Howe appears to have been deterred from attacking the enemy by the apparent strength of his lines. Making a retrograde movement, however, he undertook an enterprise of considerable importance. This was the capture of Fort Washington, in which three thousand troops had been left by the American general, in the hope of securing that position, even though he retreated or was beaten. That fort was taken by storm, after a gallant resistance, and those of the garrison who were not slain, with a large quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the British. But this victory was dearly won, for Howe lost eight hundred men in killed and wounded. Immediately after this success Lord Cornwallis crossed the North river and captured Fort Lee, which was nearly opposite Fort Washington. These were blows from which the American general recoiled. He had fallen back to a strong position beyond the Croton river, but he again broke up his camp, and crossing the Delaware, entered the Pennsylvania territory. In his retreat he was followed by Lord Cornwallis, who, however, only caught sight of the enemy as his last boats were crossing the river. It was then mid-winter, and Cornwallis put his division of the royal army into winter quarters between the Delaware and the Hakensack. After crossing the Delaware, Washington's force lost all appearance of an army. Yet before the campaign closed he was enabled to succeed in an enterprise which ultimately changed the fortune of the war. Opposite his headquarters there was a chain of posts having the town of Trenton for its centre, and extending along the banks of the Delaware. This position was left in charge of Hessian mercenaries. No outworks had been thrown up for its defence, and tempted by the negligence displayed, Washington resolved to send a strong detachment across the river, under cover of the night, to surprise Trenton. The officer selected for this enterprise was Arnold, the hero of the Canadian expedition, who had escaped the vigilance of General Carleton, and had just arrived at Washington's camp. Arnold's enterprise was completely successful. On the night of Christmas day he crossed the Delaware with two thousand four hundred men and artillery, and early on the morning of the 26th of December advanced upon Trenton in the midst of a driving storm of snow and hail, and after a brief resistance captured the whole garrison, with the loss of two men only. Nine hundred prisoners were taken across the Delaware and sent to Philadelphia.

This exploit was followed by another equally brilliant—that of the capture of Princeton, with eight hundred British troops. These two triumphs had an electrical effect, and roused the slumbering energies of Congress and the army; and among other patriotic measures adopted, agents were sent to all the principal courts of Europe, to solicit their friendship for the United States.

The chief agents chosen for this mission were Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee. The alliance of France, that ancient rival of Britain, was especially to be sought. And, too fatal for herself, it was eventually found.

The British parliament assembled on the of 31st October. At that time intelligence had arrived of the victory at Brooklyn and the occupation of New York by the British forces. It was known also that the Americans had been driven out of Canada. There were great rejoicings throughout the country over these successive victories. As was natural, these events formed the principal topics of the royal speech. His majesty expressed a hope that they would be accompanied by the most decisive consequences. But he was not over sanguine. He confessed he could not announce that the troubles in the American colonies were at an end. On the contrary, he said, the American leaders had boldly repudiated all allegiance to his crown, and all political connection with Britain. Nay more, they had rejected the means of conciliation held out to them with contumely, and had presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. Accordingly, he called upon his parliament to prepare for another campaign to root out their treason, lest it should become dangerous to those colonies still loyal to his crown, as well as to the commerce of his kingdom and to the peace of Europe. And his majesty not only recommended preparations for continuing the war in America. Although he declared that he continued to receive amicable assurances from all the courts of Europe, he nevertheless urged upon them, "in the present state of affairs," to put the country in a state of respectable defence for its security. In a word, he hoped his faithful Commons would grant such supplies as would enable him to maintain the honour of his crown, vindicate the just rights of parliament, and preserve the public welfare.

In his speech the king remarked that one great advantage would be derived from the open avowal of the American leaders that their object was independence—there would be unanimity at home founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of the measures to be pursued. But there was not that unanimity which his majesty augured as the result of the declared hostility of the American rebels to the British crown. The addresses, which were moved in the usual form, produced long and warm debates. The Whigs still continued to protest against the American policy of the government. A few days after the addresses were presented, a copy of a declaration addressed to the people of America, after the capture of New York, appeared in the public prints. That declaration set forth that his majesty had been graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all Acts by which his American subjects might think themselves aggrieved. Lord John Cavendish brought this declaration before parliament. He affected to consider it a forgery, and when Lord North acknowledged its genuineness, he expressed his astonishment that it should first come to their knowledge through the medium of a newspaper. It was treating the members of parliament as mere ciphers. But notwithstanding, he said, this ministerial insolence of conduct, he hailed the bare mention of reconciliation with joy. If ministers were serious he would not stand upon punctilios. He would rather aid them in their design, by securing to them that necessary degree of confidence which the sanction of parliament could alone give to any treaty of such a nature between his majesty and the American colonies. He moved, therefore, that the House should "resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all Acts of Parliament by which his majesty's subjects thought themselves aggrieved." Lord John must have known that such a motion could lead to no practical result. It was clearly made with a view to embarrass government. The declaration had been issued and rejected by the American people; of what use was it then for the British parliament to take up the matter? Yet the motion was supported by the fervid eloquence of Fox and Burke. If eloquence could have prevailed, the opposition would on this occasion have obtained an easy victory. The motion was opposed by Wedderburne, the solicitor-general, and Lord George Germaine, who were pigmies in oratory compared with Fox and Burke. Notwithstanding they gained the victory. The House then readily voted the army and navy estimates. The number of seamen voted was 45,000, and the naval supplies amounted to 3,205,505*l.*, exclusive of 4000*l.* towards the support of Greenwich Hospital, and 1,000,000*l.* granted at the close of the session for the discharge of the debts of the navy. The army estimates voted were about 3,000,000*l.*, exclusive of extras and some new contracts with German princes for more troops to serve in America. These supplies being granted, and the land and malt-tax bills having received the royal assent on the 13th of December, both Houses adjourned for the Christmas recess.

Parliament reassembled on the 21st of January, 1777. Business was resumed by the passing of a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and reprisal to privateers, against vessels belonging to the revolted colonies, which were now doing much mischief among our West India Islands, and even in the narrow seas of Europe. This bill passed the Commons without a debate, and was adopted by the Lords with equal readiness. But a bill proposed by Lord North for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, so far as regarded persons charged with high treason in North America, or piracy on the high seas, was not so fortunate. Dunning denounced it as a blow aimed at the great bulwark of British liberty. It gave rise to an animated and stormy debate, and the voice of opposition was so stern that Lord North found himself compelled to adopt two important amendments: one defining the crime of piracy, by declaring that nothing should be so deemed but acts of felony committed on the high seas on the ships or goods of his majesty's subjects; and the other providing, that nothing contained therein should be construed to the case of any other prisoners than such as had been out of the realm at the time the offence was committed, wherewith they should be charged or suspected. With these amendments the bill passed by a large majority.

During this session warm debates arose on abuses in the commissariat, in the chartering of transports, and in the contracts for supplying provisions and necessaries for the troops in America. Many members who invariably voted with the treasury bench had been allowed to obtain profitable contracts, which they had contrived to make still more profitable by unfair means. They had especially grown rich by supplying unwholesome provisions to the troops, which was loudly and justly condemned. A new demand made by the landgrave of Hesse for money also gave rise to a violent debate, in which the rapacity of the German princes was denounced, and ministers blamed for submitting to their demands. But Lord North's situation was rendered still more embarrassing by being compelled, for the second time during this reign, to ask the "faithful Commons" for an increase in the civil list to discharge a heavy debt incurred by his majesty. On this occasion the whole Rockingham party joined in the opposition. The measure was vehemently denounced by them, but at the same time they were courteous in their language towards the crown. As they hoped one day to return to power, they vented their wrath against the administration, and not against his majesty. They dared not touch the real point, lest they should give offence in a quarter where it would neither be forgotten nor forgiven. But there were other members in the House more independent than the Rockinghamites; men having nothing to lose or gain by the favour or displeasure of the king spoke their minds freely on this subject. Among these were Wilkes and Sawbridge. Sawbridge was even more outspoken than the king's old enemy, Wilkes. He boldly declared that the civil list had been employed in corrupting both Houses by means of pensions, bribes, and gratuities. His declaration was received with a storm of exclamations from members behind the treasury bench, and there was a loud cry that his words should be taken down; but he still adhered to them, and the matter was suffered to drop. Eventually his majesty's desire was granted. The sum of 618,300*l.* was voted to pay his debts, and the civil list was raised to

900,000*l.* per annum. In the Upper House the addition made to the civil list was opposed by the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Grafton, but it was to no purpose. Both Houses had a manifest interest in the grant, and the Lords therefore ratified the liberality of the Commons. But the subject did not end at this point. The bill was presented for the royal assent a few days afterwards in the House of Lords. On presenting a bill for the service of the crown it had been usual for the Speaker to address the throne in complimentary language; but on this occasion Sir Fletcher Norton departed from that custom. Standing at the bar of the Lords, he addressed his majesty thus: "In a time, sire, of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful Commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your majesty's highest expense; but all this they have done in the well-grounded confidence that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally." The king was little pleased with the Speaker's plain language, and the whole tribe of courtiers were highly indignant. As the language, however, was founded in strict truth, on the return of the Speaker the House voted him thanks in the usual form.

The affairs of America were the all-absorbing topics of the session. Towards its close, Chatham, after a long absence caused by a return of the malady which had afflicted him ten years before, reappeared in the House of Lords to renew his exertions to terminate the war. Two years had passed away since the famous orator had made his appearance in public, and his opinion on the subject of the American war remained unchanged. In itself he considered it a ruinous war; but what he dreaded most was that it would inevitably lead to a war with France. The policy of France, he conceived, was to see Britain more deeply engaged in the war with her colonies, giving them aid indirectly, and then to declare open war upon Britain. Under this impression, swathed in flannel and tottering on his crutch, Chatham returned to his seat in parliament, and moved for an address advising his majesty to take speedy measures for terminating the war with America, by a removal of their grievances. The motion was lost by a majority of nearly three to one, and on the next day his majesty wrote to Lord North:—"Lord Chatham's motion can have no other use but to convey some fresh fuel to the rebels."

Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of June. The Speaker, in presenting the bills relating to the supplies, expressed to his majesty that the House hoped speedy means would be discovered to terminate the war. The king himself was more than hopeful: he was sanguine that his authority would soon be re-established in his rebellious colonies. Having thanked the Commons for their zeal and public spirit in granting such large supplies—nearly thirteen millions—he said that he trusted Divine Providence would so bless his arms that the war might be ended in the present campaign; that the constitutional obedience to the laws, which is due from all the subjects of a free state, would be speedily re-established.

If the telegraphic cable had then been stretched across the Atlantic, the electric spark would soon have told a tale to the king and his parliament calculated to excite despair rather than hope. By the serious reverse our arms had sustained at Trenton and Princeton at the close of the last year, the prospect of a speedy and decisive result had been far removed; and events since that time had transpired calculated to remove that prospect to a remoter date. It is true Washington had sustained some reverses, but they were during the campaign of 1777 counterbalanced by successes. There was no military enterprise of importance undertaken on either side during the winter. Washington's head-quarters were at Morriston, a place situated among hills and difficult of access, having a fine country in its rear which abounded with supplies. Throughout the winter he was occupied in raising new levies. This was a work of some difficulty, not so much from the disposition of the inhabitants of the Jerseys, as from the scattered and scanty population.

But it was June before Howe took the field with the main body of his army, and Washington had then extended his lines along a chain of hills, having the Delaware and the Hudson in his rear. His army consisted of less than eight thousand men, but they were so disposed that Howe, with a greatly superior force, dared not venture to attack his position. In his front there were deep entrenchments and formidable batteries, which grinned defiance to the royal army. Howe endeavoured, by a feint, to draw Washington from his position. Various expedients were tried and failed; but at length, on the 19th of June, Howe ordered his main body to retire to Amboy, and then Washington abandoned what had caused him so much trouble to create, and advanced to Quibble Town. He had nearly paid dear for his temerity. The British troops were moved rapidly back, in the hope of being able to attack the American general on his flank and rear, and by intervening between him and the hills, to force him to a conflict on open ground. Washington, however, soon discovered his error. His advanced body being attacked by the van of the British under Lord Cornwallis, and routed, he regained his position on the hills, and was, while he remained there, safe. Thus baffled, Howe fell back upon Staten Island, from whence he had advanced ten months before, thus leaving Washington in full possession of the Jerseys. His troops, officers and men, wondered what his object was in thus retracing his steps. But they soon found that his object was to make an attempt on Philadelphia. Leaving Sir Henry Clinton with a strong corps at New York, Howe sailed with fourteen thousand men to Chesapeake Bay. He landed at the head of the Elk, about seventy miles distant from Philadelphia, about the middle of August. His voyage, undertaken at the hottest period of the year, and in crowded transports, had a serious effect on the health of his men. On landing they were worn out, and his horses had become useless. It was some weeks before he could venture to move forward. Meanwhile Washington had been wondering what the commander-in-chief of the British forces was about. The head-quarters which he had occupied at Brunswick were only sixty miles from Philadelphia, and yet he countermarched his army several hundred miles to convey it by sea to nearly the same point from whence he had started. It certainly was one of the most eccentric movements recorded in the history of military operations. Time was wasted by it, lives lost by sickness and disease, and expenses increased needlessly. Washington might well wonder; but when he discovered that Howe's intention was to capture Philadelphia, it was imperative upon him to defeat his design if possible. Accordingly he hastened to arrest the progress of the British forces, and as his own were now nearly equal in point of numbers, he resolved to hazard a battle. To that end he took up his position on some heights east of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delaware below Philadelphia. In order to obtain the great object of his campaign, it was necessary for Howe to force a passage over that river. Washington had made his position formidable. He had erected batteries and entrenched himself, while a range of woods was in the rear of his position. But notwithstanding Washington's formidable position, Howe resolved to force the passage of the Brandywine. The attempt was made with success. His army was moved forward in two divisions: one commanded by Lord Cornwallis, made a flank movement round the channel, which at a short distance from its mouth separated into two narrow streams or forks; and the other, under General Kinphausen, marched to Chad Ford full in front of the enemy. The Americans were therefore assailed in front and rear, and soon fell into confusion. They were defeated with the loss of about thirteen hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, but Washington was enabled to effect a retreat in good order with a portion of his army, and even to carry away the principal part of his baggage. He retired to Chester, about eight miles distant, where he passed the night unmolested, and on the next day he marched by Derby towards Philadelphia, still hoping to save the city. But he was again outflanked, and a fortnight after the battle of Brandywine Philadelphia fell into the hands of the British.

It was not till the end of November that the Delaware was opened, and then General Howe thought he had done enough in the campaign for the honour of Britain. He wanted repose, and resolved to enjoy himself in Philadelphia. But his active enemy was still near enough to disturb his repose. Having received a reinforcement from the north of four thousand men, Washington, who had again posted himself at Skippack Creek, advanced to White March, two miles nearer, or fourteen miles only from the city. Thus braved, Howe was compelled to make some fresh exertions, especially as his supplies were interfered with by the close proximity of the enemy. Accordingly he quitted Philadelphia and took post on Chesnut Hill, in front of Washington's right wing. His object was to tempt Washington to come to a general engagement, but it failed. Howe then removed to Edge Hill, opposite the left wing of Washington's army. At that point Lord Cornwallis obtained a decided advantage. He drove a body of the Americans from the crest of that hill; and a favourable opportunity was afforded, by the dismay occasioned by this movement, for attacking Washington's main army with success. But Howe acted with his old caution. Finding Washington was not disposed to quit his camp, he returned to Philadelphia to spend the winter.

In another quarter, however, the Americans had conquered. They had gained a great victory over the British forces. They had struck a blow at the royal cause for which the advantages gained by Howe at New York, Philadelphia, and on the Delaware, afforded no compensation. A blow had been struck which ultimately proved decisive of the war. It has been seen that the Americans had invaded Canada, and had been driven out with loss, and it may be said, shame. The invasion was ill concerted, ill supported, and therefore a signal failure. By his masterly operations Sir Guy Carleton had not only driven them out of Canada, but had captured Crown Point and Ticonderago, two forts—one situated at the base of Lake Champlain, and the other at the head of Lake George—of which the Americans had taken possession. Canada having been thus freed from the United States, it was resolved to invade the United States from Canada. But the hero Carleton, the man who had freed Canada from invasion, was not the commander chosen to invade the United States. Backstairs influence deprived him of the command in that country, and it was given to General Burgoyne. This was an unfortunate change in command at a critical period. Carleton was known to be a skilful general, but Burgoyne was not. He was sent to Canada as governor and commander-in-chief, in the place of the veteran Carleton. It was to Burgoyne that the ill-fated invasion of the United States was intrusted. His force amounted to more than seven thousand men, rank and file, exclusive of the corps of artillery. He was also supplied with vast quantities of warlike stores for the use of Canadian volunteers who might desire to enter the British service. More than two thousand French Canadians swelled his ranks, and several hundred Indians, desirous of avenging the blood of their brethren upon the Americans, willingly took up the hatchet to fight for King George. Burgoyne rested his troops for a few days at Skenesborough, and then pressed forward to Fort St. Edward.

Burgoyne's army reached Fort St. Edward on the 30th of July. He was detained there by the necessity of making provision for securing his supplies from Canada. His troops were almost on the point of starvation while they were stationed at Fort St. Edward. On the 15th of August they had only four days' provisions in store. Having heard that the enemy had established magazines at Bennington, about twenty-four miles eastward of the Hudson, he sent a detachment of Germans under Colonel Baum to surprise and seize them. This expedition failed. The whole country swarmed with enemies. Baum and Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who was sent with another detachment of Germans to his support, were overpowered and compelled to retreat, with the loss of nine hundred men. In another quarter Burgoyne's forces suffered a signal reverse. Colonel St. Leger, who had been sent to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river, and for whom Burgoyne was waiting, had stopped at the upper end of that river to lay siege to Stanwix Fort. The garrison of that fort held out bravely, and Burgoyne was compelled to detach some of his troops to aid in the siege. As St. Leger lay before the fort, he discovered that General Harkimer was advancing with a thousand men to its relief. St. Leger had with him several tribes of Indians, whom he let loose upon the advancing enemy. With a small body of regulars under Sir John Johnson, they lay in ambush in the woods, and four hundred of Harkimer's men were either killed or wounded. Still Fort Stanwix held out, and some of the wild Indians growing weary of the siege, and being informed falsely that Burgoyne's army had been cut to pieces, retired from the war. St. Leger, also, hearing that Arnold was approaching with two thousand men and artillery, retired from the siege of Stanwix Fort.

These events greatly contributed to the failure of Burgoyne's expedition. They were not only adverse in themselves to its success, but they tended greatly to increase the forces of his enemy. They were decisive of the wavering loyalty of the more northern Americans. In every conflict there is a numerous body of men, both civil and military, who wait to see on which side victory inclines before they take part or lot in the matter. At that time the situation of Burgoyne had become most critical. His troops had nearly consumed all their provisions, and he had been baffled in all his attempts to obtain more in the country round. The Indians, who had been useful as scouts and skirmishers, had nearly all deserted him. They were disappointed in their hopes of obtaining plenty of scalps and plunder, and as the season of hunting had arrived, which they never forewent, even for war, which they loved as fervently as the chase, they abandoned the enterprise. While Burgoyne's own ranks were thus thinned, the numbers of his enemy in front were rapidly increasing. The thick film of despair fast gathered over him and his troops. He could scarcely discern a shadow of hope from any quarter. He had solicited aid of Howe at Philadelphia, and of Sir Henry Clinton at New York. Howe held out no hopes of affording him any assistance, having enough work on his hands to baffle the skill and courage of Washington. Clinton listened to his appeal, and promised to make a diversion in his favour by attacking Forts Montgomery and Clinton on the lower part of the Hudson. But Clinton was long in coming, and when he did come, although he captured those forts, he sustained such heavy losses that he was compelled to return to New York and leave Burgoyne to his fate. In this emergency Burgoyne with a detachment of fifteen hundred men made a movement on the right on the 7th of October, to discover if there were any means of forcing a passage. There was no passage. He was completely hedged round with enemies. He was attacked by Arnold, and compelled to retreat with a loss of six cannon. Emboldened by his success, Arnold assaulted Burgoyne's lines, and though he was repulsed where the British occupied them, he succeeded in forcing the entrenchments defended by a German reserve. In this battle General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and several officers of note were slain, and a considerable number were wounded. Two hundred prisoners and a large supply of ammunition fell into the hands of the Americans. But their chief victory consisted in being able to keep the ground they had won within the lines of the royal army. Thus threatened, Burgoyne felt the necessity of an immediate change of position. Accordingly, under cover of the night, he removed his army with their artillery and baggage to some heights above the bank of the Hudson, extending his right up that river. In this position he offered battle to the enemy, but without effect. Gates was ensuring a victory without a battle by turning the right of the British army and enclosing them on all sides. Discovering this, Burgoyne fell back upon Saratoga. He contemplated retreating to Fort Edward, and from thence returning to Canada. But the whole line of his march was covered with American militia and hostile backwoodsmen. There were no means of escaping the enemy. Even if he had cut his way through them and reached the lakes, he could have made no further progress, as all his boats had been destroyed. His situation was now desperate. No tidings came of Clinton's diversion, and winter was approaching. Only three days' provisions were left, and Burgoyne and his troops must either starve or surrender. There was no alternative, for the enemy were gathering thicker and closer around them. Rifle and grape shot were continually pouring into their camp. Accordingly, on the 13th of October Burgoyne called a council of war, at which it was determined to relinquish the conflict. It was unanimously resolved to capitulate if it could be done on honourable terms. Such was the message sent to General Gates under a flag of truce. Gates replied that the only terms the British troops could expect were those of unconditional surrender. Burgoyne replied, that rather than submit to such indignity, they would rush on the enemy sword in hand, and conquer or die. Fearful of provoking the despair of well-disciplined troops, the American general wisely forbore to insist upon his hard condition. Moreover, Gates was not then certain of the result of Clinton's diversion, and almost fancied that he could hear the roar of his artillery lower down the Hudson. Clinton himself was in the vicinity of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, where his progress was arrested by an American force under General Putnam; but on the very day that Burgoyne made his first overture for capitulation, General Vaughan had landed a detachment at Esopus Creek, which was not more than thirty miles from the British encampment at Saratoga. Vaughan ascended the creek about five miles and destroyed the town of Esopus, with a vast quantity of American stores and provisions. He carried fire and destruction before him, but the main design of Clinton's diversion was a failure. Burgoyne saved the remnant of his army, which amounted to little more than half the original number, by capitulation. The terms agreed upon by the convention between him and the American general were more favourable than he and his troops had any right to expect. They were to march out with all the honours of war, and deposit their arms on the edge of the river; and they were to be provided with a free passage from Boston on condition that they would not again serve in America during the war. It was on the 17th of October that they marched out of their encampment. Gates proved himself to be a magnanimous and graceful conqueror. When the ceremony of piling arms took place, he suffered only one American officer to be present, lest his troops should exhibit feelings of exultation over a fallen enemy. The invasion from Canada was over, and the victorious army of the north became divided, some being detached to the assistance of General Putnam, but more to swell the ranks of the commander-in-chief, Washington.

In May of this year, Von Steubin, who had been aide-de-camp to the king of Prussia, was in Paris, and in an interview with the Count St. Germain, secretary at war, having a map before them, pointing to America, the count remarked, "Here is your field of battle; here is a republic which you must serve." This is what Chatham had affirmed would occur. France would abet the Americans indirectly to enable them to make a stand, and as preliminary to a declaration of open war against Britain. Von Steubin was introduced to Silas Deane and Franklin, and was finally induced to espouse the American cause. In September he sailed under the assumed title of major-general, in a ship freighted with materials of war, as a volunteer across the Atlantic. But before Von Steubin sailed, two remarkable men had engaged in the American cause. These were Kosciusko, who had lost his family and estate in Poland by fighting there in the cause of liberty; and La Fayette, a subaltern noble in the French army. La Fayette was promised by Silas Deane the commission of a major-general in the American army; and Kosciusko carried with him a letter from Franklin, in which he was described as a man of experience in military affairs and tried bravery, who wished to find a new home and new friends in America. La Fayette, who was a marquis and very rich, belonged to that dangerous school of philosophy in Paris which had for some time been sowing the seeds of revolution in France. No sooner had the news of Saratoga arrived than the ministers of Louis recognized the independence of the United States, and solemnly engaged by treaty to give the Americans military aid, on condition that they bound themselves never to acknowledge the supremacy of the British crown.

Parliament assembled on the 18th of November. The disaster of the great northern expedition had not at that time become known in Britain. There was, therefore, no change in the royal speech. The king still expressed his confidence that his forces would subdue the rebels, and called for such further preparations as might be necessary to effect that object. Foreign powers, he said, gave assurances of their pacific dispositions; but as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continued, as a measure of precaution it would be necessary to considerably augment the navy. His majesty expressed great concern at the heavy charges the various services would bring upon his people, but he consoled himself with the idea that it was necessary for the welfare and interest of the kingdom.

The usual addresses were moved on the king's speech. It was represented as a speech replete with wisdom and firmness. But that was not the general opinion. In the Commons the address was opposed by the marquis of Granby, who moved an amendment recommending measures of accommodation, and an immediate cessation of hostilities. The opposition attended in full force, but the amendment after a long debate was negatived by an overwhelming majority. In the Lords the debate on the address was still more animated. It was opposed by the earl of Coventry, who gravely recommended that our fleets and armies should be at once recalled, and the independence of America forthwith acknowledged. Chatham, still supported by his crutch, rose next and spoke more wisely; though he too predicted ruin to Britain, if peace was not concluded between the two countries. He moved a similar amendment to that of the marquis of Granby in the Commons, and supported it with more than his usual eloquence. One part of the address congratulated the king on the birth of another princess, and the recovery of her majesty. In that Chatham heartily coincided. But here, he said, his courtly complaisance must end. He was not a man to join in congratulation on disgrace and misfortune. The smoothness of flattery could not avail to save the country in this rugged and awful crisis. It was necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth, to dispel the delusion and the darkness surrounding it, and display in its full danger and true colours the ruin brought to our doors. Chatham then drew a melancholy picture of the degradation of the glories of Britain. He pointed out the degrading situation to which the country was reduced, in being compelled to acknowledge as enemies those who had been denounced as rebels; and in seeing them encouraged and assisted by France, while ministers dared not interpose. His language was startling and emphatic. "France, my lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America, and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris: *in Paris* they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more mortifying insult? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England." Chatham next dwelt upon the position of our armies, as then known, auguring from it a complete and total failure, notwithstanding the exertions made to sustain the conflict and gain the victory might be gigantic. But whatever difference might exist as to the continuance or cessation of the war, on one topic nearly all were agreed—that to employ the wild Indians against a Christian people was repugnant to common humanity. It fell to the lot of Lord Suffolk, one of the secretaries of state, to defend their employment. "It was," he said, "justifiable to use all the means God and nature had put into our hands."

It was an unfortunate argument, and it gave rise to an outburst of oratory from the lips of Chatham which electrified the whole House. With an indignant burst of eloquence, he exclaimed: "I am astonished! I am shocked to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House or in this country—principles equally unconstitutional, unchristian, and inhuman! What! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife—to the cannibal, savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating*—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! To send forth the merciless cannibal thirsting for blood! Against whom? Against your Protestant brethren—to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war. . . . My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry; and I call upon your lordships and the united powers of the state to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of abhorrence. I particularly implore those holy prelates of religion to do away these iniquities from among us; let them perform a lustration; let them purify this House and this country from this sin!" The duke of Grafton, who heard this speech, has recorded his opinion that it "surpassed all we have heard of the celebrated orators of Greece and Rome." It was no doubt a speech of wondrous power, but there was much in it that was mere declamation, and it contained sentiments which did not fall with a very good grace from the orator's lips. Thus, while he reprehended the employment of German mercenaries in the war with America, he had employed them himself in a war with France; and while he nobly denounced the engagement of savages in civilised warfare, it was remembered that he had himself been a party to such a practice in the war with Canada in 1756. This circumstance sadly marred the effects of his oratory. But setting that aside, it was out of the power of eloquence to alter the determination of ministers. Daily expecting to hear of some great victory which might stop the mouths of their antagonists, they resolved to brave the storms of opposition. Chatham's amendment was negatived, and only two out of the twenty-eight who supported it signed a protest.

That ministers at this time were firmly resolved to continue the war with vigour, was manifested on the 26th of November, when the army and navy estimates were considered. A motion for sixty thousand seamen, for the service of 1778, passed without a division; and after some animadversions on the mode of conducting every branch of the service, the number of troops to be employed in America in the next campaign was fixed at fifty-five thousand. War, therefore, was to be carried on with greater vigour than ever.

Two days after the army and navy estimates were voted, motions were made in both Houses for inquiry into the state of the nation. This was a significant proceeding on the part of the opposition. It was preliminary to a vote of censure on the administration. In reality it conveyed an intimation that the time had arrived when the party in office were to make way for their competitors. It was a challenge for place and power, and ministers accepted the challenge in both Houses by agreeing to the motion. Fox, who moved it in the Commons, afterwards called for papers. This was opposed by Lord North, on the ground that if granted, discoveries would be made prejudicial to the interests of the country, and he would listen to no arguments for their production.

The hope entertained by ministers that news would arrive of some glorious victory in America was soon dashed to the ground. News arrived which lashed the storm of opposition into a perfect fury. The surrender of Saratoga became known in London on the 2nd of December, though the official intelligence did not arrive till some days later. Sufficient, however, was known to warrant renewed attacks upon the ministry in both Houses. On the 5th of December Chatham moved that an address be presented to his majesty, for copies of all orders and instructions issued to General Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada. Holding up a paper, he said that he had the king's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. He represented that speech as containing an unfaithful and delusive picture of the state of public affairs. It had a specious outside. It was full of hopes, while everything within was replete with danger. The state was rotten. Within the last fifteen years a system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced at court, by which *pliable*, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government, and a few persons had obtained an ascendency where no personal ascendency should exist. The spirit of delusion had gone forth. Ministers had imposed on the people, and parliament had sanctioned the imposition. A visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it had now for ever vanished. His eloquence was vain and useless, for the motion was negatived.

On the 10th of December the royal assent was given to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, and also to the Land and Malt-tax Bills, which were the standing resources of the government revenue. On the same day Lord Beauchamp moved for an adjournment of the Commons to the 20th of January. Burke proposed an adjournment for one week only, representing that in the critical state of the country a recess of six weeks was too long a period for holidays. Ministers, however, contended that all business of importance was transacted, and that nothing was likely to occur to demand immediate attention, and their motion was carried by an overwhelming majority. A similar motion was made next day in the Lords, and opposed by Chatham, who again attacked ministers on the great question of the day; but the Lords decided on having a long holiday, and parliament was therefore prorogued.

During the recess there was great popular excitement. As we have recorded, there had been a growing feeling against the American war, and in favour of a change of men and measures. Lord North himself had no objection to such a change. He was tired of office, and would willingly have lent his aid to any arrangement which would have released him from its increasing cares. Lord George Germaine also had a desire equally strong to give place to a successor. The burden of the war fell upon them, and on them fell also the onus of its operations. It was on their heads that the wrath of the opposition chiefly fell. And if the war with America alone caused them such disquiet, what might they not expect should Britain become engaged in a war with France and Spain, which every day became more and more imminent? By common consent, Chatham was the only man qualified for the direction of affairs at this critical period; and Lord North and the most eminent members of his ministry would have readily accorded to him their support if the king called him to his councils. North even proposed to resign, that Chatham might again preside over the affairs of state; but his majesty would not listen to such a proposition. He considered his minister's wish to resign as a dishonourable desertion of his service. He was unshaken in his resolution to persevere in the struggle with his rebellious colonies; and he imagined that if Chatham was placed at the head of the affairs of state that the struggle would soon be over. Hence he solemnly declared that he would never make any overture to the opposition. He would rather resign his crown than submit to a humiliation which he should deem personally disgraceful. If Lord North chose he might admit Chatham into the cabinet, but only on the express condition that he was to have no voice in naming any other member of administration. Lord North therefore remained in power, and after the news of the defeat of Saratoga his hands were strengthened by the voice of the people. That news created a marvellous change in the popular mind. The growing desire for peace subsided. Some few still raised the cry for it, but the vast majority of the nation now burned with ardour to blot out the recollection of Burgoyne's defeat by deeds of arms, and the utter subjugation of the colonies to the British sway. Some of the great commercial towns subscribed to raise regiments for this service. Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, each raised a regiment of a thousand men at their own expense. It was as ministers had predicted when they received the intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender. Public spirit found a remedy for the disaster—that is, the loss sustained at Saratoga was more than made up in point of numbers. In a brief space of time fifteen thousand men were raised in England, Scotland, and Wales, without any cost or charges to government. Many of the maritime towns, also, armed ships to cruise in the Channel, where American privateers, and Frenchmen with American colours, were now threatening our mercantile shipping. So the king, and the government, and the people alike resolved to prosecute the war with America "to the bitter end."

Parliament reassembled on the 20th of January, 1778. The first business of importance after the recess was a motion for an account of the number of troops raised by private subscription, with the names of the commanding officers. The supply of troops by corporate bodies and private contributions was bitterly censured by the Whigs. An attempt was made to show that such a mode of raising troops was contrary to the Bill of Rights, and inimical to the liberties of the nation. Some of the Whig leaders, however, did not commit themselves to such untenable notions. But though Fox and Burke refrained from questioning the right of the subject voluntarily to aid the crown in time of war, they nevertheless supported the motion. The wrath of Fox and Burke fell upon the heads of those who had thus aided the state. They were enemies to liberty. Burke held that the prevailing sentiment for war was injurious to the national character. "Liberty," he said, "is in danger of being made unpopular to Englishmen. Contending for an imaginary power, we begin to acquire the spirit of domination and to lose the relish of equality." But there was little fear that Englishmen, like the Romans of old, would become a warlike and dominating people. As Lord North, who agreed to the motion, argued, these spontaneous exertions simply proved that the people felt the insults and injuries offered the king and their country. They arose from an outburst of loyalty and patriotism, and not from a "spirit of domination." North also naively argued that they proved the country was not in that impoverished state as had been often asserted by a jealous and impatient faction. The minister rejoiced in the manifestation of public spirit, and naturally, though not logically, regarded it as a tribute to the conduct of the administration. The great object of the opposition was to obtain a vote of censure in this matter; but though both Houses frequently renewed the subject they were unsuccessful. The animus of opposition was more clearly manifested when North made a demand for money to supply these new troops. They maintained that such a practice of raising troops was contrary to the oath of coronation, and that all who subscribed were abettors of perjury. As for the new levies, they were bitterly denounced. Two Scotch regiments were especially designated as mercenaries and tools of despotism. North justified the practice by precedents. Independent regiments, he said, and that truly, had been raised in 1745, and again in 1759, when Chatham was minister. Chatham had been delighted with the public spirit then manifested. He had publicly thanked those who had been thus loyal for the honour and service of their country. Yet on this very night, when Lord North was reminding the Commons of these facts in history, "the orator with a short memory" was declaiming against the practice in support of a motion made by Lord Abingdon—"that the grant of money in private aids or benevolences, for the purpose of raising armies, was contrary to the spirit of the constitution and the letter of the law; and that to obtain money by subscription, was not only unconstitutional and illegal, but an infringement of the rights, and a breach of the privilege of parliament." This motion, shallow as it was, caused a warm debate, but was emphatically negatived.

All the efforts of opposition to procure a vote of censure on the administration were futile. The court commanded majorities on every subject, such as would indicate the existence of a powerful government and a prosperous nation. It has been seen that Lord North had agreed to a motion made by Fox for inquiring into the state of the nation; the object of which motion was to displace ministers, that their competitors might come into place and power. The readiness with which North agreed to the motion showed that he had no fear of its result. He had a very easy triumph. On the order of the day being read on the 2nd of February, for the House to resolve itself into a committee to take the state of the nation into consideration, Fox moved that no more troops should be sent out of the kingdom, or from the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca. The question being called for, on a division the motion was rejected by two hundred and ninety-five to one hundred and sixty-five; and a similar motion made in the Lords on the same day by the duke of Richmond met with a similar ignominious defeat.

It has been seen at the close of the last year, 1777, the king was unshaken in his resolution to persevere in the struggle with his rebellious colonies, and that he was supported in his resolve by the voice and support of the people. There was then to be no concession, and no cessation of arms. The king and the people alike burned to wipe out the disgrace of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Lord North appears not to have wholly shared in these warlike feelings. While he consented to remain at the head of the affairs of state, and to carry on the war, he was nevertheless desirous of peace. He had formed a plan of conciliation which he had urged upon the king, but which did not then meet with the monarch's view. A few short weeks, however, wrought a change in the mind of King George. On the 9th of February war with France became inevitable, on which his majesty wrote to North, urging him to lay before parliament his plan of conciliation, before the French court threw off the mask of friendship. The time had passed away for the war with America to be honourably terminated; but the king and his minister seem still to have entertained an idea and a hope that the sword might be sheathed, and the colonies preserved to the British crown. Accordingly, on the 17th of February, Lord North brought in two bills—one for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the British parliament in any of the colonies in North America; and the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with full powers to discuss and conclude every point in dispute between Great Britain and the colonies in revolt. Had these propositions—which were of the most ample character—been made before the Declaration of Independence by Congress, there can be little doubt but America would have been preserved, at least for some years longer, to the rule of King George. North's propositions, however, were assailed from all quarters. The country gentlemen and the whole Tory party looked upon the proposed concessions as degrading to the country. They bitterly deplored the pusillanimity of ministers, who, after so great an expense of blood and treasure, could submit to give up the contest, and enter into a treaty with armed rebels, which after all would not produce the end proposed. As regards the opposition members, they could find no substantial ground for opposing the propositions. They were the very same they would themselves have proposed had they been in power. Their only objection was that the propositions were made too late. Still there might be a chance of conciliation, they argued, and therefore they would give the minister their support. At the same time Lord North did not escape their censure. The bills were passed and sent up to the Lords, where they were bitterly denounced by the duke of Richmond and the Lords Temple and Shelburne, but finally adopted without a division. Ample, however, as the concessions were in North's conciliatory bills thus sanctioned by the British parliament, they were made, as was generally predicted, too late.

It was immediately after North's conciliatory bills were passed that the long-pending rupture with France was consummated by the treaty of commerce and alliance made by that country with the Independent States of America, and the consequent recall of the ambassadors from the respective courts of London and Paris.

It was on the 17th of March that a message from the throne announced this grave event to parliament. In delivering it, Lord North stated that as a consequence of the communication received, Lord Stormont had been ordered to demand his passports and return home. His majesty accompanied the message by an assurance that he fully relied on the zeal and affection of his people to repel the insult, and maintain the honour of the country. Addresses were voted in both Houses expressive of indignation at the conduct of France, and assuring his majesty that he might rely on their most zealous assistance and support.

Early in the session there had been some debates on the state of the navy, but now that a war with France was inevitable, the subject was more emphatically renewed. A powerful navy was held to be essential to the safety of the nation, and at this period, according to the voice of opposition, Great Britain was ill-prepared for a naval war. It was in the House of Lords that ministers were chiefly assailed on this subject. In moving a series of resolutions explanatory of the condition of the navy during the last eight years, Lord Howard of Effingham accused Lord Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, with gross mismanagement. The system of manning the navy was at this period not only inefficient, but disgraceful to a country calling itself free. Sailors were obtained for the most part, not of their own free will, but by impressment. Pressgangs prowled through the country, kidnapping all on whom they could lay their hands, fit for service, to man "the wooden walls of old England." In the last session a measure had been proposed, but without effect, for the more easy and effectual manning of the navy, on which occasion the horrors of impressment had been powerfully depicted. The debate was most tumultuous, but the motion was negatived.

It was an object of the greatest importance at this crisis of the nation that no disaffection should exist in any part of the British empire. In union there is strength—in disunion weakness. Ireland was still suffering under a commercial bondage, which deprived her of every incentive to industry, and shut her out from every passage to wealth. No very loud complaints of her bondage had been heard from the sister kingdom, and of late her sons had been right loyal to King George. Still in that bondage there was the germ of disaffection, and France and America might so water it as to make it grow in a brief space of time into "flat rebellion." It was wise therefore of government to endeavour to prevent that catastrophe. To that end Lord Nugent proposed a revision of the Irish trade laws, a proposal which was entered into with great cordiality by the principal members of the opposition. No obstacles were raised at first to his measures for extending the trade of Ireland. In a committee of the whole House of Commons, it was resolved that the Irish should be permitted to export all their articles of commerce—except wool and woollens—to the British plantations and the settlements on the coast of Africa; that the produce of British plantations—tobacco excepted—should be allowed to be imported into Ireland; that the glass manufacture of Ireland should be permitted to be exported to any country except Great Britain; and that the importation of cotton yarn, sailcloth and cordage, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed to be imported into Great Britain duty free. These liberal propositions do honour to Lord North's administration, and to members on both sides of the House, but they were too liberal for the commercial classes of the British nation. The ruin of British commerce was presaged by them; and during the Easter recess petitions were poured in against the bills from every quarter, the representations of which had such an influence on the House, that the concessions proposed by Lord Nugent dwindled down into some few openings in the African and West Indian trades, and some trifling addition to the freedom of exportation. The measure, therefore, could only be considered by the Irish as an earnest of good intentions, or as a proof that the mist of prejudice was at length beginning to disperse from the government and the British parliament. An attempt to bind another class in the bonds of loyalty and affection was more successful. This was the full and complete repeal of the penalties imposed on Roman Catholics in England, by an Act of the 10th and 11th of William III., entitled an Act for preventing the farther growth of Popery. Its repeal was moved by Sir George Saville, who said that one of his principal motives was, in proposing it, to vindicate the honour and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, the true spirit of which was hostile to all persecution. This enlightened measure passed the Commons *nem. con.*, and though the bigoted bishop of Peterborough opposed it in the Lords, the majority of the peers gave it their willing sanction. Henceforth Roman Catholics were permitted to perform their religious rites, and to inherit or purchase real estates, on taking an oath of allegiance to the king, and disclaiming the pope's authority over this realm. The repeal of this oppressive Act was doubtless a measure of expediency, but nevertheless it may be considered as one of the greatest glories of the reign of George III., inasmuch as it was the dawn of that religious freedom which now exalts the British nation above all other nations of the earth.

If the king's anger had abated towards Chatham, and he had been called once more to the councils of the nation, his term of power would have been brief. The voice of the great orator was about to become silent for ever. Yet once more, and only once, was it heard in parliament. And this time it was heard in language which, had his majesty been present, would have gained his warmest applause. The duke of Richmond gave notice of a motion for an address to the crown for a recognition of the United States, with a view of averting war with France. Chatham was solicited by the leaders of the opposition to give his support to that motion. Their solicitation was vain. He returned the draft of the proposed address which had been sent him, expressing his concern that he found himself "under so wide a difference with the duke of Richmond, as between the sovereignty and allegiance of America." The day fixed for the motion was the 7th of April. At that time Chatham was slowly recovering from a fit of the gout. "He was not in a condition to go abroad, and he was earnestly requested not to make the attempt." But no entreaties could avail. He was determined to go to town from Hayes and take his place in parliament, not to support, but to oppose the duke of Richmond's motion. His appearance there has been thus recorded by an eye-witness. "Lord Chatham came into the House of Lords leaning upon two friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity." The duke of Richmond made his motion for an address to the king, urging the necessity of acknowledging the independence of America by withdrawing all his forces from that country. He prayed, also, for the dismissal of ministers, as the authors of every public calamity which had fallen upon the kingdom. His grace argued that, as the dependence of America could not now possibly be secured, the sooner that claim was relinquished, the better able we should be to save the remains of the empire from destruction. Viscount Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, made an animated reply, but "its spirit was soon lost in the sudden blaze of the earl of Chatham's expiring genius." He "rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends," his son, William Pitt, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. His speech was delivered with extraordinary energy. Taking one hand from his crutch, he raised it, and casting his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed: "I thank God that I have been able to come here to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm. I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave. I have risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country, perhaps never again to speak in this House." He continued: "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Where is the man who will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada—now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Shall a people, that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient inveterate enemy, 'Take all we have, only give us peace? It is impossible!'" It was in such strains as these that Chatham denounced the duke of Richmond's motion. His soul revolted at the idea of American independency, and he declared that if he stood alone, he would to the last moment of his existence vote against a measure so dishonourable to his country. The great orator's speech, which Lord Camden describes as "shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire which he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven," was cut short by extreme weakness. He sat down exhausted. The duke of Richmond replied. He expressed his profound respect for the name and authority of his illustrious opponent, but he declared himself totally ignorant of the means by which we could successfully resist the combination of America with the House of Bourbon. Nay, he contended that we could not contend against France, Spain, and America united; and challenged the noble lord to point out any mode of making the Americans renounce that independence of which they were in possession. It was observed that while his grace was delivering his speech, Chatham manifested an eager impatience to reply. But his voice was no more heard in the senate house. His work was done. He attempted to rise, but he staggered, pressed his hand to his heart, and fell to the ground. The whole House was thrown into confusion. Camden thus describes the scene: "Every person was upon his legs in a moment, hurrying from one place to another, some sending for assistance, others producing salts, and others reviving spirits; many crowding round the earl to observe his countenance; all affected, most part really concerned; and even those who might have felt a secret pleasure at the accident yet put on the appearance of distress, except only the earl of M——, who sat still, almost as much unmoved as the senseless body itself."

The "last scene of all" was soon closed. Chatham was removed to his house at Hayes, in Kent, where he expired on the 11th of May, in the seventieth year of his age. Both Houses united in paying a just tribute to his memory. It was resolved to honour it by a public funeral and a public monument. Twenty thousand pounds were also voted to pay his debts, and an annuity of four thousand a year was settled upon his heirs as long as the title of Chatham existed. In all these votes his majesty concurred. He gave his warm assent to the honours and rewards accorded by parliament to the great orator and his heirs; thus proving that, however inflexible his resentment had been to the man whom he had denounced as a "trumpet of sedition" in life, he could not carry it beyond the grave. The last noble sounds of that trumpet *may*, indeed, have at length convinced King George that he had no more loyal subject in his dominions than the great earl of Chatham. On the monument in Westminster Abbey, "erected by the king and parliament" as a testimony to his virtues and abilities, it is solemnly recorded, that during his administration "Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to a height of prosperity and glory unknown to any former age." The corporation of London also erected a cenotaph in Guildhall to his memory, on which is inscribed these memorable words: "That her citizens may never meet for the transaction of her affairs without being reminded that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness are the virtues infused into great men; and that to withhold from these virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour."

The debate on the duke of Richmond's motion was resumed on the following day after Chatham's sudden illness. On being resumed, the difference of opinion which existed between the Rockingham and Chatham parties was more clearly manifested. The former contended for the immediate declaration of American independence as the only means of saving the country, while the latter as warmly contended that such a measure would result in the ruin of the nation. The duke of Richmond's motion was negatived, but there was a sensible diminution of the usual ministerial majority, which indicated a growing feeling for peace with the Americans on their own terms.

Parliament was prorogued on the 3rd of June. Several annuities had recently been granted to the royal family. For these his Majesty returned his warmest thanks to his "faithful Commons." He also thanked them for the cheerfulness with which they had granted the supplies for the public service. In reference to the great question of the day, he said that he had earnestly desired the tranquillity of Europe. He had made, he affirmed, the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of his conduct, and anxiously avoided giving offence to any foreign power. He added: "That power by whom tranquillity is disturbed must answer to its subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of the war."

When France hurled defiance at the power of Britain, she was by no means in a flourishing condition. The war however was popular, and the French people were willing to make great sacrifices. There was no murmuring at the imposts, duties, and *corvées* imposed upon them for the purpose of raising armies and equipping ships in aid of a cause which they considered glorious. Their imaginations were inflamed by it to the highest pitch; for was it not the inauguration of the triumph of the new opinions they had imbibed from their liberty-loving philosophers? In a little time, therefore, the coasts of Normandy and Brittany swarmed with soldiers who threatened to invade Britain, while the navy of France left her harbours to contend with the navy of Great Britain for the mastery of the seas between the two countries. There was no formal declaration of war on either side. It was perfectly understood, by the mutual withdrawal of ambassadors and the cessation of diplomatic intercourse, that the only arguments likely to prevail must issue from the cannon's mouth, and hence no heralds or manifestoes were employed. The first act of hostility was the result of an edict issued by the French king. On the 18th of March orders were given to seize all British ships in the ports of France, to which our government promptly replied by laying an embargo on all French ships in British ports. Thus, while deeply engaged in a war with America, Britain was once more involved in a war with the House of Bourbon.

The alliance of France, instead of causing Congress to be supine, had the effect of rousing them from the lethargy in which they had indulged. During the winter all Washington's representations of the inefficiency of his commissariat had been treated with neglect, or answered with reproaches for going into winter quarters at all.

Yet, amidst all his difficulties, Washington still maintained heart and hope. During the winter and early spring he omitted no opportunity of improving the condition of his forces. If his commissariat was wretched, under the tuition of Von Steubin there was a marked improvement in the discipline of his troops. When he took the field in May, they presented a far more soldier-like appearance than they had ever done before. In that month the British had in a great measure succeeded in an expedition by sea and land against the American shipping in the upper part of the Delaware, between Trenton and Philadelphia. Thus challenged, Washington commenced operations. To restrain the British incursions, La Fayette was sent with about three thousand men, but was defeated by the British troops.

A few days after this affair Sir William Howe ceased to command the British forces in America. He was superseded in the command by Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived at Philadelphia on the 24th of May. But the appointment of Clinton was ill calculated to improve the prospects of the British army.

It was soon after the arrival of Clinton at head-quarters, that the commissioners appointed under the recent "Act of Conciliation" landed at Philadelphia. The persons selected for the conduct of such a difficult negotiation were by no means "the right men in the right place." They were Lord Carlisle, who in his place in parliament had loudly denounced the Americans as rebels and traitors; Mr. Eden, who had warmly defended the employment of savages in the American war; and Mr. Johnstone, who had been a colonial governor and an opponent of the American war, but who put himself out of court by addressing letters privately to two members of Congress, holding out a prospect of reward if they would lend their aid to the objects of the commission. Ex-governor Johnstone's letters were laid before Congress, whereupon that assembly resolved that they would not hold any manner of correspondence and intercourse with him, and especially upon affairs in which the "cause of liberty and virtue" was involved. Such were the men unwisely sent out by the British government to conciliate the colonists, overlooking the fact that they had to deal with men who had staked their all for independence, and were resolved to write their names on the destiny of their country; and the practical effect, therefore, of the Conciliatory Act was to increase the animosity already existing, and to extinguish all hopes of peace till one or the other of the combatants were compelled to seek it by acknowledged defeat.

In the expectation of war with France, the British Cabinet sent orders to Sir Henry Clinton to evacuate Pennsylvania. It was anticipated that French troops might soon arrive to aid Washington, which would render him more than a match for the British troops in that colony. That anticipation was correct, for while the commissioners were attempting to negotiate with Congress, it became known that a French fleet was sailing across the Atlantic with a considerable land force on board. But before they arrived Sir Henry Clinton had evacuated Philadelphia, and established his head-quarters at New York.

Sir Henry Clinton arrived at New York on the 5th of July. On that same day the French fleet, which had been daily expected by the Americans, appeared off that city. It was a formidable squadron. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, all crowded with troops ready to leap on shore to fight for American liberty. But there was considerable hesitation as to where they should commence operations. After changing their course, however, it was finally resolved to make a grand attack on Rhode Island. The fleet was commanded by the Count d'Estaing, who, like most French commanders, was proud and punctilious. In his attack it was arranged that he was to be seconded by General Sullivan with ten thousand men, who were to cross the narrow strait called the Seaconnet Channel, to attack the British lines at Newport—where about six thousand troops were intrenched—and the French fleet was to advance up the main channel and land the French troops on the west side of the island. When near the coast Count d'Estaing was joined by La Fayette with two thousand American troops, and he entered the sound and prepared to land. Sullivan was waiting on the east side from the continent to cross over to the island to aid him in the enterprise. The doom of the British garrison in Rhode Island seemed certain. But just at that critical moment Lord Howe, who still retained the command of the British fleet, hove in sight for their relief. The French fleet was superior to that of the British, and the French admiral resolved to sail out of the harbour and offer battle. Both sides prepared for the contest. Each was already watching for an advantageous position to commence the conflict, when a violent storm arose which lasted two days and nights, and which separated the hostile fleets, and so damaged them, that the British were compelled to repair to New York, and the French to Boston to refit.

The remainder of the year consisted of marauding excursions on the part of the British, which though generally successful, did not result in any advancement of the royal cause. On the contrary, by the wanton destruction of the enemy's property, and the cruelties committed by the royal troops on the inhabitants in the districts they ravaged, it was rather retarded than advanced. One act especially, although the British army took no part in it, prejudiced that cause beyond redemption.

Wyoming, the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna, was at this time dotted with eight new townships, each containing a territory of about five miles on both sides of its noble river. It was one of the most delightful spots on the continent of North America. Its climate was mild and fertile, and it abounded in the richest gifts of nature. And if we could believe poets and travellers, its peaceful population were right worthy of dwelling in "fair Wyoming." Thus Campbell writes:—

> "Beneath thy skies
> The happy shepherd swains had nought to do
> But feed their flocks on green declivities,
> Or skim, perchance, thy lake with light canoe,
> From morn till evening's sweeter pastime grew,
> With timbrel, when beneath the forests brown,
> Thy lovely maidens would the dance renew;
> And aye those sunny mountains half-way down
> Would echo flageolet from some romantic town."

The inhabitants were attacked by some marauding bands, and brutally put to death.

Although Lord Howe retained the command of the fleet after his brother had resigned the command of the army, he also wished to return to Britain, and to take no further part in the contest. Accordingly, during the summer he obtained leave of absence. He resigned the command of the fleet to Rear-Admiral Gambier, and the command of the American station at Rhode Island to Vice-Admiral Byron. Howe had sought an encounter with the French admiral at Boston, but he had found the anchorage so effectually protected by batteries, that he was compelled to forego his design. On assuming his command, Byron also sailed to Boston for the same purpose; but on his arrival Count d'Estaing had set sail to undertake operations for conquests in the West Indies. For it was not simply to aid the rebellious colonists of America that the French monarch declared war against Britain. That was only the means to an end. Before the French admiral left Boston, he issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, inviting them to return to the allegiance of his sovereign. The French Canadians, however, turned a deaf ear to his invitation. They resolved to remain quiet under the British government. Congress urged Washington to undertake the reduction of Canada in conjunction with the French. But Washington saw through the designs of France, and on his representations their intended co-operation was abandoned. Congress had no desire, in their alliance with France, to aid in her aggrandisement. Thus disappointed in his views upon Canada, the French admiral turned the prows of his ships towards the sugar plantations of Great Britain. Dominica, after a gallant defence by its garrison, which were greatly outnumbered, fell into the hands of the French. Discovering the design of Count d'Estaing, Sir Henry Clinton had despatched Major-General Grant with a force of five thousand men to protect the West Indian Islands. He was escorted by Commodore Hotham, who on the 10th of December was joined by Admiral Barrington at Barbadoes. At that time Dominica was lost to Great Britain. Without suffering his troops to land, therefore, Grant—accompanied by the joint squadrons of Hotham and Barrington—proceeded to St. Lucia, an island belonging to the French. The naval and military operations of the British before St. Lucia were triumphant. The French admiral who sailed to its relief was thrice defeated in his attacks upon the British squadron, and a force of five thousand men, which he afterwards landed on the island, were driven back with great loss; and as his fleet disappeared, the French governor, with some of the principal inhabitants, came into the British camp and signed a capitulation. About the same time another expedition, despatched by Clinton, was equally successful. This was against the small southern state of Georgia, the capital of which having surrendered, the troops of Congress were driven out of the province into South Carolina. This success gave rise to a hope that the war, if transferred to the south, might yet become a triumph for Britain. After the troops of Congress had been driven across the Savannah river into South Carolina, the inhabitants flocked to Colonel Campbell, who achieved the victory, to take the oath of allegiance to King George. They were so charmed by his lenity and moderation, that even some of the hot preachers, who had excited the Georgians to rebel against the British rule, now turned royalists. This seemed encouraging, but appearances proved deceitful.

Nearer home, the naval operations of this year brought neither honour nor disgrace on the British arms. The maritime defence of Britain was entrusted to Admiral Keppel, who put to sea with twenty sail of the line. Two isolated French frigates and a schooner were captured by him, but this was the sum of his victories. These frigates had been sent to reconnoitre his fleet, and, from papers found in them, Keppel discovered that a French fleet of thirty-two sail of the line and twelve frigates was ready for sea in the harbour of Brest. Finding he should be outnumbered, Keppel returned to Portsmouth for reinforcements; but while he was waiting for them the Brest fleet put to sea under the command of Count d'Orvilliers. The French admiral's first operations were of a similar character to that of Keppel's, but still more doughty. He captured one frigate, which had been left to watch his movements. Keppel again put to sea on the 9th of July with thirty sail, and towards the close of the month the two fleets of Britain and France came into collision off Ushant. But there was no decisive action. The court and the admiralty were satisfied that Keppel, and all who served under him, had done their duty, but the public were not. The press teemed with invectives against Keppel and Palliser for not pursuing the French admiral, and a general opinion was expressed that if they had done so the French fleet would have been annihilated. It was a foregone conclusion, to which Keppel wisely forbore to reply; but Palliser, more sensitive of his honour, published a defence of his case, and because his superior still kept silence, and did not join in his vindication against anonymous assailants, he indulged in accusations against him, which led to a trial of both the accuser and the accused before a court-martial.

The autumnal session of parliament was opened on the 25th of November. The royal speech was singularly reticent on the operations of the war with America. Neither hopes nor fears of its result were expressed by his majesty. As was natural, he bitterly complained of the unprovoked hostility of France, and he gave a broad hint that, though Spain still professed friendship, from the preparations for war making in that country, she was to be suspected of hostile intentions. He urged the most active exertions for the vindication of the honour of the crown, and the maintenance of the public weal. He had, he said, called out the militia to assist in the defence of the country, and he expressed his high gratification with the patriotism which was displayed among all classes of his subjects. But if the people as a body were patriotic, there was still a stern opposition to the measures of government in parliament. His majesty's speech was loudly condemned in both Houses. During the debate in the Commons, Fox introduced the subject of the naval operations of the Channel fleet. The failure of a complete victory over the French by Keppel and Palliser formed a fruitful theme for animadversion. It became a subject of party conflict in parliament and with the press. Fox attributed its failure to the conduct of ministers and the admiralty. They had not, he said, sent out a sufficient fleet, and the fleet sent was too late to effect its object. The subject was renewed on the 2nd of December. It had been and still was so prominent before the public, that Mr. Thomas Lultree urged that the whole of the matter required a particular and close inquiry. The two admirals, he said, were both in the House, and they were bound, for the sake of their own honour and the public tranquillity, to give the House the requisite information. Keppel, who belonged to the Whig opposition, and had been appointed to the command by government from his experience and former services, took high ground. He declared that if the action off Ushant were to be fought over again, he should act the same as he had done then. The British flag, he asserted, had not been tarnished by that action. He did not impeach any man, and he bore his willing testimony to Palliser's courage. He declined, however, entering into any details, although he was ready to give any explanation as to his own conduct in that House or elsewhere. But Palliser, a commander under Keppel, charged his chief with having neglected to arrange his ships in such a manner as to ensure a general engagement; and with, after the action, having led the British fleet homeward, instead of pursuing the enemy. Palliser was so chafed by his supposed dishonour, that he afterwards preferred five separate formal charges against Keppel—charges which were summed up "as instances of misconduct and neglect, by which a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state, and the honour of the British navy was tarnished."

Although Lord Sandwich had in the Upper House resisted a demand for official inquiry, and had declared that the admiral had discharged his duty, and rendered an important service in protecting trade and clearing the Channel of the enemy's ships, yet when Palliser made such grave charges against him, government had no alternative but to order a court-martial. His trial commenced on the 7th of January, 1779. Public feeling was excited to the highest pitch on this occasion. A rumour was spread abroad, in which there was not the remotest foundation, that government had instituted the prosecution for the purpose of ruining the professional reputation, and perhaps of encompassing the death of the Whig admiral. This rumour, however, was believed by the people, and they rallied round him as though he was the nation's hero. Had he achieved victories equal to those of any of England's naval heroes before or since the affair of Ushant, the public manifestations in his favour could not have been more emphatically expressed. He was attended to Portsmouth, where his trial took place, by a long train of friends, including two royal princes and all the members of the opposition. The court-martial lasted thirty-two days, and the result was a full and complete acquittal. Thereupon there were great public rejoicings. Palliser also claimed to have his conduct submitted to the verdict of a court-martial. This being granted, he gave up his seat in parliament, and all his offices except that of vice-admiral. Palliser's trial lasted twenty-one days, and resulted not in a complete, but in a qualified acquittal. In many respects his conduct had been highly exemplary and meritorious, but he had erred in not making known the disabled state of his ship, to which he attributed his not answering a signal—which was the chief charge against him—to his commander-in-chief. It was thus that this ill-judged contest ended.

That the trials of Keppel and Palliser were essentially party struggles, is proved by after proceedings in parliament. Taking advantage of the public manifestations in Keppel's favour, the opposition made a violent attack on the naval department. After the Christmas recess, Fox moved a vote of censure upon Lord Sandwich for sending out a fleet inadequate to an encounter with the powerful armament ready for sea in the harbour of Brest, thereby hazarding the safety of the kingdom. Keppel himself supported this motion; but the motion was negatived, and the division showed a considerable decrease in the ministerial majority, as did several subsequent divisions on similar motions made by the opposition in both Houses.

During this session, the spirit of toleration exhibited in the last session in favour of Roman Catholics was further displayed by an Act which relieved Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters from some painful and absurd restrictions under which they had greatly suffered.

Another attempt was made this session by Lord Nugent to free the commerce of Ireland from its burdensome restrictions; but his design was counteracted by the old commercial jealousy in England. All that was done by the Commons for the benefit of the Irish was to pass two Acts for the growth of tobacco and hemp, and the manufacture of linen in Ireland, and to dole out a pecuniary grant to relieve their distress. This was unfortunate, for at this time manifest disaffection was displaying itself in that neglected country. Following the example of the American patriots, men professing to seek the good of their country had set on foot a non-importation agreement, by which those who subscribed it pledged themselves neither to import nor use any British goods, which could be manufactured in Ireland, till the Irish trade was freed from its shackles. But ministers themselves created a still greater danger to government than the non-importation agreement of the Irish patriots. Ireland was drained of its troops for the American war, and its maritime towns were left defenceless. There was a rumour afloat that France meditated an invasion of Ireland. And if any part of the British dominions had been invaded by the French, Ireland would have been the most vulnerable spot, inasmuch as they might have found supporters among the disaffected. Fearing this catastrophe, the lord-lieutenant applied for aid from government. But it was in vain. He was told that the treasury was too much exhausted to render it practicable to embody a militia for the defence of Ireland. And that was not the only blunder made on this occasion by government. Most unwisely, the Irish were informed that they might take measures to protect themselves. Already they were exhibiting the feelings of rebellion, and yet they were allowed, nay, they were called upon to arm themselves. That call was obeyed with alacrity. Ireland soon exhibited the spectacle of a nation in arms. Ministers sowed the serpent's teeth, and up sprung armed men. They themselves soon discovered their error. When they saw the armed associations which had been entered into from one end of the country to the other, they, with the people of England, dreaded lest to the war with America and France there should be added an insurrection and civil war in Ireland. Still ministers looked on supinely at the threatened danger. In the Lords an address was moved by the marquis of Rockingham for documents which might enable parliament to pursue measures for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of both nations. Rockingham forcibly showed the danger of allowing men so disaffected as the Irish were to take up arms to repel invasion, and urged the necessity of redressing their grievances, and relieving the necessities under which the Irish were groaning, lest they should use the weapons which had been put into their hands in resisting injustice and oppression. It was argued in reply that Rockingham's motion for an address was made too late in the session, and that it was necessary to proceed with caution, and upon minute inquiry and investigation. He obtained a promise, however, that ministers would concoct a plan for the relief of Ireland during the recess, and that the plan so concocted should be brought forward early in the autumn session of parliament.

Dangers thickened round the throne of Britain. It has been justly said, indeed, that the year 1779 presented the most awful appearances of public affairs which this country had beheld for many ages. Ruin seemed about to burst upon our fair island. On the 16th of June the king sent a message to parliament, announcing that the Spanish ambassador had presented a manifesto which in effect was a declaration of war. Count d'Almodovar having presented this manifesto, in obedience to the command of his Catholic majesty the king of Spain, departed from Britain without the usual ceremony of taking leave. In his message King George declared that he had done nothing to provoke the court of Spain. His desire to preserve peace with that court had been uniform and sincere, and his conduct towards that power guided by the principles of good faith, honour, and justice. His majesty expressed surprise at this rupture between the courts of Spain and Britain. He was the more surprised because some of the grievances enumerated in the manifesto had never come to his knowledge, while others which had been made known to him had been treated with the greatest attention, and put into a course of inquiry and redress. That his majesty's conduct towards Spain had been honourable and just, was borne out by the manifesto itself. But the conflict of words which followed the message from the king was accompanied by patriotic action. The Spanish manifesto spread consternation throughout the country, but it was not mingled with despair. The spirit of the nation was reflected in both Houses of Parliament. Both Lords and Commons were unanimous in their indignation against Spain, and in their determination of supporting the war against the Bourbons. As an immediate invasion of Britain was, by North himself, admitted to be a possible event, a bill for doubling the militia for the defence of the kingdom, and a bill for manning the navy, by taking away the exemptions enjoyed by several classes of seamen from compulsory service in the royal navy, were passed almost with one consent. These bills received the royal assent on the 3rd of July, on which day parliament was prorogued.

While the opposition united in measures for the defence of the country, they were more clamorous than ever for the removal and punishment of ministers. As regards their removal, few of them would have objected to being relieved from the cares of office. Lord North had in the early part of the year again expressed his desire to resign. He was responsible for a policy of which he disapproved, and he anxiously longed for retirement. At his earnest entreaty the king once more opened a communication with some of the Whig leaders. But the terms on which they were to accept office were of the old character. There was to be no change of measures. They were to be, like North himself, each and every one of them, the tool of irresponsible power. Thus Lord Howe was offered the presidency of the admiralty, but if he accepted it he was to prosecute the war in all quarters of the globe with vigour. His majesty's negotiation, therefore, signally failed, and North was compelled to retain his position—nominally the head of affairs, but in reality his royal master's scapegoat. A coalition between the Whigs and Tories at this period was a forlorn hope. Oil and water might as readily have commingled. Towards the close of the session Lord North hinted at such a possible event, and used some very conciliatory expressions to bring it about, but his advances were repelled with scorn. Fox especially repelled the idea as too monstrous to be admitted for a moment; but it is one of the curiosities of history that this indignant Whig orator a few years later heartily coalesced with a Tory cabinet.

In his speech at the close of the session his majesty expressed his delight at the high national feeling of his people. He considered it as a happy omen of the success of his arms, that increasing difficulties only served to augment their courage and constancy. The people rallied round the throne with amazing loyalty.

Meanwhile the fleets of France and Spain hovered round our coasts. Early in the summer more than sixty sail of the line, besides a large number of frigates and smaller craft, appeared in the Channel. In appearance the combined fleet was most formidable. It looked so formidable that Admiral Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, and who had only thirty-eight ships of the line, did not think it prudent to venture upon an action. On the other hand the allied commanders showed no disposition to attack the British admiral. Hardy lay at anchor off Spithead, and although the French admiral, Count d'Orvilliers, conscious of his superior strength, wished to engage him in the open sea, he would not hazard a battle in the Channel, where the advantage of superior numbers would have been lost for want of sea room, and where the navigation would have been dangerous. The summer passed away, and no enterprise of importance was attempted. There was no cordial co-operation existing between the allied commanders. The Spanish admiral wished to land troops on the coast, but d'Orvilliers maintained that a sea fight and victory must precede such a decisive measure. Meanwhile a terrible disease broke out among their crews, from which thousands of them died, and found their graves in the waters of the Channel. As autumn approached, therefore, the French and Spaniards were compelled to retire; their only achievement being, after all this mighty show, the capture of one British frigate. Before the close of the year the Spanish monarch paid dearly for entering into war with Britain, several rich treasure ships and two frigates, besides a great variety of small Spanish craft, being captured by the British.

The events of the war this year were numerous, but they produced no great change in the relative position of the belligerents. One of the earliest measures of Spain was to lay siege to the rock of Gibraltar. Before the rupture took place between England and Spain, the Spanish ambassador hinted that if it was restored to his monarch he would remain neutral. But that wonderful rock had a priceless value in the estimation of the British public, and ministers dared not thus barter it away. Hence, after war was declared, the first thoughts of the Spaniards were directed to the siege of Gibraltar. A large army had previously been collected at St. Roque, Algeziras, and the Campo, in its vicinity; and in July this force commenced laborious operations for its reduction. But the old rock was in itself almost impregnable, and it was well defended by a garrison of six thousand men under General Elliot, and not a gleam of success attended their operations.

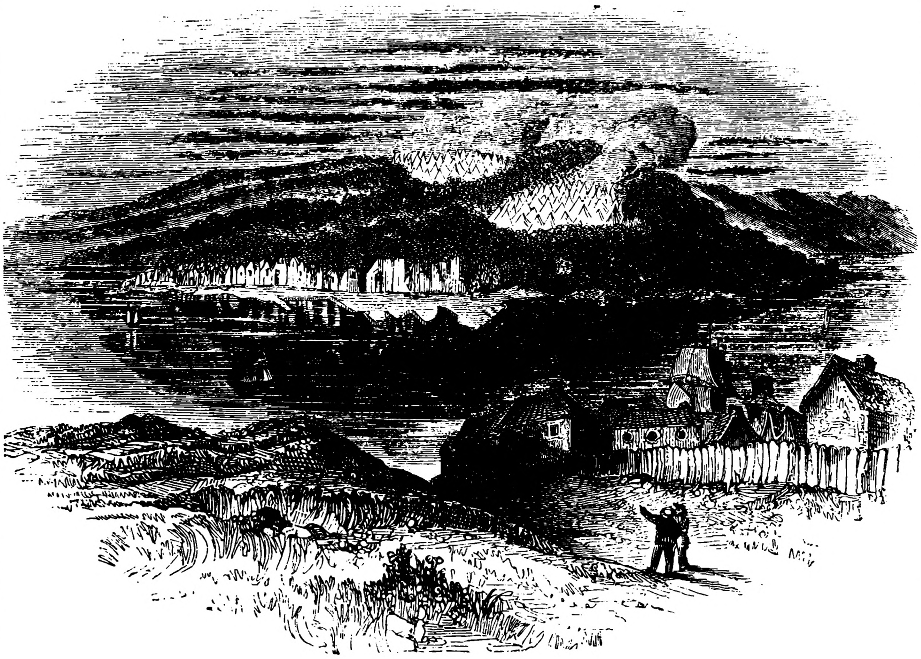
In the Transatlantic war events were more favourable to the views of the House of Bourbon, although they were not unattended by severe strokes of disappointment and loss. In the West Indies the strength of the hostile fleets was equal, both having received important reinforcements. Thus Rear-Admiral Barrington was joined by Vice-Admiral Byron with nine sail of the line and some ships under Admiral Rowley; and the French Admiral d'Estaing was reinforced by a squadron under Count de Grasse and some thousands of land troops. Both fleets, however, remained for some time inactive. No movement was made by the French admiral till Byron sailed away to escort a homeward-bound West India fleet to a certain latitude, and then he captured the two small islands of St. Vincent and Grenada. Before the latter surrendered, Byron returned and attempted its relief. An engagement took place between the hostile fleets, during which the white flag was seen waving over the capital of Grenada. The island was lost to Britain, but the battle raged till nightfall, when it ended in no positive advantage to either side. The British suffered most in shipping, the French in killed and wounded. It had been the boast of the French admiral that he would during the summer wrest every West India island from the hands of the British, but after the action off Grenada he sailed away to assist the Americans to recover Georgia.

Congress became somewhat alarmed at the partial success of the British arms in the southern states, although there was no action of a decisive character. The only affair worthy of notice at this time was the attack by the French admiral upon Savannah. He feared that while he was spending his time before Savannah, the British fleet might conquer all the French islands in the West Indies. Contrary to the advice of General Lincoln, therefore, he resolved to make short work of it and capture Savannah by storm. Accordingly he formed a storming party in two divisions, one of which was led by himself, and the other by Count Dillon, an Irishman in the service of France. The assault was most disastrous. Both columns were repulsed with fearful slaughter. After a desperate conflict which lasted more than two hours the French retreated to their ships, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, while on the part of the brave garrison the loss was only forty-two. This was Count d'Estaing's last exploit. He sailed with his fleet to the West Indies, which in its passage was dispersed by a storm, and while some reached their destination, he with the rest returned to France. After his defeat Lincoln also made a precipitate retreat into South Carolina.

The campaign in the other parts of America was spent by the British fleet and army in desultory operations and partial expeditions, which, while they crippled the resources and distracted the attention of the enemy, were barren of any great result. Clinton, indeed, from the inferior strength of his army, was unable to engage in any project of magnitude or importance. He was expecting reinforcements, but till they arrived all that he could do was to act the part of a marauder on the enemy's property. On the other hand, Washington, from the ill support he received from Congress, was equally unable to strike any decisive blow against the power of England.

The inactivity and lukewarmness of Congress was such that any other commander than Washington would have given up the cause of his country in despair. That assembly had now greatly changed in character. It no longer consisted of men firm of will and united in purpose, as when the famous Declaration of Independence was concocted and published. Faction had entered into its councils, and had driven its best members away to look to their own private affairs, rather than be mixed up with the intrigues of low and selfish natures. In truth, Congress was fast becoming a mere junto guided by the policy of France. Had it not been for Washington, they would again this year willingly have aided the French in an invasion of Canada, but they made no efforts to sustain him in the contest for American liberty. It was in vain that he appealed to them for more troops and renewed exertions. The alliance of France was fatal to their true interests. In answer to Washington's appeals, they insisted that Britain, threatened by the great monarchies of Europe, would no longer be able to sustain the war in America; and that their good allies the French, combined with the Spaniards, would give the British work enough to do to preserve their own country free from invasion.

It was under these circumstances that the campaign was carried on in North America. Early in the year the British fleet under Sir George Collier, who had succeeded Admiral Gambier, aided by a detachment of soldiers under General Matthews, commenced operations in Virginia. Their first exploit was the capture and demolition of Fort Nelson, the grand defence of the American dockyard at Gosport, which they also destroyed. Similar scenes of destruction were exhibited throughout the whole of the lower part of the Chesapeake. At the same time the Otter sloop, with some privateers, sailed up the bay and captured a great number of prizes, and burned, or caused the Americans themselves to burn, a great number of vessels. On the approach of the invaders to the prosperous town of Portsmouth, where General Matthews fixed his head-quarters, the Americans fled in dismay, having first set fire to a fine ship of war of twenty-eight guns just ready for launching. Two French merchantmen in the river were also either set on fire by their own crew or by the Americans, and burnt to the water's edge. The destruction of the American shipping, by capture and by fire, was so great, that scarcely a single vessel was left floating on these waters. The last exploit of this expedition was to demolish the fort and destroy the navy-yard at Portsmouth. After their return to New York, Collier and Matthews, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, and reinforced by a detachment under General Vaughan, proceeded up the Hudson, and captured the two most important posts of Stoney Point and Verplanks, which Washington had fortified, to preserve his communication between the eastern and western colonies. Leaving garrisons at both these places, Clinton returned to New York and planned a third expedition, the twofold object of which was to inflict chastisement on the people of Connecticut, and to draw Washington down from the highlands to defend the sea coast. This expedition was commanded by Major-General Tryon, who was supported by Admiral Collier. Their first operations were directed against Newhaven, where they destroyed the artillery, ammunition, and stores, with all the vessels in the harbour. The town of Newhaven was spared, but not so were those of Fairfield, Newark, and Greenfield. The inhabitants of Newhaven had proved themselves unworthy of the forbearance shown them in a specific convention, by firing on the British troops from their windows, and wounding several sentinels placed at the doors of private houses to prevent plunder; and their conduct had provoked a spirit of vengeance which fell upon their less offending neighbours. Fairfield, Newark, and Greenfield were laid in ashes. Tryon next intended to make a descent at New London, the great rendezvous for Connecticut privateers. As, however, Washington had sent some detachments for its defence, he returned to Long Island for reinforcements. But by this time, ill-supported as he was by Congress, the commander-in-chief of the American forces was roused to action. True, he did not come down from the highlands to defend the sea coast, as Clinton hoped and expected he would, but he compelled him to recall the whole of Tryon's devastating expedition against the towns and people of Connecticut, by a stratagem. Before the garrison could put Stoney Point in a state of defence, General Wayne was despatched to fall upon it in the dead of the night, and the whole of the troops left there were either killed or taken prisoners. The American flag was once more hoisted over the works; but when Clinton discovered his reverse, he made the most strenuous efforts to regain the post, and at the approach of his forces the Americans hastily retired. A similar scene was enacted at Paulus Hook, on the coast of Jersey, where a British garrison was surprised by General Lee, whose year of disgrace having passed away, was again employed in the American service. Lee surprised and overcame the British garrison at Paulus Hook, but was subsequently driven from thence with loss and dishonour. In another quarter the Americans suffered a far greater disaster. In the spring Sir Henry Clinton had despatched General Maclean with a force of six hundred and fifty men to form a settlement in Nova Scotia, at the mouth of the river Penobscot. The objects of this settlement were, first to check the incursions of the people of Massachusetts Bay into Nova Scotia, and next, to obtain timber for the king's navy-yards at Halifax and other royal ports in America. Maclean had scarcely commenced the erection of a fort, when a hostile fleet and armament, fitted out by the executive government of Massachusetts, appeared in the bay to thwart his designs. In a brief space of time he was invested by this armament, and though he bravely resisted the enemy, being greatly outnumbered, he was in danger of falling into their hands. It is true the American troops consisted chiefly of militia and undisciplined recruits, which he might possibly have triumphed over; but a reinforcement of regular troops was on their way to join them, and had they arrived the fate of Maclean and his garrison must have been sealed. But before their arrival Maclean and his garrison were saved. Admiral Collier came to their assistance with a squadron and some land troops, and on entering the bay the Americans ran to their ships, embarked, and endeavoured to make for Boston harbour. This was found to be impracticable. Two of their largest ships in endeavouring to gain the open sea were intercepted. One of these ships was captured, and the other ran on shore and was blown up by her own crew. The other American ships entered the mouth of the Penobscot river, where they were abandoned by their crews, and nearly all of them were either captured or destroyed, while the fugitives, who had landed in a wild country, had to traverse a pathless desert for upwards of a hundred miles before they could reach any human habitation. In their flight many of them perished from fatigue and famine, and about sixty were slain in a quarrel among themselves. On his return to New York, Collier was superseded by Admiral Arbuthnot, who had at length arrived with the long-expected reinforcements; but they were so few in number, that Sir Henry Clinton was still unable to undertake any important enterprise. As indeed there was a rumour that the French Admiral d'Estaing intended to attack New York, Clinton was compelled to concentrate his force there for its protection. He even withdrew the garrison from Rhode Island, which was taken possession of by the Americans.



BUNKER'S HILL, BOSTON.

Such were the general features of this year's warfare. There is yet, however, one stirring event, which stands apart from the rest by its bold daring, to be recorded. One great object of the allies was to inflict as much damage as they could on British commerce. In the spring Franklin had been accredited by Congress as their minister-plenipotentiary at the court of France. The old man with "a brown cloth coat" must have been a remarkable figure among the velvet and embroidery of the gay Parisians. But he was a very acceptable guest at court and in the saloons of the French noblesse. Few strangers, according to his own account, had the good fortune to be so universally popular in France as he was. He seems to have been delighted with the French ladies, and Parisian society in general. But while he freely mingled in that society, he did not forget the objects of his mission. One of those objects was to organize attacks upon the British coasts. During this year he urged upon the French government to fit out an expedition to that end, in which the sea forces should be commanded by Paul Jones, and the land forces by La Fayette, who had returned to France, and who had received his sovereign's ready pardon for joining the American cause without his royal permission. The French government did not fall in with this joint adventure, but Paul Jones was furnished with three ships and a brigantine, to work what mischief he could singlehanded. His ships were formidably armed and well manned, and he was just the man to carry out the views of Franklin, of Congress, and of the French king. He had been a bold sea rover in the service of Congress for several years. He was a native of Galloway, in Scotland, and had taken to sea at a very early age. He finally settled in Virginia, and on the breaking out of the war Congress gave him a commission, under which he cruised among our West Indian islands, and made many prizes. In 1777 he commanded a French-built ship carrying American colours, with which he sailed to the British coasts. With that one ship he kept the north-western coast of England and the southern coast of Scotland in a constant state of alarm. His exploits had been numerous, and now that he had a squadron under his command, his name became synonymous with all that is terrible. With his squadron, which was manned by desperadoes, he sailed towards Scotland. What he had been commissioned to do is evident. Franklin, whose moderation had been demolished by the burning of Fairfield and other towns in America by the British, says that "he would have attempted Leith," and that "he went into the Firth of Edinburgh with that intention, but a sudden hard gale of wind forced him out again." The inhabitants of the coast from Flamborough-head to the Frith of Tay were in a terrible state of alarm, but that "hard gale of wind" relieved them of their fears. Paul Jones "the terrible" sailed away to the Baltic on a higher enterprise than the sack and plunder of Scottish mansions and almost defenceless towns. His object was to intercept the Baltic trade under the convoy of Captain Pearson in the Serapis, of forty guns, and of Captain Piercy in the Countess of Scarborough, carrying twenty guns. Paul Jones fell in with this convoy off the Yorkshire coast, and a terrible conflict ensued. The Serapis was encountered by the Bon Homme Richard, a two-decker, carrying forty guns, commanded by the bold sea rover in person. For two long hours, with the muzzles of their guns in close contact, the British captain and Paul Jones contended for the victory. Although unequal, both as to the size of his ship and the number of his men, Captain Pearson had the best of the battle; but in the mean time the Countess of Scarborough had been disabled by the other ships of the enemy, and one of them coming to the assistance of the great corsair captain, the good ship Serapis, after sustaining a terrible fire, struck her colours. Two-thirds of her men were either killed or wounded. Paul Jones was the victor, and he carried his two prizes into a neutral port in Holland. But the Bon Homme Richard never reached port. At the close of the battle she was in a more pitiful condition than the Serapis, and on the day following she sank with many of her wounded on board in the mighty waters. Jones "the terrible" was afterwards promoted by Congress to the command of a new ship, called the America, and the French monarch for his triumph over the hated British conferred upon him the Order of Merit.

During the recess a partial change was made in the administration. Lords Gower and Weymouth, the leaders of the Bedford connection, resigned. In quitting office the Lord-president Gower gave as his reason, that impending ruin would be the consequence of the existing state of government, and that its policy was mischievous to the king and the country. The lord-president, therefore, was anxious to withdraw from the responsibility which the repressive measures of government imposed upon all connected with its councils. On the retirement of Gower and Weymouth, no men of mark were found willing to fill their places on terms of implicit obedience to the dictates of the sovereign. That was a rock on which the administration was sooner or later fated to be wrecked, and only men of inferior pretensions were willing to share their fortunes. The offices vacated by Gower and Weymouth were filled up by Earls Bathurst and Hillsborough—Bathurst becoming lord-president, and Hillsborough secretary of state in the southern department. Lord Stormont, the late ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of the earl of Suffolk, deceased; and the earl of Carlisle became first lord of the board of trade and plantations, which was an ancient office recently revived, but which was soon broken up by Burke's eloquence.

The autumn session of parliament commenced on the 25th of November. His majesty had no great victory to descant upon, but in his speech he made the disappointment of the French and Spanish confederacy in their schemes of invasion a subject of triumph; and although they were still menacing us with great armaments and preparations, he expressed his full confidence that his brave people would defeat their projects. The exemplary conduct of the national militia met with his warmest approbation, and he heartily thanked all his loyal subjects who had stood forward to save his throne and the country from the danger with which they had been threatened. There was not a word said in the royal speech about the Americans; but the Commons were significantly told that his naval and military forces would require great and inevitable expenses. His speech ended with a declaration, that, trusting in Divine Providence and the justice of his cause, he was resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. The usual address was opposed in both Houses. In the Lords the marquis of Rockingham moved an amendment which ignored every word in it except the title. He substituted a prayer, beseeching his majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the opulence, the reputation abroad and the concord at home which distinguished the commencement of his reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period of the nation's history; and then to contrast it with its present endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered state, despite the enormous grants of successive parliaments. His amendment finally stated that, if anything could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it could only be a change of men and measures—a radical and not a partial change, which would prove fruitless. The plain meaning of this was obvious. The Tory government was to be summarily uprooted, that the Whigs, who alone could save the country, might be called to the councils of the nation. The amendment was negatived by two to one, and a similar amendment moved in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish was lost by a considerable majority. In that House Charles Fox went a step further than most of the opposition orators. For the most part they only attributed the impending ruin of the country to the ignorance and incapacity of the government, but he declared that treachery must have prevailed in their councils to have reduced the country to so miserable a condition. Fox warned ministers that a day of reckoning would come—a day when the laws of the land having failed to afford relief to the people, the laws of nature would put arms into their hands to punish ministers for their maladministration. In reply, Lord North indignantly repelled the charge of treachery, and called upon Fox and other members of the opposition, if they had any charges to make against ministers, to stand forth like men and make them boldly. It was the duty of parliament, he said, to remove evil ministers, but it was necessary that proof should first be made of their delinquency. For himself, when his day of reckoning should come, he was ready to meet it without fear of the result.

It has been seen that at the close of the last session a promise had been made that measures of relief would be brought forward for the relief of Ireland. The marquis of Rockingham had extorted this promise from ministers, and it seems strange that he should have charged them on the very first debate in the present session with the non-performance of their promise. Nothing could more clearly show the spirit by which the noble marquis was actuated. But when days passed away, and the promised scheme of relief for Ireland was not forthcoming, there was a better foundation for the charge of bad faith and breach of promise. Still, as Lord North had asserted that caution was necessary, and full information required before their scheme of relief could be developed, it might have been expected that the opposition would have exercised a little patience; for the promise had not been broken, it was only delayed. But the opposition were impatient on the subject; or rather it was conceived by them to be a vulnerable point in the phalanx of the ministry in which they could be successfully attacked. It was in vain that they were assured that satisfactory plans of relief were in contemplation, and would at an early date be laid before parliament. In both Houses votes of censure were moved on the ministry for their neglect of the affairs of Ireland. Much violent language was used by the opposition in their speeches, both in the Lords and the Commons; and if the Irish did not break out in open rebellion, it was not their fault. The mine was laid in the wide-spread disaffection exhibited in the Irish parliament and throughout the country; and it is a marvel that the match applied to it by the earl of Shelburne in the Lords, and Dunning, Fox, and Burke in the Commons, did not result in a general conflagration. At this time armed associations and non-importation agreements were in full force in Ireland. Its people were ripe for rebellion. The Irish parliament were resolved, if possible, to compel the British government to emancipate the commerce of Ireland from the fetters by which it was bound. In order to effect this object, they resolved, according to instructions received from their constituents, to vote a money bill for six months only, instead of a year. This was a strictly constitutional weapon, but only justified by a case of extremity. It was strongly resisted by the court; but the populace of Dublin rose, surrounded the Parliament House, and compelled its members to take an oath that they would support the bill. It passed, and received the sanction of the privy council.

The vote of censure having been negatived in both Houses, Lord North subsequently made good his promise. On the 13th of December he propounded a scheme of relief for Ireland which silenced the voice of opposition, and, what was of greater importance, gave great satisfaction to the Irish parliament and nation. By that scheme, on which two bills were founded and passed into law, permission was given for a free export of the staple articles of Irish trade and manufacture. This concession was received in Ireland with the warmest testimonies of joy and gratitude. But if the joy of the Irish was of long continuance, their gratitude was evanescent. New grievances were soon discovered, by which ministers quickly lost their new-born popularity. By the alteration of some bills passed by the Irish parliament, great offence was given to the Irish people; offence which even led them to clamour for independence. One of the bills altered by the British ministry, more especially, created great disaffection. The Irish parliament, not choosing that its military establishment should be regulated by a British mutiny law, transmitted a bill of a similar import; but Lord North, "as if eager to indemnify himself for commercial concession by constitutional spoliation, introduced an alteration by which the law was to be rendered perpetual;" thus manifesting a desire of securing to government the uncontrolled direction of the military power. The Irish parliament passed the bill thus altered; but it was taught thereby to look to freedom of constitution as the necessary safeguard to freedom of trade, and to assert its own independence while it unfettered the commerce of the country.

The autumnal session was chiefly occupied with the affairs of Ireland. Before the Christmas recess, however, the army and navy estimates were settled. The ensuing campaign was to be carried on with unwonted vigour. The forces deemed necessary for its prosecution were estimated at nearly three hundred thousand men; and to provide for their maintenance and the other exigencies of the state, the sum of twelve millions was required to be raised by loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply. This large increase of the national debt excited much opposition. Ministers were accused of prodigality, and there was a loud cry for economy. Lord Shelburne gave notice in the Lords that he would, on the reassembling of parliament, move for a committee of inquiry into the whole of the public expenditure. Burke also gave notice in the Commons of a bill, the object of which was to abolish fifty places then held by members of parliament. But the question was, would ministers adopt his remedy? On their side of the House there was a profound and ominous silence, from which he might have presaged the fate of his plan of economical reform, wise though it was, and withal salutary to the health of the nation. As Fox remarked, there was not sufficient virtue, or rather self-denial, in the House of Commons to carry such a plan into execution.

At this period the abuses consequent upon the number of sinecure offices, and of large pensions unsanctioned by parliament, loudly called for economical reform. It was not therefore without reason that Burke brought the subject forward. Nor, if ministers looked coldly upon him, did he lack encouragement to proceed with his measure. Early in 1780, a spirit burst forth in many of the influential counties in England, to which since the days of Hampden there had scarcely been a parallel. The county of York took the lead. At the requisition of the marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Saville, a meeting was held, which has been described as the most numerous and respectable ever before known on any occasion. At that meeting a petition to parliament was agreed upon, which set forth the great accumulation of taxes which oppressed the landed and commercial interests, and complained that the crown had acquired—by the increase of overpaid offices, sinecures and pensions—an unconstitutional influence, which if not checked might prove dangerous to the liberties of the country. The Yorkshire petition was signed by nine thousand gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders. The example of Yorkshire was speedily followed by Middlesex; and before parliament reassembled meetings had been held in twenty-seven counties, and resolutions adopted in favour of parliamentary and economical reform; and in most of them associations with corresponding committees were formed for its support. For the most part the result of the meetings was unanimous concurrence in the proceedings; and though in some places, as in Hertfordshire and Huntingdon, there was strong opposition made by the Tories, the resolutions in favour of reform in court and parliament were carried by large majorities. In some places counter-petitions were framed and protests signed, but the public feeling was with Burke.

Thus supported, and while the petitions in favour of his plan were pouring into the House, the great orator brought it forward. The bill for which he moved leave to produce was "For the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient places." The speech which Burke delivered on this occasion is justly considered a masterpiece of English composition—"unsurpassed in lucidness of detail, force of reasoning, historical research, and gleams of wit and poetry, by any example of parliamentary rhetoric." Lord North passed very high encomiums on the plan of reform propounded by Burke. His proposals, indeed, were so temperate, and incapable of being refuted by argument, that he offered no opposition to the first bill which was founded upon them. At the same time he intimated that time was required to reflect upon them, and that he thought, as some of them affected the king's patrimonial income, the crown should be consulted. The favour with which Burke's motion was received encouraged other members of opposition to go still further. Lord Shelburne in the Lords, and Colonel Barré in the Commons, moved for a commission of inquiry into the public accounts—motions which had for their object the enforcement of the great principle established at the Revolution, namely, of appropriating the money granted by parliament to the specific purposes for which it was voted. In support of his motion Shelburne, like Burke, denounced the profusion pervading all branches of government, and declared that his main object was to destroy that influence which pervaded both Houses of Parliament. But the Lords were not willing that it should be destroyed in their House, for after a warm debate his motion was negatived. The main argument of those who opposed it was that it was a violation of the inherent privilege of the Commons to control the expenditure. Most likely the Lords were impressed with an idea that the Commons would deal with the motion in a similar manner. But in this they were mistaken. Such was the temper of that House, that Lord North deemed it prudent to acquiesce in the motion. He even applauded the proposal, and expressed his surprise that a measure of such great utility had not been thought of sooner. A commission of inquiry was appointed, but North carried a bill whereby no member of parliament was allowed to take part in that commission: the commissioners appointed, therefore, were independent gentlemen.

In the previous session Sir Philip Clarke had introduced a bill for excluding contractors from parliament. It was defeated by only a small majority, and on reintroducing it this session it was carried in the Commons through all its stages, with but little opposition from the ministers. The Lords, however, rejected it as an illiberal stigma cast on a respectable body of men, and as a mean compliance with popular prejudice. The blows aimed at the influence of the crown were this session again and again repeated. On the 15th of February Sir George Saville, member for the county of York, moved for an account of all places for life or lives, whether held by patent or otherwise, with the amount and dates of the pensions and the names of the pensioners. This motion was opposed by Lord Nugent, who urged that many "reduced gentry" enjoyed his majesty's private bounty, and that it would be unjust to make their names public. It was met by an amendment restricting the account to pensions only payable at the exchequer. In support of his amendment, Lord North argued that it would be inhuman to expose to public animadversion the necessities of ancient and noble families, and the circumstances under which such pensions had been granted. The debate on this subject was more than usually animated and acrimonious, and so strong was the feeling of the House on the subject, that Lord North carried his amendment by a majority of *two* only.

Meanwhile petitions for parliamentary and economical reform were daily laid upon the Speaker's table. By the month of April, figuratively speaking, it literally groaned beneath their weight. In them the sentiments of more than one hundred thousand electors were expressed, a larger proportion of the constituency than had ever before recommended any measure to the consideration of parliament. They were ordered to be taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House on the 6th of April, a day which, it was said, "was to distinguish the present session from every other since the Revolution." A great public meeting was convened at Westminster by the Whig leaders, with the avowed intention of giving weight to the petitions. The meeting was addressed by Fox, and resolutions were carried for annual parliaments, and an addition of one hundred knights of the shire to the representation. It was expected there would be tumults, and bodies of guards were in readiness in the neighbourhood of the House to suppress them. But the guards were not needed. The House having resolved itself into a committee, Dunning—one of the greatest lawyers of the day, or of any other period—rose to support the general prayer of the petition, which was for limiting and restraining the increasing influence of the crown, and for a reform in the public expenditure. Having passed a splendid eulogium upon Burke's bill—the fate of which still hung in the balance—he remarked that ministers had said that the influence of the crown was not too much, and that it was not competent for the House to inquire into the expenditure of the civil list. He proposed to bring both these points fairly to issue. To that end he first moved, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." This resolution, he said, was in accordance with the general tenour of the petitions, though not in accordance with the terms of any of them; and he established the truth of his proposition by referring to common notoriety, and quoting proofs which could not be controverted. In particular he referred to the conduct of ministers in respect to Burke's economical plan of reform. When first proposed it had met with their approbation, but now, "under the influence of the crown," it was being reduced to a nullity, to a thing so naked and shorn, as to become useless to the country. Dunning's motion was more formidable than any which had been made since the Long Parliament. Among the most conspicuous supporters of Dunning's motion was Mr. Speaker Norton, who forcibly descanted on the exorbitant power of the crown and the increase of corrupt influence, and contended that it was the duty of the House to attend to the petitioners. The resistance to the motion was feeble and indirect. Lord North's wonted equanimity was disturbed by it, and scarcely knowing what to urge against it, he accused the opposition of pursuing measures tending to the overthrow of the constitution. This gave rise to great confusion. "Take down his words," was echoed from every part of the assembly. Dunning's motion was affirmed in a full House by a majority of *eighteen;* and following up his victory, he proposed, "That it was competent to the House to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public expenditure," which was agreed to *without a division.* A third motion, moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt, declaratory of the duty of the House to provide immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions, was likewise affirmed. And all these celebrated resolutions which had been adopted in committee were, on the motion of Fox, despite the stern opposition of Lord North, immediately reported. "The system of the court," says the "Annual Register" of the day, "was shaken to its foundation." If so, it soon recovered its stability. The Commons were not so patriotic as they seemed to be. Many of them had voted for Dunning's resolutions under the terror of an impending election, and were only waiting for an opportunity to evade the consequences of their vote, and to triumph over the opposition. And that opportunity soon arrived. The people, whose voice they had obeyed, were not stable in the sentiments they had expressed in their petitions. Alarmed at the spirit which had been evoked, there was very soon a manifest reaction. Many of the petitioners withdrew from, and others refused to join the corresponding societies which were the basis on which the movement for reform was founded. Hence the majorities so suddenly obtained by the opposition soon began, first to decline, and then to become exchanged for their usual minorities. A resolution moved by Mr. Dunning, only four days after his triumph, for incapacitating certain officers of the household to sit in parliament, was carried by a majority of only two; and on a subsequent day, when he moved that this resolution, together with all those which had been adopted by the committee, should be reported, his motion was rejected by a majority of forty-three. A few days later an address to the crown, praying that parliament might neither be dissolved nor prorogued till measures had been taken to fulfil the objects of the petitions, though supported by the eloquence of its mover, Dunning, and of his great compatriots, Fox and Burke, was rejected by a still larger majority. This was a change, indeed, in the conduct of the House of Commons. They had carried abstract propositions, but they now emphatically rejected the practical measures which were to render them of effect. Fox and other members of the opposition bitterly reprobated the conduct of those members who had receded from the solemn engagements into which they had so recently entered. Fox delivered on this occasion one of the severest philippics that was ever heard within the walls of the House of Commons, but it only confirmed the recanting members in their recantation. Insinuations were thrown out by him, that this result of a movement which had commenced under such promising auspices was owing to corrupt influence. That corrupt influence to some extent was exercised, is probable; but the violence of opposition, and their exultation on their triumphs, were the main causes of the defection of many who had supported Dunning's resolutions. In his speech Dunning expressed an opinion that the division of that night was decisive as to the petitions of the people: that it amounted to a total rejection of their general and ardent prayer, and that all hopes of obtaining redress for the people in that House were delusive. And so far as regards the measures of this session his fears were well founded. Lord North replied that the resolutions of the 6th of April were still in existence, and that other measures of redress might be proposed in which the House would concur; but on the 19th of May the committee was dissolved, and nothing was done either to reduce the influence of the crown, to prevent corruption, or to extend the people's rights. On the day previous, also, the most important clauses in Burke's bill for economical reform were lost in committee, the deliberations of which then came to an end, to the great delight of the king. In writing to Lord North his majesty remarked: "You cannot doubt that I received with pleasure the account of Mr. Burke's bill having been defeated." Notwithstanding the rude attacks which had been made on the constitution, which he deemed the most beautiful that was ever framed, he still hoped to preserve it in all "its pristine lustre."

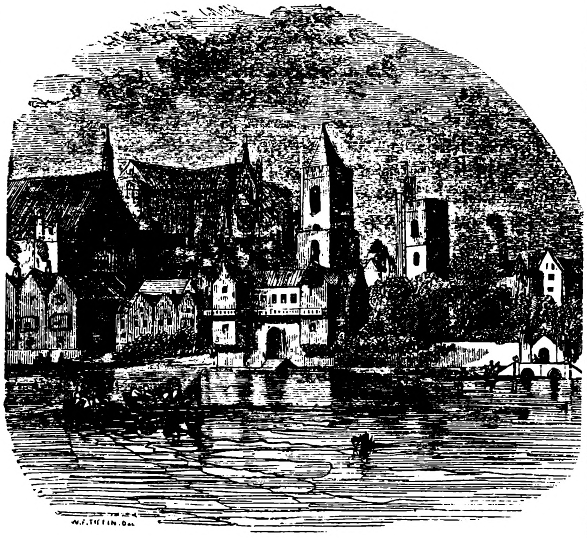
According to the theory of the king, the "pristine lustre" of the constitution would have been shorn of its beams if the "fifty" useless places held by members of parliament for the sole purpose of doing the sovereign's bidding had, as Burke had proposed, been swept away. But King George was not the only narrow-minded man in his kingdom. According to the theory of a large section of the people, his succession to the throne as a Protestant monarch would have lost the greater part of its value if his Roman Catholic subjects were to enjoy the immunity which had been granted them in the session of 1778 from the penalties which had been inflicted upon them in the previous century. A rampant spirit of narrow-minded intolerance was abroad. The king, and the government, and the legislature, were more tolerant than the people. The Act which had relieved the English Roman Catholics had not embraced those who resided in Scotland. But as they had equal claims by their loyalty, and as peaceful members of the community, to the same measures of relief as their brethren on this side of the Tweed, ministers contemplated that they should be admitted into the benefits of the Repealing Act. Setting aside that it may have been considered a measure of expediency, it redounds to the honour of George III.—without whose sanction his ministers could not have contemplated such a measure—that while he was jealous of any encroachment being made upon the prerogative of his crown by the people, he should exhibit such a spirit of toleration towards a section of his subjects who had been the stern opponents of the succession of the House of Hanover. But if his majesty was thus tolerant, not so were many of his Protestant subjects, who were clamouring for relief from burdens which, compared with those under which those professing the Roman creed had been in England, and still were in Scotland suffering, appeared light as the gossamer which floats in the gentle breezes of a summer's day. By the late remedial enactment Roman Catholics in England had been allowed to enjoy landed property and the instructions of their spiritual teachers. Nothing could be more natural in a free country, and yet these privileges were held by the great bulk of the people, in which many of the upper classes were included, to be highly dangerous to the constitution. They appear to have been considered more dangerous than the undue influence of the crown and the corruption of parliament, against which the patriotic orators had of late expended so much fiery eloquence. At all events they gave rise to one of the most shameful exhibitions of popular feeling that ever disgraced this country.

This feeling first openly manifested itself in Scotland. No sooner was it known that the benefits of the Repealing Act were to be extended to the papists in Scotland, than a loud cry was raised throughout the country that popery was about to be re-established. Pulpits rang, and the press teemed with fanatical denunciations against the measure. Associations were formed to oppose it to the utmost, and their votes and resolutions quickly gave rise to a spirit of persecution. Both in Edinburgh and Glasgow there were riots of an alarming character. The houses and property of Roman Catholic priests and laymen were ruthlessly destroyed, and even their lives were threatened. They dared not appear in public lest they should become victims of the mob's fanatical vengeance. The very magistrates of Edinburgh partook in a great measure of the feelings of the mob, for it was not till their own lives and property were in danger that they called in the aid of the military. The popular violence in Scotland was so rampant that ministers found themselves compelled to forego their intention of extending the benefits of the Repealing Act to that country until it had subsided.

This triumph of the Scotch associations and mobs unfortunately led to a similar display of the spirit of persecution in England. The English people, indeed, were not slow in emulating the fanatical spirit of the north. It was conceived by many that if efforts equally as vigorous were made south of the Tweed, the Repealing Act might be repealed. Accordingly numerous corresponding societies for the protection of the Protestant religion were formed throughout England. At the head of the Central Association was placed a nobleman, who ought to have been an inmate of a lunatic asylum. This was Lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, who had taken a leading part in the fanatical movement in Scotland. Lord George had sat in parliament several years, where he had gained an unenviable notoriety for his eccentricities. Serious notice might well have been taken of the threats of this fanatic, for it was well known that he was the leader of a party formidable from its numbers, organization, and intolerance.

While parliament was sitting the Protestant Association rapidly acquired strength from among the middle and lower orders of the people. According to most accounts there were from fifty to sixty thousand persons wearing blue cockades. Lord George became their general, and in proceeding to the House to present the petition he had prepared, he marshalled them in three columns; one marched across London bridge, another across Blackfriars, and the third, headed by himself, over Westminster bridge. In their route they were joined by all the knaves and cut-purses of London. The approaches to the houses of parliament were soon blocked up, and while the shouts of "No popery!" rent the air, the whole fraternity of thieves, while they too joined in the cry, busily plied their calling. Honourable members of both Houses who professed, or were supposed to entertain rational and humane views with regard to the Roman Catholics, were waylaid and insulted. As the peers and members of the House of Commons arrived they were compelled to join in the cry of "No popery!" or to submit to insult and ill-treatment. Some of them were robbed, and some narrowly escaped with their lives. Prelates, peers, and members of the Commons alike, had to take their seats on this awful day with affrighted looks, dishevelled hair, clothes covered with mud, and in some instances minus their outer garments. The mob was triumphant. Without there was a deafening roar of "Repeal the bill!" "No popery!" "Lord George Gordon!" The mob thundered at the door, and there was nothing to prevent their bursting it open but an instinctive awe which seemed to pervade them. Had they passed over the threshold, although they were not aware of it, it would have been instant death to their maniac leader, for Colonel Murray stood over him with a drawn sword, and declared that he would plunge it into him if he brought his "rascally adherents" into the House. Other members also assumed a threatening attitude. Something like order being restored, Lord George moved that the Protestant petition be immediately taken into consideration. The House, however, was not to be intimidated into compliance with such an ignominious proposal. It was met by an amendment to postpone its consideration for four days. This necessarily produced a debate. During the discussion Lord George went out several times into the lobby and harangued his followers. His object was to inflame their passions by reporting the proceedings within. They were growing wild and furious, when at length a party of life guards, under the orders of a magistrate, appeared, and the mob was soon dispersed. The House then divided, and the amendment was carried almost unanimously.

After the division the House adjourned, and its members returned in safety to their homes. But the danger was not over. The spirit of bigotry took another direction. In his harangues in the lobby, Lord George had pointed out some of those who opposed the petition, and had suggested that it would be a godly work if they pulled down all the popish chapels. Leaving the life guards in Palace Yard, therefore, away they rushed to the chapels of the ministers of Sardinia and Bavaria, and burnt them to the ground. On the arrival of the military thirteen of the rioters were taken and sentenced to Newgate—the rest fled to their homes. The day following was a day of comparative tranquillity—order appeared to have resumed its ascendancy. But the lull was a prelude to a still wilder storm of fanatical fury. Neither government nor the city authorities were sufficiently alert on this grave occasion. Deceived by appearances, no measures were taken to prevent any further outbreak. All London was exposed to the mob if they chose to work further mischief. And that they did intend it was soon made manifest. Finding their proceedings uninterrupted, on Sunday they assembled in Moorfields—a quarter much resorted to by the Catholics—and not only pulled down their chapel, but several of their houses. The mob was still suffered to work mischief with impunity. On Monday a privy council was held, and a reward of five hundred pounds was offered for the apprehension of those persons who had been concerned in the outrages on the chapels belonging to the ambassadors; but nothing was done to stem the surging tide of mischief. The indifference of men high in office to the continued outrages was incomprehensible. When a member complained to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield on the Monday of the licentiousness of the populace, he treated it as a slight irregularity. On that day the house of Sir George Saville, who had taken a leading part in the Act of Toleration, was gutted, and Lord George Gordon was treated to a bonfire before his mansion in Welbeck Street, made of materials brought from Catholic chapels and houses in Moorfields. That night London was in the hands of the mob. The lurid glare of burning chapels and houses was seen on every hand, and the plunder was enormous. On Tuesday the Houses met to take the people's petition into consideration. They were protected by detachments of guards, but notwithstanding, Lord Stormont, one of the ministers, was grossly maltreated. Burke fell into their hands, but his courageous remonstrance awed them, and he escaped without injury. Lord George Gordon had issued handbills disavowing the riots in the name of the Protestant Association, and he took his seat as though he was a perfect innocent. There was a talk about sending him to the Tower, but all that was done was to agree to a resolution that, as soon as the tumults should subside, they would take the petition into consideration.


W.F.TIFFIN.Del.

WESTMINSTER.

But there were yet no signs of their abatement. They grew still more wild and furious. On that summer's evening Newgate was fired, and more than three hundred felons were liberated and joined in the work of desolation. Clerkenwell prison was also broken open, and its prisoners released to swell the numbers of the rioters. The character of their proceedings now became altered. The administrators of the law fell under their ban. The houses of several magistrates were sacked. The mansion of the venerable Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, with all its contents—furniture, pictures, books, and many valuable manuscripts—was committed to the flames. Mansfield himself, and his aged countess, barely escaped with their lives. There was a party of foot guards at hand, but as no magistrate could be found to read the Riot Act, their officer dared not act. All that night there was plunder and havoc, many houses falling a prey to the flames. And Wednesday the 7th of June was still more fatal. Writing to a friend, Walpole says: "You may like to know one is alive after a massacre and the conflagration of a capital—the most horrid sight I ever beheld, and which for six hours together I expected to end in half the town being reduced to ashes." The first great operation of that morning was to attack the Bank of England. Two attempts were made to force an entrance, but the building was well guarded by soldiers, and on some of them being shot down, the rest fled. But they fled only to attack the peaceful citizens. Every one who omitted to hang strips of blue silk out by way of flags, or to chalk "No popery!" on the doors and shutters of their houses, became objects of their vengeance. And there was now scarcely any distinction of persons. Protestants and Papists alike were laid under contribution in the streets, by ruffians who prowled about for money, and one fellow, mounted on a horse, would take nothing but gold. Other parties were employed during the day in demolishing the prisons, and before nightfall the only one left standing was the Poultry Compter. These parties, individually, do not appear to have been very numerous. Johnson says that he saw not more than a hundred men plundering the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, leisurely in full security, "as men lawfully employed." The great centre of mischief during this day was in Holborn. In this part of London Mr. Langdale, as a papist and distiller, was doubly exposed. His premises were fired, and everything destroyed except his liquors. These were drunk by the rioters with avidity. Some of them literally killed themselves with ardent spirits, and others, too dead drunk to move out of the reach of danger, perished in the flames. During that day the king called a council. There was a prevailing belief abroad that even if a magistrate was present at a tumult, and was found firm enough to read the Riot Act, the military could not fire till one hour had elapsed after its reading. The king wanted to know whether this was the law, whether such a construction could be put, and legally sustained, upon the meaning of that Act. It was a grave and disputed question. Verdicts, indeed, had been found against officers and soldiers who had put down riots with the loss of life in the celebrated times of "Wilkes and liberty." The question was so grave that the council would not decide, but Wedderburne, the attorney general, being appealed to, declared that when tumultuous assemblages were engaged in felonious acts, such as setting fire to houses, and no other means of restraint were found effectual, then it was lawful to employ military force. And this opinion Mansfield, who no longer looked upon the Lord George Gordon riots as "a slight irregularity," confirmed in the House of Lords. It was no matter, he said, whether those who were called in to aid the law "wore red coats or brown," for they were called not as soldiers, but as citizens. The opinion of Wedderburne was adopted by the council. A proclamation was issued commanding all householders with their servants and apprentices to keep within doors, and announcing that the military were now authorised to repress the riots by force of arms. That proclamation was not issued a minute too soon. On that night thirty-six fires were seen blazing in different quarters of the metropolis. The glare of conflagration illuminated the sky in all parts, and the sight was dreadful. If the weather had not been severe it would have been still more terrible. The horrors of the night were increased by the firing of muskets and the terrified cries of the infuriated and countless rabble. For at length the military were among them. Ten thousand regular troops, besides several regiments of militia, had been assembled in London, and wherever the rabble were congregated, there were the soldiers to repress their tumults. This was no very difficult task. The mob were not prepared for armed resistance. Wherever the troops appeared they fled away like flocks of sheep. Still, though no serious resistance was offered by them, many paid the penalty of their outrages. Nearly three hundred were shot dead in the streets, or died from their wounds. It is said also that at Blackfriars bridge, where the mob had set fire to the toll gates, some of them to escape the fire of the muskets threw themselves over the bridge and perished in the Thames. The remedy was sharp but effectual. The only place in the morning where the mob was not dispersed was in the neighbourhood of the Fleet prison, which was still in flames; but when the soldiers charged with their muskets into their midst, they too fled in all directions. During that day the streets were cleared and order restored; but it was not till the following day, just one week after the petition had been carried to Westminster, that the shops were reopened and business resumed.

The House of Commons met on the 9th of June, but as the capital had the appearance of being under martial law, the members adjourned till the 19th. Both Houses reassembled on that day, when his majesty detailed the measures which had been adopted during the suspension of regular government. Copies of the proclamation, he said, would be laid before them. The common danger produced a unanimity of sentiment unexampled for many years. Addresses were carried without opposition. In the Upper House, however, some of the lords were disposed to question the legality of military interference. It was on this occasion that the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield confirmed the opinion of Wedderburne, on which the king and the government had acted.

Having voted the address to the throne, the Commons proceeded to take into consideration the "great Protestant petition." It was now easily disposed of. The late events enabled the House to deal with it summarily, and as it deserved. On the motion of Burke, five resolutions vindicating the wisdom and justice of the Toleration Act, and condemning the misrepresentations which had led to the late tumults, were adopted without a division.

Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of July. During the session matters of great importance had been agitated without any practical results. At its close government had derived an accession of strength both without and within the walls of parliament. The Lord George Gordon riots were in their favour. Parliamentary reform, by which their tenure of office was threatened, became unpopular. By many who had been in favour of it, it was henceforth regarded as an impossible theory. Nay, the public became impressed with an idea that popular assemblies for political purposes were dangerous; and the associations for reform sunk fast into oblivion.

From Lord George Gordon there was no longer any danger to be apprehended. On the day tranquillity was restored to the affrighted metropolis, he was arrested and sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason. He lay in prison till January, 1781, when he was brought to trial, and acquitted on the ground of insanity.

During the domestic commotions the war by sea and land had been carried on by the British commanders with considerable success. If the dread of invasion had passed away, the maritime ascendancy of Britain, in which her independence is involved, was threatened by a combination of all the naval powers of Europe. Gibraltar was still invested by the Spaniards, but the siege had not yet assumed a phase which demands a particular record. Its brave garrison held out, and as a treaty which Spain had concluded with the states of Barbary stopped their supply of provisions, it was necessary to send them some from England. Admiral Rodney, who had been appointed to the chief command in the West Indies, was charged with the duty of conveying transports laden with provisions for their relief. Rodney was one of the old school of British naval commanders—skilful, energetic, and even daring. He spread his sails in January, and he had only been a few days at sea when he fell in with a rich Spanish convoy, consisting of fourteen merchant ships, four frigates, and three sail of the line. All these were captured in one fell swoop. Those laden with provisions he took with him, the rest he sent to England. A still greater victory followed. In the following week he encountered a Spanish fleet under Admiral Langara off Cape St. Vincent. Langara had been despatched to intercept the transports of provisions destined for Gibraltar. He had with him eleven men-of-war and two frigates. In the midst of a rough gale Rodney led his ships into action; and soon four line-of-battle ships, one of which was the Spanish admiral's own ship, were captured, and four others disabled or destroyed. The rest of the squadron escaped to Cadiz in a shattered condition. Under Rodney the wooden walls of old England maintained their supremacy. He proceeded triumphantly to the relief of Gibraltar, and from thence he sailed with a part of his fleet to the West Indies. The rest were sent home under the command of Admiral Digby, who fell in with and captured a French ship of the line, and two or three vessels laden with military stores. These successes raised the spirit and revived the hopes of the nation. Rodney was looked upon by the government as the mainstay of their power, and by the people as the hero destined to save the country from the power of the Bourbons.

But soon new enemies appeared, and the high hopes of the people of Britain were nipped in the bud. The victories of Rodney over the Dons were comparatively of little moment when compared with a quarrel in which Britain became involved with the other maritime powers of Europe. In conformity with the law of nations, Britain had claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral ships in time of war. It was a right founded on the law of self-protection. France and Spain had exercised it, and so had all other nations. But it pleased the Dutch at this time to dispute the right. Self-interest was with them of higher importance than self-protection. They were carrying on a lucrative trade to the injury of Britain. They were aiding her enemies. It was notorious that Dutch merchant ships were affording aid to both France and Spain—that their transport service was in fact chiefly carried on in Dutch bottoms. The British government had remonstrated with their high mightinesses at the Hague, but in vain. Under these circumstances Commodore Fielding, most likely acting under orders, insisted upon searching a Dutch fleet of merchantmen proceeding to the Mediterranean. It was convoyed by Admiral Byland, who resisted the search by pouring a broadside into Commodore Fielding's own ship. Thus challenged, Fielding returned the fire, and the Dutch admiral's flag-ship, with seven merchant ships, were made prizes. There was abundance of proof on board these ships that they were carrying stores for the fleets of the allies. The States-General, however, defended the conduct of their admiral, and a quarrel arose between the courts of Britain and the Hague, which in the time of William III. had been so firmly united against the power of the Bourbons. This quarrel with the States-General would have been of little consequence to Britain if other maritime powers had not mixed themselves up with it. The maritime ascendancy of Great Britain had become the envy of all Europe. The pretensions put forward by Britain were regarded with great jealousy by the Baltic powers. Recently two Russian vessels conveying corn to Gibraltar had been seized by a Spanish cruiser, and the empress having demanded reparation from the court of Madrid, it was instantly conceded. Dread of the Russian power may have been one motive for this ready concession; but in making it, it is clear also that the old Bourbon craft was at work. Britain reckoned the court of St. Petersburg among her warmest allies. It was the interest of the Spanish court, therefore, to procure a rupture between the courts of Britain and St. Petersburg. The concession made to the empress of all the Russias was evidently made to that intent. The Spanish cabinet, indeed, laid claim to the system of "the armed neutrality," which was now promulgated first from the court of St. Petersburg. A manifesto was issued from that court which was utterly at variance with the right of search, hitherto the law of nations, and which Britain was still determined to exercise. That manifesto set forth, "that free ships made free goods—arms and ammunition of war excepted—and that consequently they must be exempt from search." In this new doctrine Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden coincided, and France and Spain adhered to its principles. All these powers entered into a solemn league, pledging themselves to maintain its privileges; and thus Britain was threatened with new dangers from accumulated foes.

Meanwhile Rodney had arrived at St. Lucia in the West Indies. He was joined there by a squadron under Admiral Parker. Their united force consisted of twenty-two sail of the line and six frigates. The French fleet which lay in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, was superior. Rodney, however, soon appeared off that port and offered battle. But the French admiral, Count de Guichen, would not accept his challenge. Leaving some fast-sailing vessels, therefore, to watch the Frenchman's motions, Rodney returned to St. Lucia. The French fleet put to sea on the night of the 15th of April, and warned of the fact, Rodney, with twenty sail of the line, commenced an eager pursuit. Within two days the hostile fleets came in contact; and it was not Rodney's fault that the

French fleet was not annihilated. He signalled for every ship to bear down and attack the rear of the French as closely as they could; but there was a spirit of political party prevailing in his fleet, and several commanders kept their ships at a cautious distance from the enemy. One of them—Bateman of the Yarmouth—was afterwards tried by court-martial and dismissed the service. Rodney in the Sandwich did all he could to ensure a victory. He beat three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, he fought his ship with such fury that the enemy's line was quickly broken in the centre. But Rodney was stopped short in his career of victory by the ill support of his captains. The distance between the British van and rear was so great, and his own ship was so crippled, that he could not give chase, and De Guichen was enabled to reform his line and sail away. Rodney again and again sought to bring the enemy to action, but the French admiral eluded his exertions, and finally regained his former place of security at Fort Royal. Rodney ran his fleet into Barbadoes, and thence proceeded to New York.

The war in America was this year carried on by Sir Henry Clinton with considerable vigour and success. The gallant defence of Savannah, and the departure of the French fleet from America, were highly favourable to the royal cause in the southern provinces. Clinton therefore resolved to follow up its success in that quarter. At the end of December, 1779, leaving the German General Knyphausen in charge of New York, he took the command of an expedition against Charleston in South Carolina. He sailed with a force of five thousand men in the fleet of Admiral Arbuthnot. Stormy weather retarded his course and did much damage to the fleet. Many of the transports were lost, nearly all the horses perished, and the vessel which carried the siege train foundered. On the 11th of February, however, Clinton disembarked upon John's Island, about three miles from Charleston. He immediately commenced operations by laying siege to the city; and although the besieged displayed the greatest energy and courage, yet British daring overcame every obstacle, and when a visible impression had been made on the defences of Charleston, and its terrified inhabitants were beseeching Lincoln to surrender, there was at length no alternative. Blockaded by sea and invested by land, the American general found himself compelled to capitulate. Eight thousand men gave up their arms, and four hundred pieces of cannon, with all the ships in the harbour, and large military stores in the magazines, fell into the hands of the victors. It was the most complete victory that the British had obtained during the war. Its moral effects, also, were greatly favourable to the royal cause in South Carolina; and Clinton imagined that South Carolina was reduced to obedience, and was right loyal to the sovereign of Great Britain. Lord Cornwallis, in pursuance of his orders, prepared to march into North Carolina. But before he undertook that expedition he had to contend with an army of Congress. Alarmed at the progress of the British arms in the south, Congress sent General Gates to retrieve the reverses sustained by Lincoln in South Carolina. As Gates approached, the loyalty of the people of South Carolina passed away like a morning cloud. Many of those who had been most forward in tendering their services to General Clinton now openly abandoned the royal cause which they had re-embraced. Thus one Lisle, who had obtained rank and command, deserted with the whole of his brigade to the enemy; and in another part of the colony a colonel of militia, who was entrusted with the escort of sick and wounded soldiers, carried them into North Carolina, and delivered them up to Baron de Galb, a German adventurer in the pay of Congress. Kolle, at the head of some regular troops and three thousand militia, was appointed to drive the royalists out of North Carolina, and to encourage the disaffected in the southern province. While thus engaged he was joined by General Gates, who had six thousand men under his command, and who, thus strengthened, prepared to drive the British from their line of posts across South Carolina, and to carry the war up to the very walls of Charleston. The British forces, two thousand strong, were at Camden in cantonments, waiting till the heat of the summer was over to commence operations in North Carolina. The whole American army was rapidly advancing upon Camden, when Lord Cornwallis, informed of the movement, arrived to take the command of his troops. Gates moved forward in the full assurance of victory. But Lord Cornwallis did not wait to receive him. Finding a general engagement inevitable, he quitted his cantonments to meet the enemy. The advanced guard of the two armies met in a wood, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of August, but after some skirmishing, hostilities were suspended until the day dawned. As it happened, the ground on which the British troops had rested was favourable for an action. Their flanks were secured by two swamps, which prevented the American general from taking advantage of the superiority of his numbers. Cornwallis did not hesitate to engage. He charged with such impetuosity, that the raw militia which were placed in front fled at the first shock of battle in confusion; the other divisions of the army fought bravely, but they too were routed by a fiery charge of Tarleton's cavalry. The retreat of the Americans became a headlong flight. The pursuit was continued for more than twenty miles, and upwards of a thousand prisoners, with baggage, artillery, and military stores, fell into the hands of the British. Nearly nine hundred on the side of the Americans were slain—among whom was Baron de Galb—while Lord Cornwallis lost only about three hundred men in killed and wounded. The victory was rendered more complete by the subsequent capture of a brigade of eight hundred men under Colonel Sumter, who were surprised with a mere handful of men by the indefatigable Tarleton. Gates, the pet hero of Congress, and the rival of Washington, returned to the north to be disgraced; he was superseded by General Greene.

Washington had come down from the hills to protect the Jerseys, but he was waiting the arrival of a French force before he ventured on a battle. La Fayette had then arrived in his camp, bringing a promise of speedy assistance from his sovereign.

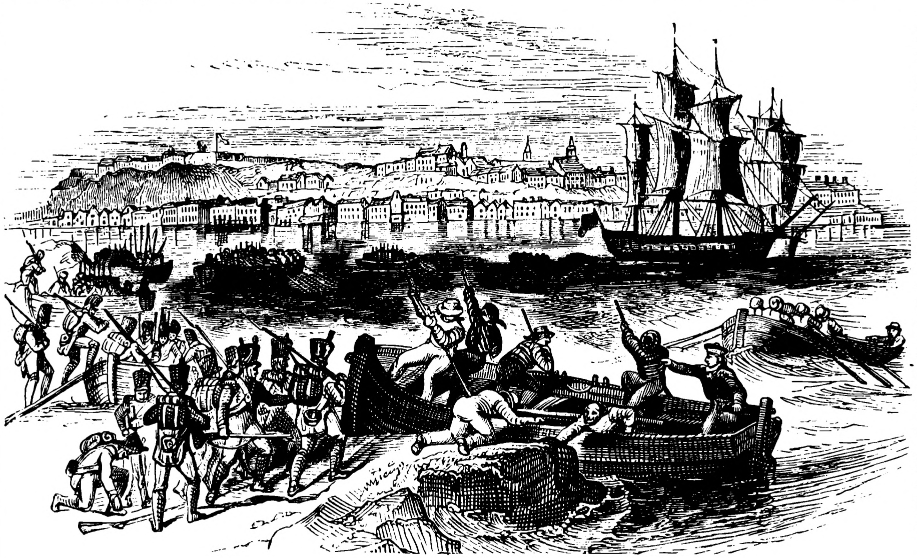
Encouraged by this promise, Congress now made an extraordinary effort to strengthen Washington's army, and to put his troops into a respectable condition. New clothes were provided them, and an abundance of provisions poured into their camp. The hopes of Washington again revived. The French arrived in July. An armament of six thousand veteran troops, under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, who had fought in the battle of Minden, landed in Rhode Island. There was to be no divided command, as heretofore, between the allies. Washington received a commission from the French monarch as lieutenant-general in the French armies, thus placing him over the head of the Count de Rochambeau. He was to be the commander-in-chief of both Frenchmen and Americans. The fleet which had brought the French troops anchored at Newport. Washington designed an attack upon New York, but it was too late. Admiral Arbuthnot, being reinforced by a squadron under Admiral Graves, had a decided superiority at sea, and Clinton formed a plan for blockading the French fleet at Newport, and landing a force on the island to attack the allies. Hoping to meet the enemy at sea, Arbuthnot deferred his co-operation till the enemy had strongly fortified their position, and then it was too late to undertake the conquest Clinton had contemplated on the island. The two armies remained in a state of inaction, each watching an opportunity to strike a blow, which during this year never came.

Frustrated in their designs, Washington and Rochambeau arranged a meeting at Hartford, in Connecticut, to concert new measures. During his absence an incident occurred which excited a painful interest on both sides, and which tended greatly to embitter the asperities of the combatants. Benedict Arnold, who had done such signal service against the British in Canada, now commanded a considerable body of troops at West Point, on the New River. Arnold, though still in the American service, was disaffected towards Congress because he had been charged with peculation, and a misuse of the public property. He was tried by a court-martial and found guilty. But his sentence was a very light one. He was to be reprimanded by Washington, who so framed his language as to convert his censure into a complimentary admonition. It is clear that the charges against him were not well founded, otherwise Washington, although he admired the soldier-like qualities of the delinquent, would have administered a severe reproof. But gentle as were the words which fell from the lips of his commander-in-chief, from that moment Arnold resolved to betray "his country's cause." He meditated a full and complete revenge. Under the assumed name of Gustavus, he opened a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, Major André, the British adjutant-general, in whom Clinton placed the utmost confidence, being his agent in the negotiation. This correspondence continued for eighteen months, during which time Clinton received much valuable information from his friend Gustavus. Major André, who had so skilfully conducted the correspondence under the name of "John Anderson," now met Arnold at a neutral spot between the hostile lines. André was furnished with papers by Arnold, which detailed all the particulars of the conspiracy. On his return, he was taken prisoner by a patrol of the United States militia, and on being searched, papers were found in his possession. He earnestly entreated Washington to treat him as an officer, and not as a spy; but the American general threw off the responsibility, and submitted the case to a court of general officers. The most urgent appeals from many sources were made in his behalf, but made in vain; they were made to stern, inflexible men, struggling for independence. André was condemned to die for his offence. Even his last touching appeal to his judges was refused him, that he might have the honour of a soldier's death; and while the traitor Arnold escaped to the British camp, and was rewarded with a commission and six thousand pounds in money, the unfortunate Major André perished on the scaffold. This was one of the most affecting and exciting episodes of the war.

In the seas of Europe the British commerce during the year sustained disasters which cast a gloom over the nation. Sir Charles Hardy having died in May, Admiral Geary was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet. In July Geary captured twelve French merchantmen; but this success, together with the prizes made by Admirals Rodney and Digby, as previously recorded, was more than counterbalanced by a disaster which befell a rich convoy from the East and West Indies. This convoy, attended only by the Ramillies and two frigates, to the number of nearly sixty ships, were captured off the Azores by a Spanish squadron, and carried into Cadiz. It was the richest prize ever carried into that port.. Besides a rich cargo of merchandise; many of the ships were laden with naval and military stores, all of which, with three thousand men, were lost to Britain. About the same time also fourteen ships of the outward-bound Quebec fleet were captured by the Americans. These, properly considered, were minor incidents of the war, but as they affected all classes of society in their nearer or remote consequences, caused great national despondency. Complaints were made of the mode of employing the Channel fleet, and Admiral Geary resigned his command.

Towards the close of the year an event occurred of far greater moment as to the future prospects of Britain. The quarrel which existed between Britain and Holland in regard to the right of search at length terminated in an open rupture. The climax of the quarrel resulted from the capture of an American ship by a British cruiser off the coast of Newfoundland. On board this ship was Henry Laurens, late president of Congress, who was sent on a mission to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the states of America. The papers found in his possession revealed the fact that a secret treaty had been executed two years before at Aix-la-Chapelle, between Willian Lee, the agent of Congress, and John de Neufville, acting for the grand pensionary of Amsterdam. Laurens was brought to England and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, and the British ambassador at the Hague was instructed to demand a disavowal of this treaty. It was perfectly competent for the

Dutch government to make this disavowal, as no treaty, according to the constitution of Holland, could be binding without the concurrence of all the states. The demand of the British government, however, was treated with silent contempt; and there was no alternative left but to declare war against Holland. The British ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and war was proclaimed in London in due form and solemnity. Thus Britain was left without a single ally to wage war beyond the Atlantic, and to encounter the hostility of France, Spain, and Holland in Europe. But with all this the spirit of the nation rose equal to the emergency. Heavy as taxation was it was borne with patience, and recruits came forward to swell the army, and seamen to man every ship put in commission. The energy and warlike spirit of the nation, in a great measure, supplied the deficiency of the government, and gave hopes of final triumph.



QUEBEC.

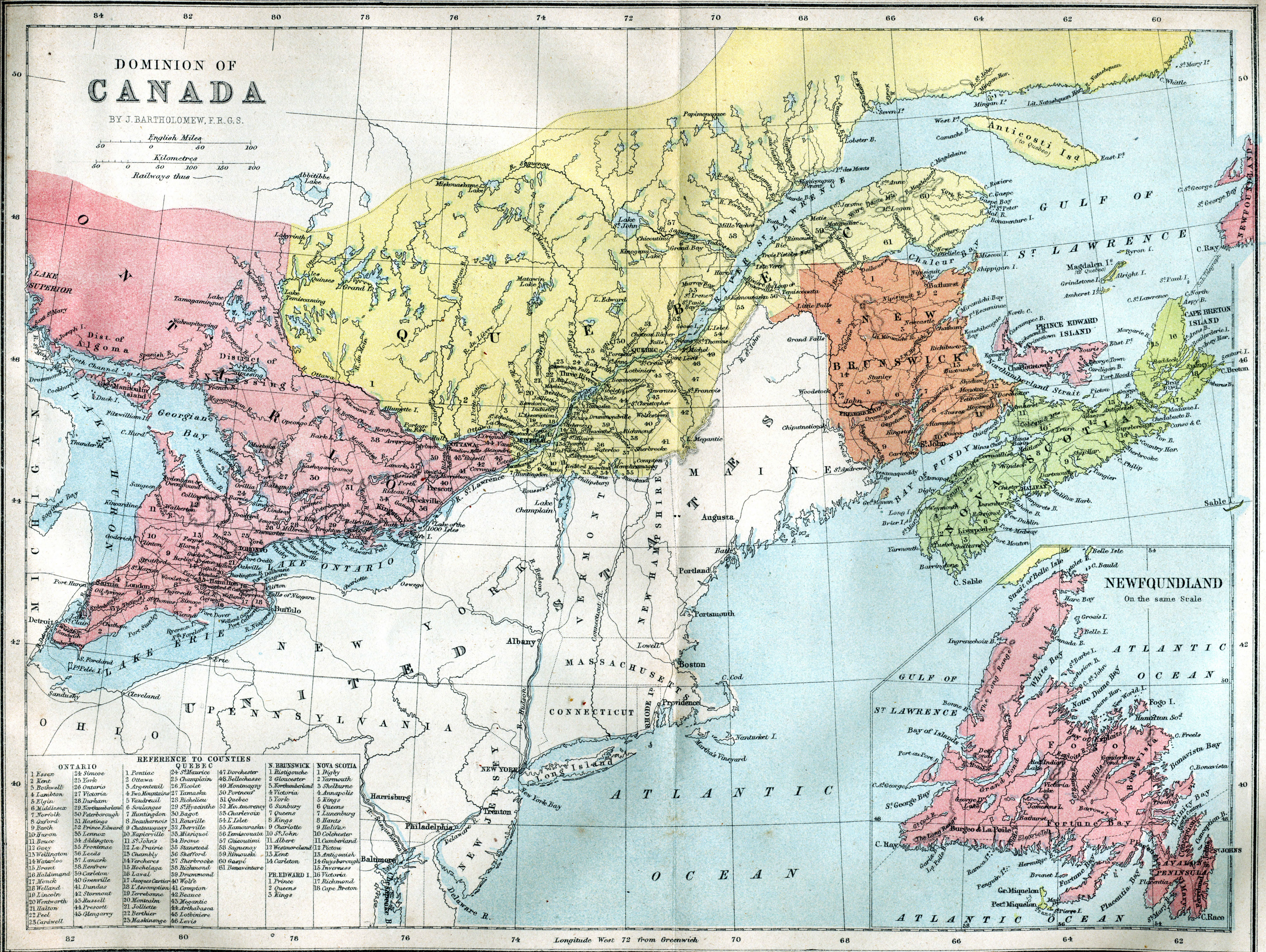
On the first of September parliament was unexpectedly dissolved. The elections were in favour of the court. Several of the more popular members of the opposition lost their seats. One hundred and thirteen new members were elected.

Parliament met on the thirty-first of October. The favourable result of the elections to the court was manifested in the choice of a Speaker. Offended with the recent conduct of Sir Fletcher Norton, government proposed a new candidate for the chair. Mr. Cornwall was elected Speaker by a majority of two hundred and three to one hundred and thirty-four.

His majesty delivered his opening speech on the 1st of November. Like its predecessors for the last four years, it was warlike. Great bitterness was displayed in it towards France and Spain, but as regards the Americans it was not so defiant as heretofore. Their hostility, which had all along been denounced as "flat rebellion," was now spoken of for the first time as a war. His majesty hoped that the late successes in Georgia and Carolina would have important consequences in bringing the war to a conclusion. The opposition denied that these successes would have any such effect, and an amendment was moved adverse to the further prosecution of the war in America, but the address was carried by an overwhelming majority. In the Lords there was but little debate, but there was an amendment and a division with a similar result. The same success attended ministers with regard to the army and navy estimates. As of old, Lord North carried everything before him with a high hand.

Parliament reassembled on the 25th of January, 1781. Papers were laid on the tables of both Houses relative to the rupture with Holland, and Lord North delivered the usual message of the king to the Commons. He moved an address assuring his majesty that the House would support him in the war against Holland, which was described as "just and necessary." The treachery and ill-will of the Dutch had been so manifest, that opposition had no sound arguments to urge either against the war or the royal manifesto which had been promulgated in its justification. Amendments were moved in both Houses, in which ministers were charged with losing friends and making enemies. In both Houses the amendment was rejected by large majorities, ministers and their supporters warmly denouncing, and with great justice, the insolence, selfishness, and ingratitude of the States-General.

There was at this time no disposition on the part of government to exercise the virtues of economy, either as regarded the civil list or the general expenditure of government. Year by year the annual expenditure had an upward tendency. During the last four years the increase had been enormous. The supplies granted in 1776 amounted to 12,895,543*l.*: those demanded this year were 22,485,337*l.*, an increase of nearly ten millions. Lord North proposed that twelve millions should be raised by loan. That, he said, was necessary. But loans to the state involve increased taxation. And in this instance no small amount would be required to be wrung from the people to pay the interest. The terms were unusually high. A contract had been entered into by which new taxes would be required to the amount of 660,000*l.* annually, or 60,000*l.* more than the legal interest of five per cent. Added to this, the subscription to the loan bore a premium of ten per cent., by which the sum of 1,200,000*l.* appeared to be lost to the nation. Fox reprobated this bargain as corrupt in its origin, shameful in its progress, and injurious in its consequences. Its profits, he said,


English Miles
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
50 0 50 100 150 200
Railways thus
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEW BRUNSWICK
NOVA SCOTIA
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
UNITED STATES
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE I.
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
OHIO
MICHIGAN
NEWFOUNDLAND
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE HURON
Georgian Bay
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Dist. of Algoma
District of Nipissing
RIVER ST LAWRENCE
GULF OF ST LAWRENCE
Anticosti Isd. (to Quebec)
Chaleur Bay
Northumberland Strait
BAY OF FUNDY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
OTTAWA
TORONTO
MONTREAL
QUEBEC
FREDERICTON
HALIFAX
St. John
Kingston
Hamilton
London
Three Rivers
Sherbrooke
Charlottetown
Sydney
Detroit
Buffalo
Albany
Boston
Portland
Augusta
Providence
NEW YORK
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Harrisburg
Trenton
NEWFOUNDLAND
On the same Scale
ST JOHNS
AVALON PENINSULA
Belle Isle
Strait of Belle Isle
Fortune Bay
Placentia Bay
Trinity Bay
Bonavista Bay
Notre Dame Bay
White Bay
St. George Bay
Bay of Islands
C. Ray
C. Race
Gr. Miquelon
Pet. Miquelon
Longitude West 72 from Greenwich
84
82
80
78
76
74
72
70
68
66
64
62
60
50
48
46
44
42
40

DOMINION OF CANADA

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

REFERENCE TO COUNTIES

ONTARIO

1 *Essex*
2 *Kent*
3 *Bothwell*
4 *Lambton*
5 *Elgin*
6 *Middlesex*
7 *Norfolk*
8 *Oxford*
9 *Perth*
10 *Huron*
11 *Bruce*
12 *Grey*
13 *Wellington*
14 *Waterloo*
15 *Brant*
16 *Haldimand*
17 *Monck*
18 *Welland*
19 *Lincoln*
20 *Wentworth*
21 *Halton*
22 *Peel*
23 *Cardwell*
24 *Simcoe*
25 *York*
26 *Ontario*
27 *Victoria*
28 *Durham*
29 *Northumberland*
30 *Peterborough*
31 *Hastings*
32 *Prince Edward*
33 *Lennox*
34 *Addington*
35 *Frontenac*
36 *Leeds*
37 *Lanark*
38 *Renfrew*
39 *Carleton*
40 *Grenville*
41 *Dundas*
42 *Stormont*
43 *Russell*
44 *Prescott*
45 *Glengarry*

QUEBEC

1 *Pontiac*
2 *Ottawa*
3 *Argenteuil*
4 *Two Mountains*
5 *Vaudreuil*
6 *Soulanges*
7 *Huntingdon*
8 *Beauharnois*
9 *Chateauguay*
10 *Napierville*
11 *St. John's*
12 *La Prairie*
13 *Chambly*
14 *Vercheres*
15 *Hochelaga*
16 *Laval*
17 *Jacques Cartier*
18 *L'Assomption*
19 *Terrebonne*
20 *Montcalm*
21 *Jolliette*
22 *Berthier*
23 *Maskinonge*
24 *St. Maurice*
25 *Champlain*
26 *Nicolet*
27 *Yamaska*
28 *Richelieu*
29 *St. Hyacinthe*
30 *Bagot*
31 *Rouville*
32 *Iberville*
33 *Missiquoi*
34 *Brome*
35 *Stanstead*
36 *Shefford*
37 *Sherbrooke*
38 *Richmond*
39 *Drummond*
40 *Wolfe*
41 *Compton*
42 *Beauce*
43 *Megantic*
44 *Arthabasca*
45 *Lotbiniere*
46 *Levis*
47 *Dorchester*
48 *Bellechasse*
49 *Montmagny*
50 *Portneuf*
51 *Quebec*
52 *Montmorency*
53 *Charlevoix*
54 *L'Islet*
55 *Kamouraska*
56 *Temiscouata*
57 *Chicoutimi*
58 *Saguenay*
59 *Rimouski*
60 *Gaspé*
61 *Bonaventure*

N. BRUNSWICK

1 *Ristigouche*
2 *Gloucester*
3 *Northumberland*
4 *Victoria*
5 *York*
6 *Sunbury*
7 *Queens*
8 *Kings*
9 *Charlotte*
10 *St. John*
11 *Albert*
12 *Westmoreland*
13 *Kent*
14 *Carleton*

PR. EDWARD I.

1 *Prince*
2 *Queens*
3 *Kings*

NOVA SCOTIA

1 *Digby*
2 *Yarmouth*
3 *Shelburne*
4 *Annapolis*
5 *Kings*
6 *Queens*
7 *Lunenburg*
8 *Hants*
9 *Halifax*
10 *Colchester*
11 *Cumberland*
12 *Pictou*
13 *Antigonish*
14 *Guysborough*
15 *Inverness*
16 *Victoria*
17 *Richmond*
18 *Cape Breton*

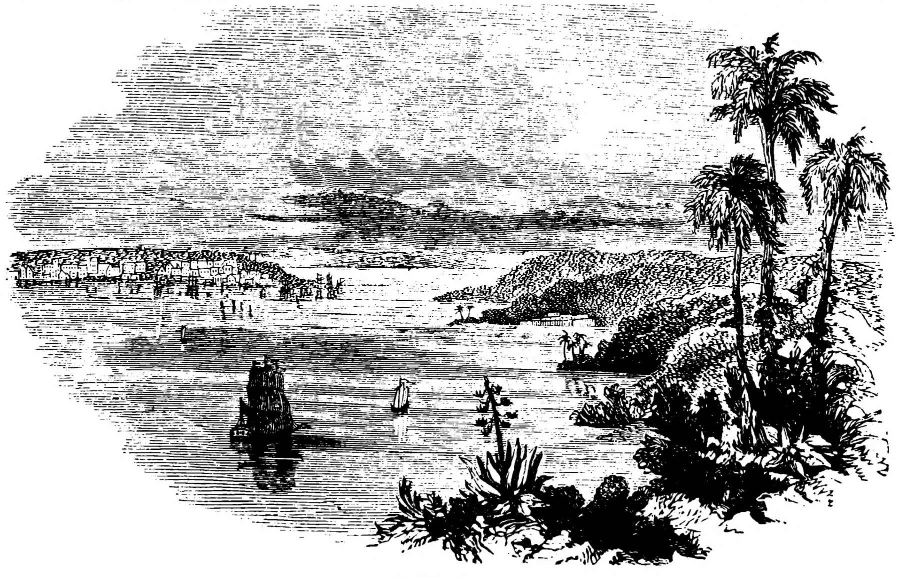
would be one million sterling, which sum would be in the hands of the minister to be lavished among the members, either as compensations for their expenses in the recent elections, or as bribes for future services. Another of the ways and means proposed by North was strongly opposed by Fox. This was by a lottery. Fox had been a great gambler, and was at this moment reduced to a miserable state of embarrassment and dependence from his gambling propensities. Whether he repented or not is a question, but he delivered an impressive harangue on the vice of gambling, in which he denounced lotteries as the most pernicious of all species of gaming, inasmuch as it affected the habits, morals, and circumstances of the lower classes. Lord North, however, defended both the loan and the lottery; and his bill, after much opposition, passed both Houses.

As in former sessions, ministers were attacked on every point wherein they were considered vulnerable. They were even called into question for employing the military in the suppression of the Lord George Gordon riots in the preceding summer. No unprejudiced mind could have blamed them for such an act. The only blame that could be attached to them was, not that they had called in the military to save the city from sack and ruin, but that they had not called them in sooner. Sheridan, however, who like William Pitt had joined the ranks of opposition, moved three propositions; the first declaring that the military forces could not justifiably be used without waiting for directions from civil magistrates, and until the civil authority had been overcome and the subversion of legal government threatened; the second affirming that the employment of the military was a practical proof of the defective state of the police; and the third for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of the magistracy and civil power during the riots. All these propositions were emphatically negatived; but Sheridan, by his harangue, which was replete with bitter invectives and adorned with glowing periods, obtained the reputation of a first-rate orator.

Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of July. His majesty's sentiments were still equally as warlike as his "faithful Commons." Peace, he said, was the earnest wish of his heart, but he had too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, the assistance of his parliament, and the protection of an Allwise Providence, to accept it upon any other terms than such as concerted with the honour and dignity of his crown and the interests and security of his people. His majesty still spoke of the Americans as his "deluded subjects," whom he hoped to restore to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed. But at the time when his majesty delivered this speech there was no hope of such a consummation. The Americans were working out their independence with a stern purpose of will which the sword of Britain could never overcome; and as for peace, there was no prospect of obtaining it, for war was raging on every hand.

At the commencement of this year hostilities were resumed near home by a descent of the French on the island of Jersey. Its capital was captured by them in the dead of the night, and the lieutenant-governor, Corbet, signed a capitulation for the surrender of the whole island. But Major Pearson, a young officer in command of a small British garrison, treated the paper signed by the coward lieutenant-governor with contempt. While the French were exulting in their victory, with all the force he could collect, he fell upon them in the market-place of St. Heliers, and compelled them to lay down their arms. Nearly eight hundred French were either killed or captured. The French officer in command was wounded, and died immediately after the surrender. Unfortunately, Major Pearson did not survive to obtain the reward of his gallant conduct: he fell in the moment of victory. Major Corbet was tried by a court-martial, and was sentenced to be dismissed from his office, a mild sentence compared with his offence.

The siege of Gibraltar still continued. During the previous year the Spanish monarch had made overtures to Britain for peace. His heart was not wholly in the cause in which he had engaged. The cause of American independence did not engage *his* sympathies; and the failure of the great naval armament which had been fitted out for the invasion of Britain rendered him desirous of peace. As, however, he made the cession of Gibraltar the basis of his negotiation, his overtures were at once rejected. The siege of the Old Rock therefore continued. For



DEMERARA.

seven weeks there was an incessant cannonade from batteries and gunboats, and when it ceased, its fury had been spent in vain. A few of the garrison had been killed and wounded, but no breach had been made in the fortifications. The Old Rock, defended by General Elliot and his brave garrison, proudly defied the power of the Dons. Subsequently a sortie was made upon the enemy, who were driven from their lines, with great loss in men and munitions of war.

Early in this year the Dutch met with a severe chastisement for their perfidious conduct at the hands of Admiral Rodney. Having received intelligence of hostilities between the two countries, Rodney resolved to capture St. Eustatius. This island, one of the Leeward group, had long been the resort of trading adventurers of all nations. It was a free port, but it was a Dutch island, and one which the Dutch made great use of in their lucrative traffic with the enemy. People of other nations were also engaged in the same traffic, and among them were some British merchants, who, in their love of gain, forgot their duty to their country. The capture of St. Eustatius was not attended with any difficulty. It was incapable of defence, and the Dutch governor, De Graaf, surrendered at the first summons. The riches obtained in merchandise by this success were something fabulous. The island, which Burke described as "a New Tyre," was one vast emporium of sugar and tobacco, and all the richer products of the West Indies. In the bay a whole fleet of armed cruisers and nearly two hundred merchantmen were captured; and as General Vaughan, who had accompanied Rodney in his enterprise, kept the Dutch colours flying at St. Christopher, a number of Dutch, French, and American vessels were decoyed into the harbour and made prizes. A fleet of thirty ships, richly laden, which had sailed for Holland two days before, were pursued and captured, together with a man-of-war under the command of Admiral Byland, who lost his life in a vain effort of resistance. The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in a similar manner. About the same time the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, in Guiana, submitted to a squadron of privateers from Bristol, and were handed over to the governor of Barbadoes. The British flag was at this date regarded in the West Indies as an ensign almost as terrible as the black flag of the pirate. Without waiting for letters of marque and reprisal, whereby their acts would have been legalized, privateers were fitted out by individuals to plunder the rich Hollanders. Lawful or unlawful, that was held to be an object worthy of British enterprise. Yet after all, the conquest of St. Eustatius, instead of redounding to the advantage of Britain, became, through a series of mismanagement and disasters, a positive advantage to the enemy. Merchandise of the estimated value of three millions sterling was diposed of by a forced sale to neutral powers, at a terrible depreciation, and found its way to France and America on easier terms than it could have been obtained from the rapacious traders, whether Dutch, Jewish, French, American, or British. Another portion of the treasure was recaptured by a French squadron on its way home; and before the year closed the island itself was surrendered to the French by Colonel Cockburn, in a manner which reflects no honour on his valour. Soon after this Rodney returned home from ill health, leaving Hood in command of the fleet in the West Indies.

The campaign in America opened favourably to the royal cause. American independence seemed to be remote, if not a baseless vision. Congress did not respond to the spirit of the people. The army of Washington, on which it could alone mainly depend, was left at the close of the last campaign in a most deplorable condition. They were on the point of starvation, and, unable any longer to endure their privations, the troops broke out into open mutiny. On the night of the 1st of January the Pennsylvanian troops, which had halted at Morris Town in the Jerseys, to the number of thirteen hundred men, marched out of camp, and declared that they would go to the seat of Congress, and either obtain redress or return to their homes. They had revolted to obtain their rights and the necessaries of life, and were resolved to obtain them. In the end, those of them who had served their time were permitted to return home, and the rest, having had their demands pledged to them, returned to their duty.

While these events were occurring in Washington's camp, Sir Henry Clinton sent the renegade Arnold to carry devastation into Virginia. This duty was performed with his usual vigour. Animated by a spirit of revenge against Congress, Arnold, at the head of about twelve hundred men, part of whom were American loyalists, proceeded up James's river and landed at Westover, about twenty-five miles from Richmond, the capital of Virginia. The name of Arnold was a terror to the republicans. Although there were fifty thousand enrolled militia in that province, Jefferson, the governor of Richmond, could only collect a few hundreds, and as Arnold approached, he fled from the devoted city with his council, secretaries, and officers, up the country. Arnold entered the town on the morning after his flight, and all the public buildings and tobacco stores were destroyed by fire. At Westham, also, in the vicinity of Richmond, the buildings which contained arms, ammunition, and military stores were destroyed by the fiery element. Having effected this destruction, Arnold returned to his shipping at Westover, and from thence descended down the river to Portsmouth. At Portsmouth he was reinforced, and he established a station there to co-operate with Cornwallis. While thus posted, plans were formed by Washington to capture him and bring him to the gallows. Ever since his defection from their cause, Arnold was the special object of the American leader's vengeance, and he made several efforts to capture him, but in vain. The work of destruction was continued by Phillips and Arnold with a high hand. There were no troops to oppose them. The militia only existed upon paper, for without money or arms it was useless to collect and embody them. Towns were therefore captured with impunity, and public property, with a quantity of vessels found in the different harbours, destroyed. Such were the scenes enacted at Williamsburg, York

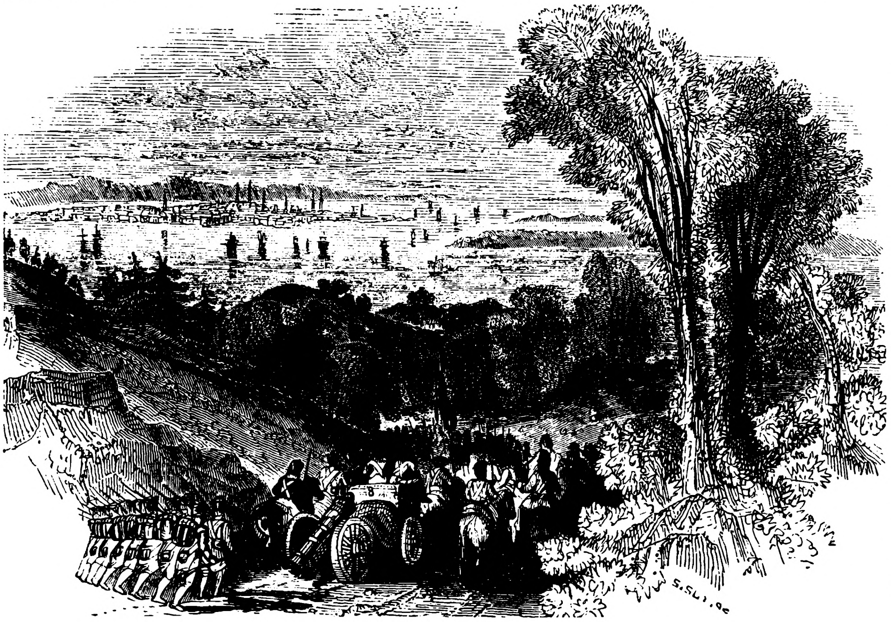
Town, Petersburg, and Chesterfield Court House. After the capture of the latter, Arnold marched through Osbornes to Warwick—burning and destroying in his route—where an American flotilla had been collected, the crews of which set fire to their vessels or scuttled them, and escaped to the opposite shore and fled up the country. Phillips and Arnold now again united their forces and marched to Manchester, where they burned all the tobacco and stores. They designed crossing the river to Richmond, but La Fayette had taken up his position there, and they retraced their steps, re-embarked their troops, and fell down the river to Hog Island, where they remained till they were called upon by Lord Cornwallis to co-operate with him in Virginia. This diversion, as it was called, was eminently successful in the work of destruction in which it was employed, but it was ill advised, as the troops were required in other quarters, where they might have rendered essential service in the grand objects of the campaign to which the British force thus reduced was found to be inadequate. In truth, the employment of three thousand men in capturing defenceless towns, and destroying public property, was a measure to which the disastrous result of this campaign may in part be attributed.

From the recent successes of the British arms in South Carolina, the British government believed that another campaign would terminate, if not in final victory, at least in giving a crushing blow to the rebellion in America. This hope was an idle dream, for the most vigorous preparations were being made by the colonists to meet the royal forces when they should again take the field. It has been seen that Gates had been succeeded in the command in Carolina by General Greene. By this appointment, Congress greatly aided the cause of independence. When he arrived at head-quarters in the south, he found the army which Gates had commanded demoralized. It was reduced in numbers to two thousand three hundred men, and they had neither artillery, baggage, nor stores. It was a mere skeleton of an army, and it was in the presence of an enemy flushed with victory, and comprising more than five thousand well-disciplined troops, and a numerous body of militia still faithful, or appearing to be faithful to the royal cause. Nothing daunted, however, Greene set to work with a will to stem the tide of British victories. He recruited and equipped his forces, and was quickly enabled to detach General Morgan with a force to menace the left of Lord Cornwallis on the western side of South Carolina, while he himself, with the remainder of his army, undertook to defend the country before Camden, and endeavour to impede the march of Lord Cornwallis into North Carolina.

The march of Cornwallis, however, through North Carolina was one of triumph. The North Carolina militia fled before him like a flock of sheep. Hillsborough, the capital of the province, was captured without firing a shot. The royal standard was raised there, and high-sounding proclamations were issued to the people calling them back to their duty to the king. As in the other provinces, there were still royalists in North Carolina, and they readily responded to the call. Forming themselves into independent companies, they joined Tarleton's legion. All North Carolina appeared to be at the mercy of Lord Cornwallis, for there was in the first weeks of March no army there to resist him. General Greene, however, having at that time been reinforced by all the available militia in Virginia, retraced his steps into that province to contend for victory. A body of three hundred loyalists was intercepted by one of his detachments under Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, and put to the sword. About the same time another body of loyalists were cut down by Tarleton himself, who took them for militiamen. Greene marched towards Guildford in North Carolina, with a force of seven thousand men. Cornwallis prepared to meet him, and on the 15th of March a battle was fought, in which, after an action of an hour and a half, Greene was defeated. The victory, however, was dearly purchased, as nearly one-third of the British troops engaged were either killed or wounded. According to Cornwallis, his number of wounded, together with the fatigue of his troops and want of provisions, prevented his pursuing the enemy. He was compelled, indeed, to retreat, and Greene, who had fled some twenty miles from Guildford, soon became the pursuer. Cornwallis fell back to Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear river, where he arrived on the 7th of April. Meanwhile Greene, who had slowly moved in his rear, had descended towards the sea coast, and had carried the war into South Carolina. Warned of his danger, Lord Rawdon, who had been left in care of that province, occupied cantonments, having the town of Camden for his centre. As Greene approached, he called in all his detachments and prepared for battle. An action was fought before Camden, in which the American general was again defeated. But as in the battle near Guildford, Rawdon's victory was equivalent to defeat. Another fierce battle was fought at Eutaw Springs, in which both sides claimed the victory. The result was certainly favourable to the Americans, for although the British remained on the field the night after the action, and all the following day, they retreated to Charleston, which was now the only post over which the royal flag waved in all South Carolina.

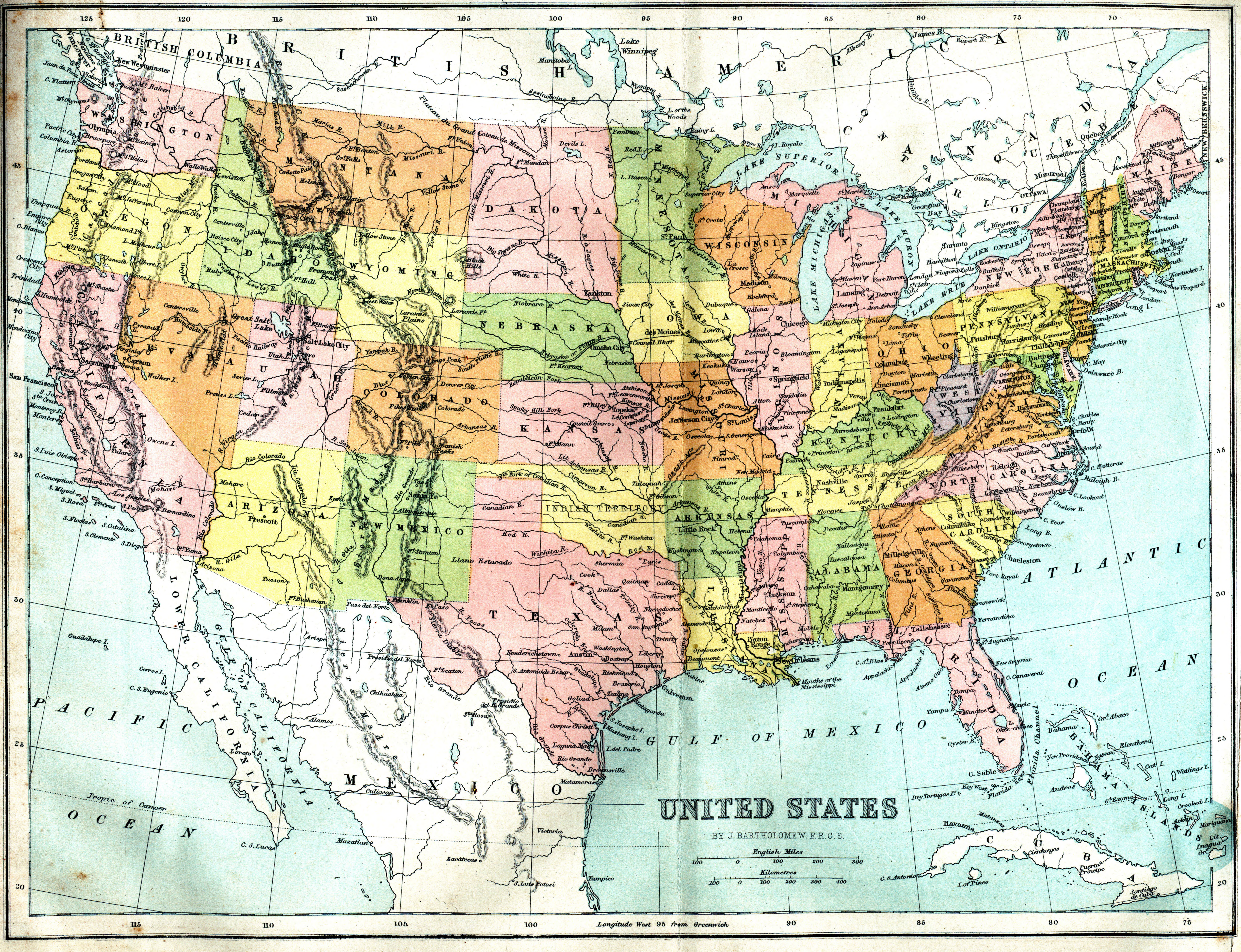
Meanwhile Cornwallis had received orders either to send back his troops to New York, or to employ them in a new diversion on the Chesapeake and the Susquehanna. Disapproving of the latter plan, he resolved to return the detachments to New York. While at Portsmouth he embarked the troops that were required at New York, but before they sailed fresh orders were received to retain them. Clinton had been threatened by Washington and Rochambeau, but he was no longer in fear of their threats. In his despatch Clinton expressed his disapproval of his lieutenant's movements, and desired him to retain the detachments, and either to fortify himself at Old Point Comfort or York Town.

York Town was situated on the peninsula between the river York and the river James, up to which point the river York was navigable. Cornwallis having surveyed Old Point Comfort, conceived that position to be untenable, and therefore his choice fell upon York Town. But that position did not meet with his entire approval. Nevertheless on the 2nd of August he took possession of it. In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton was in a maze of perplexity. As soon as Count De Grasse, the French admiral, arrived with a new fleet, he expected to be attacked by the combined forces of France and America. Concealing his real intention, Washington still threatened New York, although, from the preparations which had been made to sustain a siege, he could not have hoped for success in such an enterprise. Nor did he intend undertaking the siege of New York; or if he did, when, on the 14th of August, De Grasse having escaped the vigilance of Rodney and Hood, arrived at the Chesapeake, he instantly abandoned his intention. York Town was a more vulnerable point, and he rightly conceived that a blow might be struck there which would be keenly felt by Britain. There were seven thousand British troops in York Town and at Gloucester Point, and these captured, the British power in America would be broken.



NEW YORK.

Turning his back, therefore, on New York, Washington put his army in motion for the south. In doing so, however, he led Clinton to believe that his march was a feint, and that he would return to his encampment. While he led his army down the western side of the river, General Heath was left to defend the Hudson, as though New York was still the point of attack. By this subtle movement Clinton was out-generalled. Washington marched away unopposed. It was not till he had passed the Delaware that his intention became manifest. In order to recall Washington to the north, Clinton sent Arnold on an expedition into Connecticut, where he took and reduced New London to ashes. Washington, however, was not diverted by this expedition from his grand design. He marched forward undisturbed by the intelligence of the disaster at New London. He proceeded southward to the head of the Elk, a river which flows into the Chesapeake. Transports from the French fleet were already there waiting his arrival, and having seen his forces embarked, Washington, with Rochambeau, proceeded by land to join La Fayette at Williamsburg. While at the head of the Elk, Washington put himself in communication with De Grasse. On his arrival at the Chesapeake, the French admiral had under his command twenty-eight sail of the line, and several frigates, on board of which were upwards of three thousand land troops. His fleet was superior to that of Britain. Rodney had despatched fourteen ships of the line under Sir Samuel Hood to join Admiral Graves, who commanded the fleet at New York; but when Hood arrived he found that Graves had only seven ships of the line, and of these only five were ready for sea. But with this inferior force Admiral Graves, who was the senior in command, set sail in quest of the French fleet. De Grasse had landed his troops to join La Fayette, and lay at anchor just within the capes. Graves gave the signal for battle, and there was a warm engagement till nightfall, but there was no victory on either side. De Grasse was five days after joined by a French squadron consisting of eight ships of the line which had, under the command of Count de Barras, been stationed at Rhode Island. His force was now overwhelming, and with it he proceeded to co-operate with Washington in the siege of York Town. Hostile fleets and armies gathered thick and fast around Lord Cornwallis. On the 16th of September he wrote to Clinton informing him of his perilous situation. Troops were then hovering around him, but twelve days later his position became more perilous. On the 28th, the combined forces of Washington and Rochambeau appeared in sight, and simultaneously with their movement the French fleet advanced to the mouth of York river, to prevent his escape by sea. Still Lord Cornwallis hoped to be able to hold out till assistance arrived from Clinton. He had three weeks' provision in store, and he was promised the co-operation of five thousand men with Clinton at their head. They were to be embarked at New York on the 5th of October. As the French fleet in the Chesapeake cut off any chance of further supplies if relief did not appear, the British army by the middle of October would be in danger of starvation. Its position was most critical. The siege was pressed with unwonted vigour; the more so as Washington was fearful that succours from New York might



UNITED STATES

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

BRITISH COLUMBIA
B R I T I S H   A M E R I C A
C A N A D A
NEW BRUNSWICK
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
MISSOURI
KANSAS
INDIAN TERRITORY
TEXAS
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
COLORADO
UTAH
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
LOWER CALIFORNIA
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
M E X I C O
C U B A
BAHAMA ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
Lake Winnipeg
L. of the Woods
Great Salt Lake
Tropic of Cancer
San Francisco
Sacramento
Los Angeles
San Diego
Portland
Olympia
Salt Lake City
Carson
Denver City
Santa Fe
Omaha City
Chicago
St. Louis
Jefferson City
Topeka
Springfield
Indianapolis
Columbus
Cincinnati
Detroit
Lansing
Madison
St. Paul
Des Moines
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Richmond
Albany
Boston
Augusta
Montreal
Quebec
Ottawa
Toronto
Nashville
Frankfort
Louisville
Raleigh
Columbia
Charleston
Savannah
Milledgeville
Atlanta
Montgomery
Mobile
Jackson
New Orleans
Baton Rouge
Little Rock
Memphis
Austin
Galveston
Houston
San Antonio de Bexar
Brownsville
Matamoras
Tallahassee
Key West
Havanna
Prescott
Tucson
Yankton
Llano Estacado
Longitude West 95 from Greenwich
English Miles
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Kilometres
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disappoint him of his prey. Cornwallis held out bravely. The old German, Steuben, paid a high tribute to his bravery. On the 19th of September he wrote: "Cornwallis is fortifying himself like a brave general who must fall; but I think he will fall with honour." The end was approaching. On the 20th of October Cornwallis informed the commander-in-chief of the British forces that on the previous day he had been compelled to surrender his troops by capitulation as prisoners of war to the combined forces of France and America.

It was a proud triumph for General Washington. Nearly six thousand men, with all their arms, artillery, and stores, were given up to him, while three men-of-war and several transports lying in the river were surrendered to the French Admiral de Grasse. The articles of capitulation did not involve any disgraceful stipulations. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were allowed to march out to an appointed place with beat of drum and arms shouldered, and there to ground their arms and return to their place of encampment. All the officers, both British and German, were allowed to keep their swords; and upon their return to their lines and tents the whole army enjoyed full liberty. But in the British army there were many American loyalists. Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain indemnity for them; but Washington rejected the article of capitulation proposed by him that they were not to be punished. The matter of their forgiveness or punishment, he said, did not belong to the military but to the civil power. His refusal, however, did not arise from any vindictive feeling. He allowed an article to stand, by which the Bonetta sloop of war was left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis. It was to pass unexamined to New York, and he embarked as many royalists as he could on board the Bonetta, to shield them from the vengeance of their countrymen. On the whole the terms of capitulation obtained by Cornwallis were honourable to Washington; and considering the scourge he had been to the south, much more favourable than he could have expected. But Washington probably felt that it was no time for driving a hard bargain. Like Cornwallis, he had been expecting Clinton to appear, and had he done so while arms were in the hands of the garrison of York Town, the tide of victory might have turned. Moreover, to secure so great a victory, it was wise policy to be generous; for in that victory was involved American freedom. It was the last great event of the American war. The long struggle of the colonists for independence was virtually over. Henceforth there was a cessation of arms—America was free!

In Europe the Spaniards not only continued the siege of Gibraltar, but attempted the reduction of Minorca. France joined in the enterprise. A formidable expedition was fitted out with great skill and caution, and placed under the command of the duke of Crillon. The united fleets of Spain and France sailed out of Cadiz Bay in July, and while the mass of the force stretched out into the ocean as if an invasion of Britain was the object, eight thousand land troops were transported through the straits to Minorca, and safely landed. General Murray retired with his garrison into Fort St. Philip, the chief defence of the island. Crillon was a descendant of a brave ancestor, but he commenced operations by an act of mean cowardice. He offered Murray a bribe of 100,000*l.*, and rank and employment in the Spanish service, if he would surrender, and save him the trouble of a siege or blockade. Murray, however, who had only two British and Hanoverian regiments under his command, rejected the offer with scorn. Crillon then laid siege to Fort St. Philip, but although he was reinforced in the autumn by four thousand French troops, at the close of the year the British flag still waved triumphantly over its ramparts.

Meanwhile the French and Spanish fleets menaced the British coasts, and for some time rode unmolested in the Channel. It was a mighty armament, consisting of seventy sail, most of which were ships of the line. Admiral Darby lay at anchor in Torbay. His force consisted of only twenty-three sail of the line, twelve frigates, and six fire-ships, so that he could not venture to give battle. Nor did the French and Spanish commanders dare to attack him in the harbour. As before, there was a division between them, and sickness breaking out among their crews, after picking up some of the British vessels which were bringing home part of the property which had been seized at St. Eustatius, the combined fleets of France and Spain returned in the autumn to Cadiz Bay.

The most stirring event on the ocean this year occurred between the British and the Dutch. Returning from the Baltic with a convoy of merchant vessels, Sir Hyde Parker encountered Admiral Zouttman with a convoy of Dutch traders off Doggers Bank. The feelings of the British and the Dutch were so embittered against each other, that no opportunity was lost of coming to blows. No sooner did the commanders catch sight of each other, than they prepared for battle. Parker had six ships of the line and several frigates: Zouttman, ten ships of the line, eight frigates, and five sloops. They advanced in gloomy silence, until the hostile fleets were within pistol-shot, before the battle commenced. It was a conflict for life or death. Ranged abreast of each other, for four long hours the battle raged with unmitigated fury. "No surrender" was the motto on both sides! Cannon answered to cannon, and the air reverberated with its thunders. At length there was a lull in the din of battle. Both fleets were disabled, and lay to for the repair of damages. Sir Hyde Parker prepared to renew the struggle, but as soon as Zouttman's ships were made manageable, he wore round and bore away with all sail for the Texel. He had lost in the action about twelve hundred in killed and wounded; and on the next day the Hollandia, a sixty-eight gun ship, was discovered in twenty-two fathoms of water, in which it was said most of her crew had found their graves. The loss of the British was about five hundred. By this victory the voyage of the Dutch to the Baltic was abandoned, and for this year their valuable carrying trade annihilated. A squadron of frigates under Sir Peter Parker, the son of the hero of Doggers Bank, was sent to block up the Dutch ports, to the great chagrin of the avaricious and perfidious Dutch merchants. Nor were the disasters at St. Eustatius and the ruin of the Baltic trade all that the Dutch had to suffer for their greed of gold and perfidy to Britain. Five Dutch East Indiamen were captured in Saldhana Bay by Commodore Johnstone and brought to England; and in the East Indies the Dutch fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, was captured by the British. Early in the succeeding year, also, their valuable settlement of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, was added to the British dominions.

But all the victories obtained by sea and land in 1781 were considered by the nation of minor importance, compared with the great disaster which had befallen the British arms at York Town. The news of that signal and decisive reverse reached London on the 27th of November. It is related that Lord North received Clinton's despatch as he would have taken a ball in his breast. He opened his arms and exclaimed in anguish, "Oh God! all is over!" King George himself was not so despairing. It was hard for him to believe that he should lose the American colonies. He considered them as one of the brightest jewels of his crown, and he could not bear the idea of having it thus rudely torn from his brow. On receiving the news he informed his cabinet that they must not suppose that the event would make the slightest alteration in those principles of his conduct by which he had been directed in past time. They, he proudly asserted, would always continue to animate him under every event in the prosecution of the present contest. But there was no present contest. It had merged into the past tense. It had become a simple, and to England, a humiliating page of history. The offspring of the children whom she had cast forth as wanderers to people a continent had rebelled against her, and had triumphed in their rebellion.

In such circumstances parliament assembled on the 29th of November. Although Lord North had long despaired of the war, and had declared in his agony that now all was over, yet he, in compliance with the will of the king, furnished him with a speech calling upon the country to repair the disaster which had occurred at York Town, and to preserve the integrity of the empire. The royal speech was as determined in its language as when fortune seemed to smile on the king's arms. He was concerned at the sad reverse, but he could not sacrifice—either to his own desire for peace, or to the temporary relief of his subjects—those essential rights and permanent interests on which the strength and security of the country must ever depend. His cause was just, and his confidence in the protection of Divine Providence unshaken. All he wanted was the hearty concurrence and support of his parliament, and the united exertions of the faculties and resources of his people. To encourage his parliament and people to comply with his desire, his majesty touched upon the prosperous state of affairs in the East Indies, and the safe arrival of our numerous fleets. These were, he said, matters of congratulation. No doubt they were, but parliament did not look upon them as a set-off to the one great reverse of the campaign. The heart of the nation was stricken by that event. The country had applauded the war, as every war had been applauded for ages, whether just or unjust, and so long as there was a prospect of victory they had supported it by a lavish waste of blood and treasure; but now when they found that not only our arms made no progress, but that they had been signally defeated, there was one loud cry for peace. That cry was raised in parliament by the opposition with unwonted clamour. It was their opportunity for triumph over the administration which they had for so many years been vainly seeking. As usual, Fox commenced the battle of wordy warfare. He moved an amendment to the address, couched in language which had no uncertain sound. He moved that the whole address except the first paragraph should be ignored, and that the following clause should be inserted:—"That the House would bind themselves with united hearts to propose and adjust such councils as might in this crisis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his majesty's subjects." In moving this amendment, Fox, who since the death of Chatham was the most accomplished debater in either house, fell foul of both the king and his ministers. He denounced the speech from the throne in the most unmeasured language, and in conclusion he significantly hinted that, though he could not prove the fact, they were actually in the pay of France: an insinuation which Lord North, who was a man of the most placid disposition, repelled with indignation. In his reply North still advocated the continuance of the war. It had been unfortunate, but it was founded in right and dictated by necessity; and for his part he thought that the disaster at York Town should rather lead the House and country to increased exertion than to despair and dejection. Lord North had recovered from the anguish that the first intelligence of the great disaster had caused him. His speech was so warlike, that Burke pronounced it to be not only imprudent, but audacious. The war, he said, was not only unfortunate, but it was disgraceful. He demanded to know whether we ought to risk everything regardless of consequences for the sake of a right; and whether ministers were not aware that right without might was of little worth. He illustrated this latter sentiment by a forcible image, which has since passed into a proverb. It is this:—"Oh! says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and he must be sheared. What, shear a wolf? Yes. But will he comply? Have you considered the trouble? How will you get this wool? Oh! I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing but my right. A wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn; therefore I will shear the wolf." Burke continued: "Are we to be told of the rights for which we went to war? O, excellent rights! O, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. O, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions of money." The amendment of Fox was lost by a large majority; as was a similar amendment, moved by the earl of Shelburne, and supported by similar arguments by opposition orators, in the House of Lords.

Before the recess, Burke moved for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the confiscation of the property belonging to his majesty's new subjects in St. Eustatius, and further to inquire into the sale and distribution of the greater part of that property among his majesty's enemies. This was one of the most unworthy causes for which this great and justly renowned orator ever pleaded. Burke's great sympathy for the Americans had warped his judgment. His plea was dictated by that sympathy, and he took the subject up as though the law of nations, as well as justice and humanity, had been foully outraged. He represented the attack on this "New Tyre" as wanton. It was a free and flourishing settlement, he said, engaged in pursuits beneficial to the whole human race, and yet it had been cruelly and wantonly dispersed—its property confiscated, and its inhabitants reduced to poverty. Both Rodney and Vaughan were in the House, and they replied to Burke's unfounded and unjust attack with such telling effect that his motion was lost by nearly two to one. Subsequently Burke gave notice, in his zeal for the American cause, that he would move for the release of the ex-president Laurens from the Tower; but this was rendered unnecessary by his discharge in exchange for General Burgoyne, the fallen hero of Saratoga. Such were the principal proceedings of parliament before the Christmas recess. It adjourned on the 20th of December.

During the recess evil tidings reached Britain from various quarters. Despatch followed despatch in rapid succession relating a series of disasters both by sea and land. It was known, towards the close of 1781, that the French government was about to send out a naval armament from the harbour of Brest, with supplies and reinforcements for the East and West Indian squadrons. Admiral Kempenfelt was despatched with a fleet of twelve sail of the line to intercept this French armament. But his force was insufficient for the enterprise. He succeeded in capturing twenty transports which had been separated from the convoy by a storm; but when he came up with the French fleet he found nineteen sail of the line ready for battle, and he returned to port. This can scarcely be considered a disaster, but it disappointed the hopes of the nation, and gave rise to great indignation. Government was bitterly censured for sending out an expedition inadequate to such an important service. This humiliating retreat from the French flag was quickly followed by real disasters. Within a few weeks all the Leeward islands in the West Indies—except Barbadoes and Antigua—were recaptured. The garrison of Gibraltar still held out bravely, but news arrived that they were hard pressed by the Spaniards. But perhaps the bitterst reverse of all was the loss of Minorca. As the most important port in the Mediterranean, that was considered a serious blow to British influence in Europe. It was the more keenly felt, because the island was not lost from any lack of valour on the part of the besieged, but from the negligence of government in not sending them timely relief. General Murray held the place until he was reduced to the last extremity. Before he capitulated the garrison was so enfeebled by disease and death that it could no longer furnish the ordinary guards. The survivors presented a miserable though noble spectacle as they marched through the Spanish and French armies to lay down their arms. Their features were so distressing, that many out of the fourteen thousand Spanish and French troops through which they passed shed tears. But decrepid as they were, they still maintained a proud bearing. In laying down their arms they declared that they surrendered them to God alone—having the consolation to know that the victors could not pride themselves in taking a hospital. Crillon was touched with admiration and pity, and the vanquished were treated by him with great humanity. All these accumulated reverses had a great effect upon the nation. Petitions were voted in the city of London and in several counties praying his majesty to dismiss his ministers, to whom it was thought all the disasters which had fallen upon the country were to be attributed.

Parliament reassembled on the 21st of January, 1782. Elated by the increased strength which these various misfortunes and the voice of the people had given to their cause, and having now a bright prospect before them, the opposition opened the session with renewed vigour in their attacks on the administration. Fox, as their acknowledged leader in the Commons, commenced them by a motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. That motion passed without a division. Lord North, and ministers generally, were anxious to abandon that policy of which they had long been the reluctant agents, and longed to be released from the heavy responsibility of the war which the wishes of their sovereign had imposed upon them, and which they had not the firmness to decline. The production of the papers moved for by Fox was followed by a direct attack on Lord Sandwich, the head of the board of admiralty. Fox moved a vote of censure on the noble lord on these grounds: That De Grasse was suffered to depart for the West Indies without any effort to intercept his fleet; that the loss of the convoy sent home from St. Eustatius, with the rich booty seized in that island, was owing to the want of a squadron to protect it; that a letter sent by the admiralty to the merchants of Bristol had misled them with reference to the presence of the French fleet in the Channel, whereby their trade had been endangered; and finally, that the fleets sent out against the French and the Dutch were inadequate to the purposes for which they were designed. Had this vote been carried it must have resulted in the resignation of the ministry, but a majority of twenty-two prolonged their existence a little longer.

The seals which Sackville had at this time resigned were conferred upon Welbore Ellis, who had long been drudging in inferior offices, and therefore could not bring any real support to the cabinet. But Lord North did not want to prop up his cabinet now tottering to its fall. Sackville had found a haven of rest, and *he* was now looking to a quiet retreat from his toils. His one great trouble was that the king still urged him to remain in his service as a bulwark against the Whig chiefs, and especially the Rockinghamites, whom his majesty looked upon as personal enemies. It is an incontrovertible fact, that Lord North was only kept at his post by the constant entreaties and even expostulations of his sovereign, who dreaded being left helpless in the hands of the opposition. At length, however, the king and his minister were compelled to part company. The question as to the continuance of the war was brought to an issue by General Conway. On the 22nd of February Conway moved for an address to the crown, praying "that the war might no longer be pursued on the continent of America for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants to obedience." This motion was lost by a majority of one only, and, eager to press their advantage, the opposition renewed their attack in a more emphatic manner. On the 27th Conway renewed his motion in another form. He moved: "That the further prosecution of offensive hostilities, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, would weaken the efforts of Great Britain against her European enemies, increase the mutual enmity, so fatal both to Great Britain and America, and by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring peace and tranquillity." On this occasion the House fairly broke out into open rebellion against the government. Some of the members holding offices boldly deserted their chief, and the country gentlemen generally declared their intention of supporting Conway's resolution. So impatient was the House to divide, that North could scarcely obtain a hearing. And when he did it was to no purpose. He reminded the House that the government had already given proof of their desire for peace, and had intimated their intention of not persisting in active hostilities with the Americans; and he asked for an adjournment of the debate, that government might have an opportunity of satisfying the House that they were using their best endeavours to put an end to the colonial war. The opposition, however, would listen to no compromise. Confident in their strength, and assured of victory, they would give no quarter. On a division, in a full House, government was left in a minority of nineteen. The answer of his majesty to the address was vague and formal. The House was to rest assured that, in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as would appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies. Thanks were voted unanimously for this gracious reply, but the House was not satisfied. It was but half a triumph, for the ministry still retained office. In order to drive them from it, Conway moved: "That the House would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who should advise, or by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of America." This motion was carried without a division; but still Lord North kept his seat on the treasury bench, looking as calm and as placid as ever. On the next day, indeed, the attorney-general introduced a plan of a truce with America, plainly intimating that ministers still resolved to brave the storm. The attorney-general's scheme was denounced by Fox as a farce, but it was nevertheless agreed to without a division. On this occasion Lord North assured Fox that he would not resign office to gratify his impatience. He would not retire till the king ordered him, or the House proved that it was his duty to retire. Fox retorted that the House had already given that proof; but North did not think so. He retained office, he sarcastically remarked, in order to prevent confusion and the introduction of mischievous and unconstitutional principles. But the opposition were not to be baffled in their attempts to obtain a full and complete victory. On the 9th of March Lord John Cavendish moved a direct vote of censure on the ministers for the conduct of the war. The debate on this motion lasted till two o'clock in the morning, and on a division it was rejected by a majority of ten. It was but a bare majority, but still the design of the opposition was for the moment defeated. Nothing daunted, however, they returned to the charge. They had the ministry in close quarters, and might, it was thought, soon push them out of the field. On the 15th of March Sir John Rous moved "that the House could no longer repose confidence in the administration," which was rejected by a majority of nine. On that evening the king wrote to Lord North, declaring that he was resolved not to throw himself into the hands of the opposition. If things went, he said, as they seemed to tend, he should certainly act as his conscience and his honour dictated. Walpole says that he talked of retiring to Hanover, and that his yacht had for a fortnight together been preparing for his departure; but he rightly adds that the threat sprung from "moody peevishness, which had not looked for, nor fixed on any system." If the king thought really of taking such a fatal step to his interests, he soon altered his mind, and bent his will, stern as it was, to submit to circumstances. After the rejection of the motion of Sir John Rous, notice was given by Lord Surrey that he would on the 20th make a motion to the same effect. The battle of parties was apparently to be renewed, and had it been, it is doubtful whether ministers would not again have obtained a majority—narrow, indeed, but still sufficient to justify them in retaining office. Among the country gentlemen there were many, who though they were anxious for peace, were nevertheless indisposed to get rid of their old good-natured chief. But their chief had now resolved to resign, and the king, but a few minutes before Lord Surrey was going to make his promised motion, had accepted his resignation. Lord North rode direct from his majesty to the House of Commons, which had been filled at an early hour, both sides appearing in great strength. North spoke, and never did music more charm the ears of the opposition, than did the words which fell from his lips. If he had been permitted to speak before, he said, it would have saved the House much unnecessary heat and disorder. Lord Surrey's motion, which had for its object the removal of the ministry, was not required. Their resignation had been accepted by the king, and the administration was dissolved. Then, after thanking the House for the support he had received during so many years, he moved an adjournment for five days, to allow time for making new arrangements. Whatever errors Lord

North may have committed in his long and difficult administration, that of growing rich at the nation's cost can never be laid to his charge. He retired from office a poorer man than when he first "kissed hands," a proof of his integrity of conduct. As his father, the earl of Guildford, was still living, if the king had not secured to him the office of lord warden of the cinque ports, with his numerous family, his income would have been insufficient to maintain his position in society.

So then at last there was to be a radical change in the policy of the nation. The men who had promised great things were to preside at the helm of the state. It was no doubt a great mortification to the king to find himself compelled to take council of those whom he deemed his personal enemies. That he keenly felt it was evident, that he was humiliated is equally certain. Who were the Rockinghamites, that he should submit to them? But submit he must, if only for a brief season. The fatal day was come, as he wrote to Lord North, when the misfortunes of the times and the sudden change in the sentiments of the House of Commons had driven him to a change of ministers, and "a more general removal of other persons than he believed was ever known before." It was hard lines with George III., but it was the natural result of a blind and obstinate policy. Though "born and bred a Briton," his justly proud boast at the time of his accession, he was "born and bred" at a period when the dogma of absolutism had long been exploded and could never be revived; and yet during the whole of his reign he had aimed, through the instrumentality of ministers of his own choice, to shake off the dominion of an oligarchy, and to make himself a free king. His one end and aim had been to free the crown from the dictation of the Revolution families; but after more than twenty years' struggle he was fain to submit to them. That he recoiled from a connection with them, except on his own terms, is manifest. When he was at length convinced that he must part with Lord North and his cabinet, he sought to effect an arrangement by which he should still be able to retain the power of the state in his own hands. Overtures were made to Lord Rockingham for the formation of a coalition ministry —a ministry by which some of the leading members of the Whigs should hold office, either under Lord North or some other leader of the king's own choice. These overtures were proudly rejected. Rockingham replied that there must be a change of measures as well as of men. If the Whigs accepted office, he said, they must be allowed to carry out the measures which they had advocated in parliament without restraint from the crown. It must be expressly understood that they would have the power of making peace, and of effecting a parliamentary and financial reform. They were to be cabinet measures, with which the king was to have nothing to do except to give, when accomplished, his royal assent to them. Such was the plain meaning of Rockingham's stipulations, and, as might have been expected, the negotiations proved abortive. And yet in the end his majesty was compelled to accept the services of the proud Whig chief and his compatriots on their own terms. After the resignation of Lord North he sent for the earl of Shelburne, who was the chief of that division of the Whigs who had owned Earl Chatham as their leader. But the two sections of the great Whig party had coalesced in opposition to North's ministry, and could not now be divided. Shelburne was offered the first post, but his lordship informed his majesty that in his opinion no one could at present fill the situation except Lord Rockingham. Earl Gower, who represented the old Bedford faction, was then sent for, but he also refused to accept office; and the king was driven to the alternative of either leaving the country, or accepting Rockingham at the head of the united Whig party as his prime minister.

Rockingham was directed to form an administration; but the king would hold no communication with him till it was completed, and he was admitted to an audience as first lord of the treasury. Rockingham's arrangements were made within a week. The earl of Shelburne and Fox became secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; the duke of Grafton, keeper of the seal; Admiral Keppel, with the title of viscount, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; General Conway, commander-in-chief; Mr. Dunning, created Lord Ashburton, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance. Lord Thurlow was continued chancellor. Burke, who had done so much by his eloquence to bring about this change in the government, had his reward by the office of paymaster of the forces and a seat in the privy council. Thomas Townshend and Sheridan also were obliged to content themselves with minor offices; Townshend became secretary at war, and Sheridan under-secretary of state. The duke of Portland succeeded Lord Carlisle as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Howe, created viscount, was appointed to the command of the fleet; his brother, Sir William, was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Lee attorney and solicitor-general. There was also a sweeping change in the royal household, a change at which his majesty was more deeply affected than he was at parting with his long-tried cabinet. It was the bitterest ingredient in his cup of bitterness, and it made the new ministry doubly obnoxious to him. But this ministry, powerful as it seemed to be, was not destined to enjoy a long duration of power.

In consequence of those members who had accepted office in the new ministry having to go to the hustings for re-election, parliament did not reassemble until the 8th of April, and the ministry had difficult work before them; for while they had pledged themselves to put an end to the American contest, they had to appease the people of Ireland, who were clamouring for redress of grievances, and required an immediate answer. Their hands were already on the hilts of their swords, and the question admitted of no delay. The state of Ireland, indeed, was such that unless decisive measures were promptly taken, there was every probability that, to all our other wars, there would be added a civil war in that part of his majesty's home dominions.

Three years before Lord North had redressed grievances of which the Irish then complained.

Those grievances had reference to their trade and commerce, some of the restrictions on which were removed. The penal laws against the Roman Catholics had also been relaxed—a wise and generous policy which warmed the hearts of that great section of the nation with gratitude. The people of Ireland, however, soon discovered that they had other grievances for which they ought to demand redress; and it was conceived that they would never have a better opportunity to make their demands than in this hour of Britain's extremity. America had successfully resisted her might; and Ireland had within her own shores a far larger army than that with which America had achieved her triumph. The Irish patriots, therefore, concluded that the time had arrived when they might successfully assert the rights and liberties of the nation. Their new demands were these:—The repeal of the statute of Drogheda, passed in 1495, by which the initiation of legislation in the Irish parliament was reserved to the English council; the repeal of the sixth of George I., which declared the right of the king and parliament of Great Britain to make laws binding on the kingdom and people of Ireland; the repeal of the perpetual Mutiny Act; and the recognition of the Irish House of Lords as a court of appeal, which had hitherto been exercised by the English House of Lords. These demands had been sanctioned by the Irish parliament, but had been evaded or rejected by the influence of the English government. But that government had put arms into the hands of the Irish by sanctioning the formation of bodies of volunteers to resist the then expected invasion of the French. This volunteer army, consisting of a hundred thousand men, resolved to support the demands of the Irish patriots. Delegates were sent by them to a great meeting held at Dungannon, and a resolution was passed unanimously that they would enforce them. Thus supported, Grattan, the great chief of the national party, gave notice to the Irish parliament, that on the first day after the Easter recess he would propose for their sanction a formal and solemn Declaration of Rights. As the British House of Commons was to meet only a week previously, the new ministers, Rockingham and Fox, urged the propriety of a postponement of the motion of Grattan, to give the English cabinet time to consider a matter of such great moment. Grattan, however, refused to postpone his motion for a single day. He had no more faith in the Whig government than he had placed in the Tories. And his lack of confidence in them seems to have been justified. On the first day of the meeting of parliament after the recess, Mr. Eden, the chief secretary of the earl of Carlisle, the displaced lord-lieutenant of Ireland, moved that the Act of George I. should be immediately repealed. It was no longer possible, he said, to resist the demands of the Irish people. He had some knowledge of their temper, for he had with difficulty escaped from their vengeance because he had uniformly, when in office, resisted the demands of which on a sudden he became the advocate. Fox did not fail to animadvert on Mr. Eden's inconsistency, and he denounced the motion in the most unqualified terms. It was a motion, he said, which had for its aim the abandonment of the supremacy of this country, and an entire separation of the two countries; a direct declaration of submission on the part of Great Britain, and relinquishment of her dearest and most valuable rights. The ex-secretary of Ireland narrowly escaped a vote of censure for his boldness. The Rockingham ministry were not disposed to make such a sweeping concession to the Irish people. On the next day Fox brought a message from the crown recommending the House to take the state of Ireland into consideration. But this message had no other end in view than that of appeasing the people of Ireland. It was simply meant to satisfy them that their pretensions were not treated with contempt. But they were not so easily satisfied. Grattan was to make his celebrated motion on the 16th of April, and on that day the streets of Dublin were crowded with armed men. The Irish volunteers had poured into the city from every quarter. The Houses of Parliament were surrounded by cavalry and artillery drawn up in military precision. Through this ominous gathering the duke of Portland, escorted by a small body of the king's troops, was allowed to pass without molestation. He had a similar message to deliver to that which had been delivered to the British parliament. When delivered, a formal address was moved by Mr. Ponsonby, to which Grattan rose and moved an amendment embracing all the points of the Irish Bill of Rights. In supporting his amendment Grattan took it for granted that the battle was won. He addressed, he said, a free people; the first moment for ages in which they could be distinguished by that appellation. He had found Ireland on her knees, had watched over her with an eternal solicitude, and had traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Ireland was now a free nation, and in that new character he now hailed her. But Grattan disclaimed any desire for a separation from England. The Irish volunteers, he said, were associated for the preservation of their laws against the pretensions of the British parliament, which were subversive of all law. England had no reason to fear them, for they would die for England and her majestic race of men. Their laws being successfully vindicated, the two nations would be allied by liberty as well as by allegiance. And thus allied they would form a constitutional confederacy —the perpetual annexation of the crown being one great bond, but liberty the greater. He added:— "It would be easy to find a king, but impossible for Ireland to find a nation which could communicate to its people a great charter, save only England. This made England a natural connection; and every true Irishman would exclaim, 'Liberty with England! but at all events, liberty!'" The battle was won. No one called a single word advanced by Grattan in question. His motion was carried by acclamation, and the Upper House concurred in the vote of the Commons in the same generous spirit. The two Houses then adjourned to await the decision of the British parliament. Their resolutions were presented by Fox to the House of Commons on the 17th of May. In the interim the Rockingham cabinet had exerted all their efforts to modify the demands of the Irish people. But all their efforts were fruitless. They had therefore the choice of two results arising from their failure—either to comply with the resolutions of the Irish parliament, or to risk another civil war on the same ground as that in America had been risked—the assertion of legislative supremacy. Had this latter alternative been adopted there was every reason to believe, from the attitude the Irish people had assumed, that there would have been another dismemberment of the British empire. No sane administration, however, could have resisted the pressure of the national will of Ireland at such a period of difficulties and dangers. In presenting the resolutions, therefore, of the Irish parliament, Fox moved that the statute of George I., which asserted the dependence of Ireland, be repealed; and both Houses of the British Parliament had the wisdom to pass a bill by which they virtually renounced their right of legislating for Ireland. This Act was hailed by the Irish people as the charter of their liberties. It was considered by them to be what Magna Charta, wrung from King John by the barons, was to England; and yet in the end it proved to be the foundation of a measure which in less than twenty years put an end to their existence as a separate and independent nation! But it so laid the rising storm in Ireland, that—together with the abolition of the power of suppressing or alteration of bills in the privy council, and the limitation of the Mutiny Act to the term of two years—the Irish House of Commons passed a vote for raising twenty thousand seamen for the British navy.

Having thus appeased Ireland, and obtained her cordial support in the war still raging, ministers proceeded to carry out their measures of parliamentary and economical reform. But on this subject there was a division in the cabinet. It was one of the conditions on which Rockingham had accepted office, and he adhered to it. In compliance with a message from the crown, Burke's measure of economical reform was discussed in the cabinet. Lord Thurlow, who had been continued on the woolsack because Rockingham was afraid "to disturb the old tiger in his lair," was decidedly opposed to the bill. There was much wrangling in the cabinet over the matter, but it was finally settled that Fox should, on the 15th, carry a message to the House of Commons, which "looked to and pointed to Burke's bill." With that message, the bill for retrenchment and reform of the civil establishment was accordingly laid on the table. Burke moved the usual address in answer to the royal message; and although he knew well that the king had the strongest repugnance to the measure, and that the cabinet had quarrelled over it, he described it "as the best of messages to the best of people, from the best of kings." But the Whig cabinet courted his majesty's smiles. They stood pledged to carry out Burke's plan of economical reform, which was to diminish the splendour and dignity of the crown; but that bill now dragged its slow length along till towards the end of the session, and when it passed it left that splendour and dignity almost untouched.

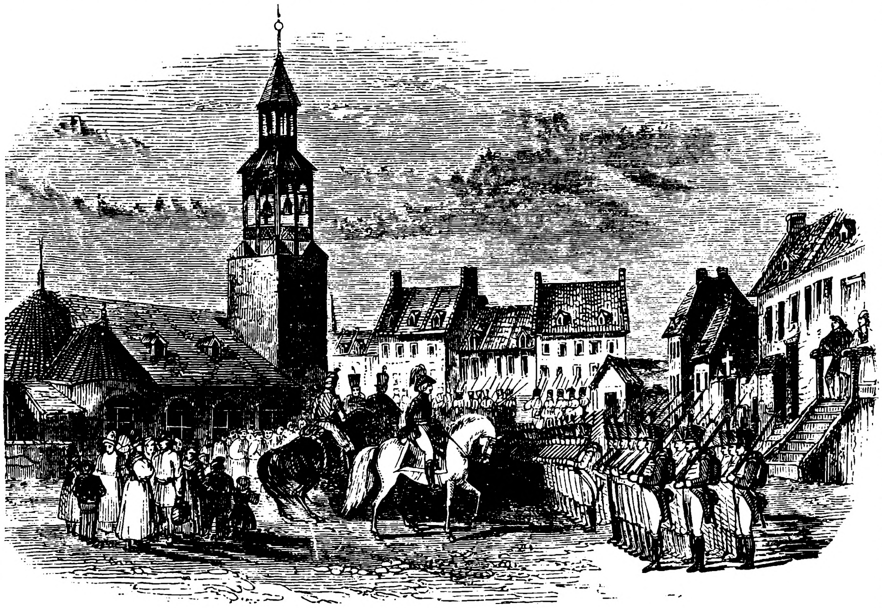
Two important reforms with reference to the constitution of parliament, which had been repeatedly proposed in parliament and as repeatedly rejected, were now carried by the Rockingham administration. By one, contractors were excluded from sitting in the House of Commons; and by the other, revenue officers were prevented from voting at elections. Both these measures had for their object the limitation of the influence of the crown. They were sternly opposed by the lord chancellor and Lord Mansfield, but in spite of their opposition they became law. An Act was also passed, though opposed by the same noble lords, for disfranchising many corrupt voters of the borough of Cricklade, and extending the right of suffrage to the freeholders of the hundred. In the course of this debate the duke of Richmond accused Thurlow of opposing every reform. This accusation was just, for the lord chancellor, who had no political connection with either of the great Whig parties, had both in the cabinet and in parliament done his utmost to defeat the reform bills. Most of the law lords supported the chancellor, whence they were denounced by Earl Fortescue as men who lowered and tarnished the dignity of the House by their presence. But the Whigs themselves, as a body, were not genuine reformers. At this time William Pitt advocated a more extensive principle of parliamentary reform than many of them were disposed to adopt. The associations in Yorkshire and other counties had petitioned for a large addition of county members, and for the repeal of the Septennial Act. It was also maintained by the livery of London that the main cause of the war and lavish expenditure was the inequality of the representation. Acting upon these public sentiments, on the 7th of May Pitt moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the House of Commons. In his speech Pitt pointed out the nature of the reform which was needed—the abolition of rotten boroughs and the substitution of equal representation; but after a warm debate on this constitutional measure of reform introduced by Pitt, the motion was lost by twenty, which Fox thought would produce bad consequences. And so it did to the ministry. They had incurred great odium by granting, in the midst of their pretended zeal for economical reform, extravagant pensions to their two old friends, Barré and Grantham; and by their rejection of Pitt's motion they further impaired their popularity.

Meanwhile there had been some negotiations for peace with America. That was one of the tasks which government had undertaken, and which they found the most difficult of accomplishment. Overtures appear to have been first made by "the old man in a brown coat" at Paris—Doctor Franklin. Between Franklin and the earl of Shelburne there was a warm friendship, which originated during his diplomatic sojourn in London. Before the ministry was finally settled, Franklin wrote to Shelburne congratulating him on the returning good disposition of Britain in favour of America. When Shelburne replied he was one of the secretaries of state, Fox being the other. It appertained—as there was now no separate secretary of state for America—to the two secretaries of state conjointly to conduct the negotiations. As the colonial business, however, devolved upon the secretary for the home department, Shelburne in that capacity claimed the sole right of negotiating the treaty with America. He maintained that the independence of the United States should constitute its basis, while Fox was of opinion that it should be its preliminary—that the independence of America should at once be recognized unconditionally by Great Britain. The discordant views of the two secretaries threatened the dissolution of the ministry; but while its fate hung in the balance it was determined by the death of its chief. On the 1st of July Rockingham, who had hardly passed the prime of life, died of an epidemic disorder, and there was an end of his cabinet.

With the death of Rockingham the division in the Whig party ceased. The two great sections of that party now looked up to the earl of Shelburne as their sole leader. It was to Shelburne, also, that the king now looked for a prime minister. On the day after the death of Rockingham he was offered the vacant office, and without consulting his colleagues, he at once accepted the promotion. Fox, who had been overruled in the cabinet upon the question of acknowledging the independence of America before a treaty of peace was arranged, had declared his intention to resign, and, offended with the choice of his sovereign, he forthwith retired from office. Lord John Cavendish, another member of the cabinet, and Burke, with seven other members of the government, also resigned. The new members of the cabinet were Pitt, who became chancellor of the exchequer; Thomas Townshend, who was made foreign secretary; and Lord Grantham, who obtained the secretaryship which had been held by Lord Shelburne. Lord Temple undertook the lieutenancy of Ireland; Colonel Barré succeeded Burke as paymaster of the forces; Mr. Dundas was appointed treasurer of the navy; Sir George Yonge became secretary at war; and Mr. Pepper Arden was made solicitor-general. The promotion which attracted most attention was that of William Pitt, who at the early age of twenty-three, as chancellor of the exchequer, became leader of the House of Commons; and that at a time when the finances of the country, from the long and expensive war which still raged, were in a state of great embarrassment. Fox and those who had retired from office were accused of haste and precipitancy, and of having committed the whole Whig cause by their sudden resignation.

The session closed on the 11th of July. His majesty's speech was wise and temperate. He promised that every effort should be made to obtain peace. If, however, the hope of a speedy termination of the war should be disappointed, he trusted that the blessing of heaven upon our arms would enable him to obtain fair and reasonable terms of pacification. The most triumphant career of victory would not excite him to aim at more, and he saw no reason which should induce him to accept less.

News of a great victory had recently reached Britain. Rodney had restored the naval supremacy of Britain in the western world. All our Leeward islands, as previously recorded, except Barbadoes and Antigua, had been conquered by the enemy. Thus triumphant, France and Spain projected an expedition against Jamaica. Early in the year the Count de Grasse sailed to Martinique for the purpose of refitting, shipping troops, and effecting a junction with a Spanish squadron, preparatory to that enterprise. Rodney, at the close of the preceding year, had urged upon the government to fit out a powerful fleet for service in the West Indies, early in the spring; and his representations were fortunately successful. Rodney's design was to strike a blow while yet the enemy was unprepared. Great activity was displayed in our dockyards, and Rodney was soon on his way to Barbadoes. He reached that island on the 19th of February, with fourteen sail of the line, which, with the squadron under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, by which he was soon joined, made the British fleet equal to that of the French at Martinique. Rodney now sailed to St. Lucia to watch the enemy's movements. Between his anchorage at St. Lucia, and that of De Grasse at Martinique, a line of frigates was established, by which every movement of the enemy was signalled to him with almost the rapidity of a telegram. On the 8th of April Rodney was informed that De Grasse was coming out from Fort Royal Bay. No time was lost. Within two hours his fleet had weighed anchor and was in pursuit. At daybreak on the following morning Rodney was near enough to open a cannonade on the rear of the French, but continued calms prevented a general engagement. On the 10th, a breeze springing up, De Grasse sailed away, hoping to escape; but the same breeze wafted the British fleet over the waves in hot pursuit. Towards the evening of the 11th, Rodney, from an incautious movement of the enemy, was enabled to get to windward. An action was now inevitable. Retreat was impossible, and on the morning of the 12th of April the two fleets, ranged in opposite lines, engaged with the utmost fury. From seven in the morning until sunset death and destruction were dealt out from the cannon's mouth with unremitting energy on both sides. Victory was long held in suspense. The fleets were about equal in number, but those of the French were of higher rates than the British, and had superior weight of metal. The fortune of the day was secured by a celebrated manœuvre, which had never before been practised in naval tactics. About noon, Rodney taking advantage of a freshening breeze which sprung up, bore down in his own ship, the Formidable—accompanied by the Namur, the Duke, and the Canada—on the enemy's line within three ships of the centre, and succeeded in breaking it. By this movement the enemy's line of battle was separated, and thrown into confusion. Notwithstanding the battle still raged furiously. De Grasse, in the centre of the broken line, fought his flag-ship, the renowned Ville de Paris, the largest on the seas, with great bravery. He was encountered by the Canada, a British seventy-four, whose well-aimed broadsides shattered the Ville de Paris to a wreck. The French admiral, however, still kept his colours flying, till Sir Samuel Hood in the Barfleur, which had not been engaged, came up, and then in a few minutes he struck his colours. Towards sunset Rodney had gained a complete victory. Six of the enemy's ships, including the Ville de Paris, were captured, one had been blown into the air, and another had sunk in the "mighty waters." The rest, in a shattered condition, crowded all the sail they could and made for Cape François, and in the morning were out of sight. Hood, who commanded the rearward division of six sail of the line, and had been becalmed all the day, was despatched in pursuit of the fugitive ships, and off Porto Rico he succeeded in capturing two ships of the line and two frigates. This victory was considered as one of the most decisive ever obtained by the naval prowess of Britain. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners was computed at twelve thousand. On the side of the British, the loss in killed and wounded was under one thousand. Among the prisoners was the French commander-in-chief; and the military chest, with all the artillery intended for the great expedition against Jamaica, fell into the hands of the British. The French naval power for the year was broken: the shattered remnants of the fleet were no longer available for active service.



MONTREAL.

It was a great victory. The news, when it reached Britain in May, was received with a burst of joy and exultation. Had it been received two months earlier, it is probable that Lord North's administration would still have been in existence. The praise of Rodney resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The prospects of the country were rendered still brighter during the summer by renewed victories. But in these Rodney took no part. He received the unanimous thanks of parliament, with a peerage, and a perpetual annuity of two thousand pounds per annum. Sir Samuel Hood also was made a baron in the peerage of Ireland, and Admiral Drake and Commodore Affleck, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the engagement, were made baronets. These were honours and rewards the Whig government could not withhold from the nation's naval heroes. The country demanded that they *should* be bestowed. But Rodney was a Tory. He had been appointed to the command of the British fleet in the West Indies by Lord North. His expedition which had produced such great results had been planned by North's government. The Rockingham administration, however, but a few weeks after their accession to office, sent out Admiral Pigot to supersede him in the command. The very first despatch which Rodney received after his victory directed him to proceed to Barbadoes and relinquish his flag to Pigot. It is said that when the news of his victory arrived, that an express was despatched to stop the departure of the new admiral; but it must have been known that he was already on his way to Barbadoes, and it is certain that the order for the recall of Rodney was never cancelled. Great indignation was expressed when it was known that the naval hero who had so triumphantly revived the fading glory of the British flag was thus deprived of his command. It was unwise as it was unjust. It was the more condemned, because the insult was dictated by his old rival, Keppel, who was now first lord of the admiralty.

After Rodney's victory the war languished in the West Indies. The chief naval operations were nearer home. The Channel was again menaced by a combined French and Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line. Lord Howe, who had completed the blockade of Holland, was recalled for its protection. He had only twelve sail of the line; but with this force he successfully covered the homeward-bound merchantmen, and guarded the Channel against the enemy. Finding that no advantage could be obtained, they retired from the British coast. Previous to this, however, the combined fleets of France and Spain had captured eighteen sail of British merchantmen and transports, bound for Montreal and Newfoundland. On the other hand, Admiral Barrington had attacked a French convoy, and had captured two ships of the line, ten transports, and a schooner, on board of which were large quantities of war material, eleven chests of Dutch silver, and about four thousand troops for the service of the French in the East Indies. Barrington returned to port from stress of weather, and Admiral Kempenfelt took the station which he had quitted. During the summer and autumn of this year, storms and hurricanes prevailed in various latitudes. A terrible catastrophe befell a fleet under Admiral Graves, which sailed with the prizes taken by Rodney and Hood, to convoy the great fleet of West Indiamen. All these ships, except the Ardent, with two line-of-battle ships and a great number of merchantmen, foundered at sea, carrying down with them to the bottom three thousand souls. Close to our own shores there was also a terrible calamity at sea.

On the 29th of August the Royal George, Kempenfelt's flag-ship of a hundred and eight guns, suddenly overset in Portsmouth harbour, filled, and sank. The Royal George was inclined on her side, to undergo a species of careening without going into dock. The larboard port-holes of the lower gun-deck were brought nearly level with the sea, and the sea water was rushing in, when the lieutenant of the watch, warned of the danger, called the drummer to beat "to right ship;" but before the drum could beat the Royal George, with nearly all its living freight, was buried in the ocean. The fate of the brave Kempenfelt was deeply deplored. A monument in the churchyard of Portsea tells of the calamity, and history and the verse of the gentle Cowper have rendered it immortal.

The French and Spanish fleets having left the British coasts, Lord Howe was at liberty to proceed to the relief of Gibraltar. For nearly three years the Old Rock had been closely invested. How terrible the siege had been may be gathered from an entry in Captain Drinkwater's narrative of the proceedings in May of this year: "From seven in the evening of the 4th to the same hour the succeeding afternoon, both the garrison and the enemy were silent. This was the first twenty-four hours in which there had been no firing for the space of thirteen months." The town had been nearly destroyed, but the loss of life was not considerable. From time to time the besieged had been on the eve of starvation; but, as before related, they had been relieved. This year the Spanish monarchy redoubled its efforts to complete the capture. Spain was unwilling to conclude a peace till it was effected. The fall of Gibraltar would, above all other events, compensate the allies for the failure of their designs upon Jamaica. It would have enabled them to obtain the terms which they demanded of the haughty islanders. Intent upon the conquest, on the return of the duke de Crillon from his successful siege of St. Philip in Minorca, he was sent to take the command of the army before Gibraltar. He had under his command a force of full forty thousand men—French and Spaniards—among whom were a numerous body of skilful artillery and engineer officers. In his army were two French princes, and there was a long retinue of French and Spanish nobles eager to witness the final triumph of this memorable siege. Victory was confidently anticipated, nor was the anticipation presumptuous. The number of the besiegers greatly exceeded that of the besieged. General Elliot had only seven thousand men to defend the rock against the great army of forty thousand. Crillon's preparations were on the grandest scale. He had little hope of taking it from the land side, and therefore he made formidable preparations for bombarding it by sea simultaneously with the batteries on shore. Huge floating batteries were constructed, so as to be bomb-proof and shot-proof. It was calculated that the action of these tremendous engines alone would be sufficient to shatter the formidable works which Elliot had created. By land the batteries of the allies were to be served by a hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, and ten large ships were cut down to serve as the foundations of the floating batteries. As the garrison had an opportunity of maintaining a fire on the heads of their assailants in the floating batteries, roofs of strong rope-work netting, with a thick covering of raw hides, were constructed for their protection. These roofs were so constructed as to be worked up and down by mechanism. It was conceived that, by their sloping position, the shot and shell poured down upon them by the garrison would slide gently off into the sea, doing them no harm. This was an ingenious device of the Chevalier d'Arçon, a French engineer, in whose science Crillon placed the utmost confidence. The whole plan of attack, indeed, by sea, was devised by the Chevalier d'Arçon. It was novel, but it was about to be met with a defence equally novel. At the suggestion of the lieutenant-governor, while the allies were making their preparations, furnaces were being made throughout the works for making balls red-hot—for "roasting potatoes," as the soldiers humorously observed. Much was expected from these "hot potatoes;" but the peril was imminent. Red-hot balls must be poured down from the heights of Gibraltar with marvellous precision and celerity to defeat the enemy's attack. For it was not against the floating batteries alone that they had to be directed. There was a large armament of vessels of all rates equipping to take part in the enterprise. So immense were the preparations for the final assault, that September arrived before they were completed. The garrison had been looking for aid from England, but it had not appeared. Lord Howe had sailed with thirty-four ships of the line, three fire-ships, six frigates, and an immense convoy of transports and trading vessels; but when the attack was commenced there was no sign of his approach in the horizon. In truth, the garrison was left to fight their own battle. And it was bravely and successfully fought. The grand attack was fixed for the 13th of September. On that day the heights around the Old Rock were covered with spectators, to witness the most tremendous conflict of the arm of artillery that the world had ever witnessed, and the fall of Gibraltar. Before it the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of forty-seven ships of the line, drew out in order of battle, accompanied by numerous ships of inferior rate. At the same time numerous bomb-ketches, gun and mortar boats, dropped their anchors within close range, and the ten floating batteries were moored with strong iron chains within half gun-shot of the walls. At a given moment the fire from the land and the floating batteries opened with a terrific roar, which shook the rock to its very foundations. But the hearts of the brave garrison were unappalled. Four hundred guns were thundering away at them by land and sea, and Elliot had not a hundred to reply to them. But the general made the most judicious use he could of his artillery. He concentrated the whole of his ordnance on the floating batteries, rightly judging, that when these were silenced his triumph would be secured. Down came his heaviest shot upon their sloping roofs as thick as hail, but they glanced harmlessly into the sea. That was what D'Arçon had expected, and De Crillon felt assured of victory. But all this time the furnaces were preparing a weapon of destruction which those sloping roofs could not withstand. All at once a storm of red-hot balls was poured down upon the besiegers. Down they came, like meteors from the sky, but far more baneful in their effects. The "bomb proof and shot-proof" batteries were pierced through and through. They penetrated the sloping roofs and lodged securely in the walls, which were seven feet in thickness. For a time their effects were scarcely visible. The fires which they created were promptly extinguished. But they poured down too thick and fast to be rendered inoperative. About noon there was smoke, and the smoke was soon succeeded by flickering flames. Towards evening their guns were silenced, and before midnight there was a general conflagration. During the night eight out of the ten floating batteries, including that which carried the admiral's flag, were in flames. The red-hot balls had done their work. The scene was awful. Rockets were thrown up as signals of distress, and the garrison, as generous as they were brave, came down from their rocky heights to save the wretched survivors of that terrible flotilla from the flames and the waters. About three hundred and fifty were indebted to Captain Curtis and his gallant crew for their lives. It was a dangerous task. Curtis himself was often in the most imminent danger while thus showing mercy to the enemy. At one time a pinnace in which he had thrown himself was close to one of the batteries when it blew up. The pinnace was involved in one vast cloud of fire and smoke and masses of flaming timber. It was expected that the crew had perished; but as the smoke cleared away the pinnace was seen still proudly riding over the waves. The victory was complete. It is computed that the loss of the enemy was about two thousand, while that of the garrison in killed and wounded did not amount to more than eighty-four. The damage sustained by the works was but slight. It was repaired in a few hours. The blow was severely felt by the enemy. The siege, however, was not immediately abandoned. The French and Spanish fleets still remained in the Straits. It was known that General Elliot's stock of ammunition and provisions was greatly reduced, and it was hoped that they might yet starve the garrison into a surrender. Lord Howe had not yet arrived, and relying on their superiority of ships in weight and metal, they still hoped that an action at sea might enable them to resume the siege. Howe had been detained by contrary winds. He did not reach the Straits until the 9th of October. He was prepared to risk an engagement, but at that juncture a storm had scattered the combined fleet, and he was enabled to land his stores and reinforcements without opposition. Having thus relieved the brave garrison of Gibraltar, Howe, returned to England. He was followed by the enemy, designing to cut off his rear. As they gained upon him off Cape St. Vincent, he lay to in order to receive them, but they showed no disposition to come to close quarters. Having fired a few shots they hauled their wind, and gave up all thought of battle or pursuit. Thus closed the memorable siege of Gibraltar. As a matter of form, the blockade was continued till peace was concluded, but there was no further attempt at offensive operations. Thus perished the hope of Spain to recover the gem of the sea; for barren as the Rock is, to a commercial country like Britain it is of priceless value. For his brave defence General Elliot was rewarded with a peerage, by the title of Baron Heathfield, and an annual pension.

After this event the war with France and Spain was virtually ended. During the year the Bahama islands were surprised and captured by the Spaniards; but the English retaliated by capturing some Spanish forts on the Mosquito shore. In the East Indies the French and the Dutch had suffered signal reverses; and the courts of France and Spain and the States-General of Holland were now eagerly desirous of peace.

In the New World, after the fall of York Town military operations were suspended. Early in the year Sir Henry Clinton was informed that the military establishments in that country would only be recruited on a scale sufficient to maintain those posts and districts which were in the actual possession of the British forces. There was to be no further attempt at conquest. On the other hand, the Americans showed no disposition to expel the British forces from their shores. The defeat of De Grasse had filled the whole of the Republican party with dismay. It was held by many, that unless France sent them more men and money, they were as far off from peace and independence as when the war had first commenced.

At first Washington was far from welcoming the intelligence that the British government had resolved to relinquish the attempt to conquer the United States. He apprehended that this intelligence would have the effect of suspending further efforts of Congress for independence. Inspirited by him, Congress, by a vote passed on the 21st of May, bound themselves to make no separate treaty, and to entertain no overtures for peace, except in concert with their allies. All that could be obtained was a suspension of hostilities, and a partial exchange of prisoners—a concession that resulted rather from the weakness of the American army, and the formidable position of the royal troops, than from the friendly advances of the British cabinet. The American army was in a deplorable condition. Washington's own troops on the Hudson were destitute of provisions, and in a state of disorder bordering on mutiny; and the army of the south under Greene was in no better condition. The American commander began to despair. Unsupported by Congress during the summer, he finally wrote to that assembly, that it was now high time for peace. Congress, whose authority was but the shadow of what it once had been, thought so too; and so at length all the belligerents were desirous of sheathing the sword and restoring peace to the world.

On assuming the head of government, Lord Shelburne had renewed his pacific assurances to the courts of France and Spain. Mr. Grenville having resigned his credentials, Mr. Fitzherbert had been associated with Mr. Oswald in the negotiations. But it was not till the attempts upon Gibraltar had failed that any progress was made. The haughty court of Spain had been the chief obstacle to the progress of negotiations—that wonderful rock being demanded as the price of a treaty. But after all it was friendly negotiations between Great Britain and the United States that led the way to a final settlement of this gigantic contest. By their treaty with the court of Versailles the Americans were precluded from concluding a separate peace; but there was nothing to hinder them from entering into negotiations with Great Britain, which might lead to a general peace. And with the Americans the one great obstacle which had stood in the way of peace had been removed. The recognition of their independence by Great Britain had been freely and fully pronounced; that for which alone they had fought. What more, therefore, could they want? They could have no object in protracting the war for French and Spanish purposes. While therefore negotiations were proceeding with France and Spain, provisional articles were signed at Paris, on the 30th of November, between Britain and America. On the part of America the management of a treaty was entrusted to four commissioners—Dr. Franklin, Mr. Gay, Mr. Sanders, and Mr. Adams. The British plenipotentiaries were Mr. Oswald and Mr. Fitzherbert. The terms of the treaty were easily adjusted. By its first article the thirteen provinces were recognized as free, sovereign, and independent states. Next came the boundaries of the new republic. The right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland was conceded by Great Britain, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi. Provision was also made for reviving the rights of British creditors of American citizens, which during the war had been suspended. These were the principal articles of the provisional treaty.

Such was the general state of affairs when on the 5th of December the king opened Parliament. His speech on this occasion forms a very remarkable contrast to his speeches of former years. He had lost no time, he said, in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America; and in compliance with the sense of parliament and his people, he had directed all his measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. He had offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace, and provisional articles had been agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the court of France. But what his majesty had done was evidently against his own personal inclination and wishes. He continued:—"In thus admitting their separation from the crown of Great Britain, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries." There was no opposition to the address in either House.

Meanwhile the negotiations with France and Spain continued; and as there was now no longer any motive or pretext for the continuance of the war, the preliminaries of peace were signed on the 20th of January, 1783. It was thus that this long and calamitous war ended. Torrents of blood had been shed during its progress, and the treasures of nations had been lavishly wasted in its support. By it the national debt of Britain had been increased 100,000,000*l.*, and France had been reduced to a comparative state of poverty.

The preliminaries of peace with France, Spain, and America were laid on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament on the 24th of January. It had already been determined by the coalition, that when they were taken into consideration they would assemble in full force to carry out their design. The thing was not done in a corner. Government was aware that it was threatened with an opposition of a formidable character, and prepared to meet the storm. To be forewarned is to be forearmed; but in this instance it was useless. The day fixed for the debate was the 17th of February. On that day Thomas Pitt moved an address to his majesty for ordering the preliminaries of peace to be laid before the House, and Wilberforce with his silvery eloquence seconded the motion. But the silvery tones of his musical voice failed to charm away the demon of opposition from the walls of St. Stephen's. The address was distasteful to the followers of Fox and North. The motion called forth all the rancour which had been generated in their breasts during the happy season of the Christmas festivities. An amendment was moved, withholding the approbation of the House from the obnoxious preliminaries, but at the same time assuring his majesty of the determination of the House to adhere to the several articles for which the public faith stood pledged. This was one of the strangest amendments to an address to the throne on record. In effect the opposition orators denounced the terms of the treaties as disgraceful and ruinous to the country, and yet they cautiously disclaimed any intention of departing from the engagements which had been made, or even of modifying their terms. They reserved to themselves the right of disapproving the terms of the treaty in more direct terms on a future day, if the result of their vote on this occasion did not result in the downfall of the Shelburne ministry. Their vote was adverse to the ministry in the Commons, for the amendment was carried by a majority of sixteen; but in the Lords a similar motion was rejected by a majority of thirteen. And now came the "tug of war." In the course of the debate the coalition between Fox and North, whose sentiments had been—and still were in heart—as opposite as the poles, was loudly and justly censured. It was condemned as infamous and monstrous. Fox defended it with his usual tact and eloquence, but his arguments were not very convincing. It arose, he said, from the imperative necessity of times and circumstances, and was intended to preserve the constitutional vigour of the state. Lord John Cavendish was more candid, for he in defending the coalition let out the secret, if there was any, that the object was to obtain power. He compared it to the coalition of parties in 1757, when Pitt's father was brought into office with his old antagonist the duke of Newcastle, which resulted in a successful and glorious administration. Lord North also defended the coalition. He extolled the character of his old rival and enemy Fox to the skies. He admired the vast extent of his understanding, and had full reliance on the goodness of his heart. He had been a formidable enemy, but as he had reason to dread him while their principles were adverse, now that they had united with one mind and one heart in the cause of their country, he anticipated a greater prospect of success. By the opposition there was more said in justification of the coalition than of the merits or demerits of the treaty. Pitt, however, who vehemently reproached the coalition, which he denounced as an "ill-omened and baneful alliance," defended the treaty article by article with great skill and eloquence. Pitt also pronounced a high eulogium on the abilities, character, and patriotism of Lord Shelburne, and professed to be indifferent to the loss of power and the want of fortune. It was manifest from the whole tenor of the debate that there existed no patriotism or principle in the matter—that it was a mere struggle for place and power. The question was carried against the ministry by a majority of seventeen, and Lord Shelburne resigned.

The coalition, however, did not immediately reap the fruits of their victory. The king was reluctant to submit to the dictation of a cabal. For several weeks government was literally without a chief. Pitt continued in office, but there was no first lord of the treasury. However, the coalition, confident of their strength, were determined to enter into power upon such terms only as would leave them to act without restraint or control from the crown. Hoping to break their strength, the king made several attempts to detach Lord North from the coalition, but his own terms frustrated his design. North was to exclude Fox from any administration he might form, and North could not part with his new-found friend. It was in vain that the king appealed to his long-tried loyalty and fidelity: North would not be again placed at the head of a government of the king's friends. At his third and last interview with his majesty, North took the liberty of recommending the Whig nominee, the duke of Portland, as the only proper person at this juncture to receive his majesty's commands to form a government. Great confusion was caused by this ministerial interregnum. Therefore, on the 24th of March, Mr. Coke of Norfolk moved an address to the crown, praying for the appointment of a united administration, which could alone obtain the confidence of the people. Coke's motion was carried, and his majesty replied that it was his earnest desire to comply with the wishes of his faithful Commons; but still nothing was done. On the 31st of March a still more emphatic motion was threatened; but Pitt having resigned on that day as chancellor of the exchequer, it was dropped. The king had yielded to the "ill-omened" coalition.

A new ministry was formed from its motley ranks. The duke of Portland became first lord of the Treasury; and, as if to cement their newborn friendship, Fox and North were secretaries of state. The earl of Carlisle obtained the privy seal, and Lord John Cavendish succeeded Pitt as chancellor of the exchequer. Admiral Keppel was again placed at the head of the admiralty. At the express wish of his majesty, one of his friends, Lord Stormont, became president of the council. He had been excluded at the formation of the Rockingham administration, while another of the king's friends, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, had then been admitted. Thurlow, however, was now in his turn excluded, the coalition not being so fearful of the growls of the "old tiger" as Rockingham had been. The great seals were put in commission, the aged Lord Mansfield accepting the temporary office of Speaker of the House of Lords. The other offices were divided between the adherents of Fox and North. Burke regained the paymastership of the forces; Townshend became treasurer of the navy; and Colonel Fitzpatrick, secretary at war. Lord Northington was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. As usual, there was an entire change in his majesty's household. All that the coalition ministry could do to place their power on a firm basis was done. But at the very outset it was plain that their power would soon be broken, that the heterogeneous parts with which their administration was composed would soon fly asunder. In heart their sentiments were not in unison. Nor was it from within their own camp alone that the existence of the coalition administration was threatened. Although it did not immediately encounter any formidable opposition, from the very hour of its birth its fate was sealed. Many of the old supporters of Fox and North were ashamed of the union; and to all those who were not bound by the trammels of party it was absolutely odious. A more shameless ambition for place and power, to the utter disregard of political consistency, had never before been displayed among England's statesmen. Fox especially became the reproach of the people. His acceptance of office rendered his re-election for Westminster necessary, and he was re-elected, but it was only because another candidate could not be found; for when he appeared on the hustings he was received by the populace "with hissings, hootings, and every other mark of displeasure." But by no one in the kingdom was the coalition ministry more despised than by the sovereign himself. From its very commencement it was doomed to encounter his most determined hostility. When Lord Shelburne and his colleagues appeared at a levee on their retirement from office they were received with every mark of the royal favour, but when their triumphant rivals appeared at a subsequent levee they were treated with undisguised aversion. Nor did his majesty's aversion to them abate one tittle during their term of office. To Fox, who was the real head of the coalition, it increased daily: there was no more boasting on his part that "the king grew more and more good-humoured every day."

The first great question brought forward in the House of Commons after the coalition ministry had taken their seats was that of parliamentary reform.

It was reintroduced by Pitt on the 7th of May. Pitt was now in opposition, and he could scarcely have hoped for the success of his motion, as he was under the ban of the coalition, who were strong in their majorities. Pitt had declared a "just and lawful impediment" to the "ill-omened and unnatural marriage" of the two political parties, and had "forbidden the banns" in the name of the public weal, and his conduct was remembered. In his first attempt to reform parliament, Pitt had proposed to transfer the franchise from decayed and rotten boroughs to places which in the lapse of time had risen to importance, where, it was argued by him, freedom of election might be secured. His present motion was of a far different character. Close boroughs were not to be touched. There were to be a hundred members added to the counties and the metropolis; and when a majority of electors stood convicted of corruption in close boroughs, they were to be disfranchised, and the minority were to be entitled to vote for the county. Pitt's motion was opposed by Lord North and others, chiefly on the ground that the people had not demanded parliamentary reform. Pitt's motion was lost by a large majority; but he subsequently succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons a bill for preventing abuses in public offices, the chief object of which was to abolish the system of perquisites and percentages; but this useful measure was rejected by the adherents of the ministry in the House of Lords. But though ministers looked with a jaundiced eye on Pitt's plan of economical reforms, they were under the necessity of producing one of their own. Towards the close of the session, Lord John Cavendish carried a bill for abolishing certain offices in the exchequer, and limiting the salaries of others after the death of the present possessors. It was essentially necessary to practise economy at this period, for the country was not only burdened with a national debt too heavy for her to bear, but there were heavy claims upon her generosity from the American loyalists, who, deprived of their property by Congress, were flocking over to Britain for refuge and succour. So numerous were those claims, that in the whole they received more than twelve millions of money. One of the first measures of government, indeed, was to raise a loan to that amount, which was effected upon very disadvantageous terms, and to put a stamp duty on receipts, in order to meet the exigences of the state.

This session was rendered remarkable for the first movement made towards the abolition of the slave trade. Encouraged by a bill which was introduced for regulating the trade of the African Company, and in which there was a clause prohibiting its officers from exporting negroes, the amiable sect of Quakers presented a petition for the total abolition of the traffic in the bones and sinews of man—a petition which laid the foundation of those noble efforts of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other gifted individuals, and which finally led to the abolition of that odious traffic.

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of July. In his closing speech the king regretted that he could not announce the completion of the definitive treaties. During the recess, however, the coalition ministry completed the work which Lord Shelburne had commenced. On the 3rd of September, treaties of peace with France, Spain, and America were signed under the auspices of the men who had condemned them as derogatory to the honour of the country. Holland also acceded to preliminaries of peace, by which all conquests were to be mutually restored, except Negapatam, in the East Indies, which was to remain in the possession of Great Britain.

The autumn session of parliament was opened on the 11th of November. Before his majesty arrived the prince of Wales was conducted to his chair of state on the right hand of the throne with great ceremony. In his speech the king briefly noticed the treaties of peace which had recently been concluded, and urged attention to every possible means of recruiting the strength and resources of the nation. It was necessary, he said, to render the revenue as little burthensome as possible to his subjects. The great question which had formed the subject-matter of royal speeches for the last twelve years was now therefore virtually settled. But there was a subject of equal, and of even greater importance to the future of Britain, which now demanded instant action, viz., a better administration of the affairs of India.

Fox introduced a bill for the better government of India on the 18th of November. Burke, who took a deep interest in East India affairs, had assisted him in framing the measure. India afforded a fine field for legislating, and Fox hoped that his measure would regain for him the favour of the king, and the lost confidence in his political integrity of the nation. And if ever there was a question which, regarding its nature, should have been free from the bias of party, that was pre-eminently the question. It required the calm unbiassed consideration of the British parliament. The provisions of the bill which Fox brought in, however, were not destined to meet with calm consideration. The Indian policy of the coalition gave rise to one of the most memorable struggles of party recorded in the annals of our national history. It was bold and comprehensive: far too much so to be received with universal favour. Fox proposed at one fell swoop to take the sole responsibility of governing India out of the hands of the company, and transfer it to the crown. At least that was his professed proposition. His plan was to erect a great department, which should be charged with the sole management of the affairs of India. By a separate bill regulations were proposed to correct some of the principal abuses in the local administration. To this latter bill no particular objections were or could be made. The principal measure, however, was attacked by the opposition with vehement indignation and energetic invective. Overlooking the merits of the scheme, in which it was by no means deficient—they saw nothing in the enactments but a desire in the ministry to grasp at a vast source of power and patronage, which would endanger the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people. Pitt had promised his support to government in settling the affairs of India, but he was premature. He stood forward in front of the battle. He acknowledged that reform was wanted, but not such a reform as Fox proposed. He contended that the whole of the proposed system was nothing more on the one side than absolute despotism, and on the other the most gross corruption. It was a confiscation of the property and a disfranchisement of the members of the East India Company. By the bill all their effects were to be transferred to the hands of strangers. Imagination was at a loss to conjecture what insignificant trifle had escaped the harpy jaws of a ravenous coalition. It was pretended, he said, that the power of the East India Company was to be given in trust for the benefit of the proprietors. But in cases of abuses of trust, to whom, he asked, was the appeal? Was it to the proprietors? No! To the majority of both Houses of Parliament, which the most contemptible minister, with the patronage of above two millions given by the bill, could not fail to secure. The influence which would accrue from the bill was in the highest degree alarming. The honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition, and he had now shown himself ready to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition. He was aiming at placing the coalition ministry in a position which no political convulsions and no variations of power could overthrow. Other members followed on the same side. Pitt's cousin, William Grenville, reiterated his sentiments. He declared that it would put patronage into the hands of ministers which would enable them to defy both the parliament and the crown. Mr. Jenkinson went still further. He argued that the proposed commission was in reality a setting up of a species of executive government independent of the crown. John Scott, afterwards Lord Chancellor Eldon, assailed the bill in a very unlawyer-like manner. Instead of bringing his legal acumen to bear on the infringement of constitutional law, chartered interests, and vested rights, which he might have done with some effect, he chose to adopt the language of raillery and sarcasm, a weapon which in his hands was by no means dangerous. The chief defence of the bill rested with Fox and Burke. Fox admitted that the bill was an invasion of chartered rights, but contended that it was justified by the necessity. On that ground, he said, the arguments of his opponents might have been adopted with great propriety by James II.; for the Revolution, to which the country owed its liberties, was equally a violation of chartered rights. Every one knew, he said, that the company had grossly abused the trust committed to them, and every one acknowledged that the interference of parliament was loudly demanded. He should be glad to hear, therefore, how it was possible to adopt a new system, by parliamentary authority, without striking at the root of the company's charters. They had already, he urged, been altered again and again to remedy the evils which had existed, but the alterations had proved ineffectual. The company itself had often demanded the aid and intervention of parliament in its financial difficulties; and he proved, or sought to prove by recent examples, that the authority of the Indian government was rapidly diminishing throughout its extensive territory, from whence he argued that unless there was a thorough change in that government, our rich possessions in the east would be lost by maladministration. Burke, the reputed author of the bill, held up the company and its servants to scorn and infamy, and endeavoured by a review of its history, in their political and commercial relations with the princes and people of India, to show that they had forfeited their chartered rights, and that therefore the measure before the House was just and necessary.

But notwithstanding the opposition which the ministry encountered in the House of Commons, and their unpopularity without, Fox—who although aware of his political danger—persevered in his measure, and it was carried through all its stages with triumphant majorities.

Fox presented his bill at the bar of the Lords on the 9th of December. That it might be carried in that House, he recommended his majesty to create several new Whig peers; to which he received the stern reply, that no peers would be created by the recommendation of the present cabinet. The king had received other advisers in the royal closet. In the interim, the ex-lord chancellor had been there, and by his representations had prejudiced the royal mind against the measure. Thurlow held that it was calculated to render ministers independent of the crown, through the mighty influence they would acquire by having the appointment of the seven great directors; and that many of its clauses would infallibly injure, if not subvert, the British constitution. Such were his representations to the king in his closet, and his views were confirmed by other secret counsellors. If the bill passed both Lords and Commons, he would have been driven to the necessity of refusing his assent. That was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, but it had fallen into disuse since the time of William III., and was now considered to be inconsistent with the independence of parliament. What was to be done? There was only one other way left open to defeat the measure, and that was to intercept it in its passage through the Lords. That was a step scarcely less bold and hazardous than an abrupt dismissal of the ministry or the refusal of the royal assent, but after mature deliberation that step was resolved upon. The bill had passed a first reading by a division in the Lords favourable to its progress. It had been opposed by Lord Thurlow, the duke of Richmond, and Lord Temple, but still ministers had a decided majority. The prince of Wales was in the House to vote for the measure, and Thurlow during his speech, looking at him with knitted brows, declared that if the bill passed the crown of England would not be worth a man of honour wearing. The second reading was fixed for the 15th of December. Meanwhile Lord Temple had received a commission from the king. He was authorized, not merely to whisper to the peers, but confidentially to state, that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as his enemy. That was sufficient. It is true the second reading was carried, but on the same evening ministers were defeated, on a motion for an adjournment till the next day, in order to give an opportunity of hearing counsel, by a majority of eight. This was ominous. Counsel was heard on behalf of the company on the 16th. But the change which now took place in the sentiments or action of many of the peers was not owing to their pleadings. When the king's pleasure was made known the waverers were confirmed, and others who were prepared to support the government, and had actually given the ministers their proxies, were deterred from acting in opposition to the crown. On the 17th the bill was rejected by a majority of nineteen.

On that same day there was a scene of wild excitement in the House of Commons. There had been a warm discussion in the Upper House on the interference of his majesty, but that was conducted with decorum compared with the debate on the subject in the Lower House. Attention was called to the matter by Mr. Baker, a member unconnected with the administration. He moved a resolution, "That it was necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion of his majesty upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanour, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country." The honourable member further moved "that the House would on Monday next resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation." The first of these motions aimed at bringing the House into direct collision with the crown. In opposing it, Pitt contended that there was no proof before the House of such a proceeding as rendered it necessary to make such an assertion of their privileges as would bring the crown into disrepute, and disturb the harmony of the two Houses; but after a keen debate the resolutions were carried by a majority of one hundred and fifty-three to eighty. As a dissolution was now apprehended, Mr. Erskine moved a resolution, pledging the House to reform the abuses of the Indian administration, and denouncing as a public enemy any person who should presume to advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner to interrupt them in the discharge of that important duty. This resolution was attacked as an invasion of the king's prerogative, but it was carried by a majority of two to one.

The India Bill had provoked a popular manifestation, which enabled the king to defy a majority of the House of Commons, which thus boldly defied his crown. While Fox and his colleagues were assuring that House that they would remain at their posts, he was taking steps to remove them by his mandate. Before their menacing resolutions had been recorded in their journals, at midnight on the 18th of December a messenger delivered orders to Fox and North forthwith to deliver up their seals of office. No audience was granted them: they were to send the seals by the under-secretaries of state. Whether the two grand promoters of the "ill-omened coalition" had any sleep that memorable night is not recorded, but the seals were sent; and on the following day Earl Temple, by the direction of the king, sent letters by which every member of the cabinet was ignominiously dismissed from his majesty's service. Thus was the famous cabinet of the coalition broken up, and all their counsels, in which the king had neither part nor lot, had come to nought. The principal measure which they had carried out was the very one which they had opposed, and by which they had by their opposition acceded to office—that of the treaty of peace with France, Spain, and America.

Fox still clung to the hope that his loss of power would be evanescent. "We are so strong," he wrote, "that nobody could undertake office without madness; if they do, I think we shall destroy them as soon as they are formed." The coalition, therefore, were determined to carry on their contest with the crown. And, judging from the arrangements made, they had considerable chances of success. Pitt, now only in his twenty-fifth year, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. In forming his administration, Pitt had few statesmen of reputation to support him. The principal were Lord Thurlow, who was reinstated as lord chancellor; his cousin, William Grenville; and Dundas, the Scotch lawyer. Grenville and Dundas were the only members to whom he could look for aid in debate, but they were not even of sufficient mark to be included in his cabinet. Besides himself and Thurlow, his cabinet consisted of the marquis of Caermarthen, and Townshend, now created Lord Sidney, secretaries of state; Earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Rutland, lord privy seal; and Lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty. The duke of Richmond was master-general of the ordnance, but not in the cabinet; Dundas held the office of treasurer of the navy; Grenville and Lord Mulgrave were joint paymasters of the forces; Mr. George Rose and Mr. Steele became secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd, attorney-general; and Mr. Arden, solicitor-general. Earl Temple at first received the seals of secretary of state, but within three days he resigned, from a difference which arose between him and the young prime minister on the subject of a dissolution of parliament. Temple urged a dissolution, but Pitt objected. Temple was again appointed to the government of Ireland. His retirement from the cabinet sorely disturbed Pitt; but he resolved not to abandon the situation he had undertaken, but to make the best stand in his power. His situation was not an enviable one. The state of the empire was critical. The great question of the government of the East Indies had to be settled; Ireland was still a thorn in the side of England, and required skilful management to prevent a rebellion; and the finances of the country from the long-continued war were in a state of the utmost disorder and embarrassment. But these were not the sum of Pitt's difficulties. With slender support he had to confront men skilled in debate—such as Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan—at whose backs stood an insulting majority, confident in their strength, and eager to revenge the insult their leaders and themselves had recently received at the hands of their sovereign. It was predicted that Pitt's cabinet would not last a month, and he himself was not an unbeliever in the prediction. With only his own resources and the crown to rely on for support, he was doubtful of the result. To his opponents his pretensions seemed so absurd, that when the writ for Appleby was moved—Pitt's borough—shouts of derisive laughter echoed from the crowded opposition benches. Such was the commencement of an administration which proved in the end to be the most durable and most potent in the records of our national history.

So eager were the members of opposition for a triumph that, at the suggestion of Fox, the uniform practice of postponing important business until the first minister should have been re-elected and resumed his seat was dispensed with. The only representative of the government then in the House was Dundas, the treasurer of the navy, who made a proposal to facilitate the Land Tax Bill, in order to meet large payments that were to be made on the 5th of January. That bill was already advanced towards its last stage; but it was in vain that Dundas urged the practice of the House and the exigencies of the state in support of his motion. It was opposed with as much vehemence as though it implied a vote of confidence in the government, and was rejected without a division. It was imagined that government wanted to hasten the supplies, that it might proceed to a dissolution; and before the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays, on the motion of Mr. Erskine, the opposition carried an address to the crown against either a prorogation or dissolution of parliament. His majesty's answer was all that could be desired: he had no such intention. Assured now of victory, and as if impatient for the overthrow of Pitt's cabinet, Fox suggested that the recess should be brief; and it was resolved that the House should reassemble on the 12th of January. But while Fox and his Whig supporters were bent on Pitt's overthrow, he was equally bent after the Christmas recess on demonstrating to them and the nation—who were no unconcerned spectators of the extraordinary political proceedings of the last few months—that he had courage to resist and triumph over an adverse majority.

Parliament reassembled, according to the resolution, on the 12th of January, 1784. Pitt had then won golden opinions among the people by an act of self-abnegation. During the recess the great sinecure of the clerkship of the pells became at his disposal, and although he was poor, and without any compromise of character might have taken it himself, he gave it to Colonel Barré, upon the condition that he should resign the pension he had received from the Rockingham administration. This gained him many friends, for such an act of disinterestedness was rare among those who chose politics for their vocation. Still while he was esteemed by the public, there were few who looked with confidence on his ability to maintain his position. It was perilous, but he bared his proud head to the storm. On the reassembling of parliament, opposition resumed the war of faction with vigour. The Speaker had scarcely seated himself in his chair, when Fox moved for a committee on the state of the nation. He was so impatient for the fray, that he would not even wait till Pitt and his coadjutors had taken the oaths, nor would he give way to the minister, who declared that he had a message from the crown. Pitt could scarcely obtain a hearing. When he did, he complained bitterly of the irregular proceedings which had taken place during his absence, and asked the House to postpone the committee, in order that he might bring in a bill to regulate the affairs of India. This request was met by a demand that an explicit assurance should be given that there should be no dissolution till that question and all other matters recommended in the royal speech should be taken into consideration and settled. As Pitt declined to give that assurance, the House divided, on the motion of Fox, and it was carried, but only by a majority of thirty-nine. The opposition was astonished at this narrow majority, and there was much said about secret influence and unfair dealing. They had hoped to show that no power in the constitution could withstand the will of the Commons, and they began to fear they were mistaken. Still they resolved to persevere. The House having resolved itself into a committee, a regular artillery of resolutions ensued to hurl Pitt from his eminence. It was resolved that it be declared a high crime and misdemeanour to apply any public money to the services already voted, unless an Appropriation Act should be passed before the prorogation; it was resolved that there should be an administration which has the confidence of the House and the public; and it was resolved that ministers had obtained office by circumstances new and extraordinary, and that they did not possess that confidence. Regardless of these attacks, however, Pitt still occupied his eminence. He was supported by the crown. The king assured him that he was ready to take any step he advised to oppose the Whig faction, and to struggle against it to the last period of his life. All undaunted, Pitt, on the 14th of January, moved for leave to bring forward his India Bill. Leave was readily given, for the opposition felt certain of another and perhaps a final victory. The fate of his bill, which was substantially similar to the one which he carried in the following year, was decided beforehand. In principle it differed essentially from that which had been propounded by Fox, and he criticised it unsparingly. It was devoid of merit; it was partial and incomplete; it was crude and undigested; it had its foundation in secret influence; and, if passed, it would inevitably bring ruin on the nation. The bill was rejected on a second reading in a full House, but only by a majority of eight. But on the 26th of January, Mr. Eden moved a resolution, declaring a firm reliance on his "majesty's promise" that they should not be disturbed either by a prorogation or dissolution from taking into consideration the regulation of the East India Company, and for supporting the public credit. Pitt justly and emphatically denied that the royal word stood pledged to the extent of the motion; but it suited the purpose of the opposition so to interpret it, and Pitt suffered it to pass without a division.

At this time an attempt was made by a party independent of either faction, whether Whig or Tory, to put an end to this contest. During one of the debates the amiable Mr. Powys had expressed a wish that there should be a coalition between Fox and Pitt. Other members coincided with him. Fox appears to have thought that a union might be effected; but Pitt remarked that a union not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous. Their union was impossible, but it was thought that the duke of Portland and Pitt might agree to act in unison. Accordingly an address with fifty-three signatures, which was agreed to at a meeting at the St. Albans Tavern, was presented to them, urging them to form a united administration. The two statesmen communicated with each other; but as the duke of Portland insisted that Pitt should retire from office as a preliminary to the negotiation, to which Pitt objected, no union could be formed. Thus frustrated in their laudable attempt to put an end to this memorable struggle, the independent members, after another meeting at the St. Albans Tavern, endeavoured to accomplish their object by a vote of the House of Commons. Their chairman, Mr. Grosvenor, moved, and carried a resolution, "that the present arduous and critical situation of public affairs required a firm, efficient, extended, and united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and calculated to terminate the divisions and distractions of the country." But this vote was equally as fruitless as the address of the benevolent mediators. It was coupled with another resolution, moved by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, which was still more pointed, namely, "that the continuance of the present ministers was an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as the House had declared to be desirable." Pitt sternly opposed this motion. If carried, he said, it would effectually prevent the proposed union. He asked if he was to cast off his armour and beg to be admitted into the ranks of his enemies? If the House chose, he said, to address the crown to dismiss his ministry, it might, and it might take a step still further—impeach them for their crimes. This was the language of bold defiance, and the House accepted the challenge. The two resolutions were ordered to be laid before his majesty.

Hitherto the Lords had taken no share in this memorable conflict. Pitt had commenced his career of making peers, and these, with others, now manifested great zeal for his cause. Resolutions were adopted in opposition to and levelled at those which had been recently passed by the Commons. These resolutions declared in explicit language that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the course of law was unconstitutional, and that the authority of appointing the great officers of state was solely vested in the crown. An address embodying these resolutions was carried, so that his majesty now found that the two Houses were in direct opposition.

The resolutions of the Commons were laid before the king by Lord Hinchingbrooke, a member of the privy council, who informed the House that his majesty had promised to take them into consideration. But days passed away and no answer came. While the House was waiting for a reply, the ordnance estimates were voted without a division. The House, also, on the motion of Lord John Cavendish, resolved itself into a committee on the Receipt Tax Act: Pitt himself voting in the majority. On the 18th of February the king replied to the resolutions of the Commons. Pitt informed the House that his majesty, after a full consideration of the resolutions that had been passed, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers, nor had they resigned. Fox was indignant. The House of Commons, he said, had never before received from a prince of the Brunswick line such a flat and peremptory negative to their sentiments and wishes. Fox had his revenge by moving that the report of the committee of supply should not be received till the 20th; but the small majority by which it was carried gave Pitt hope that he should ultimately triumph. But the contest was still carried on with undiminished vigour. On the 20th an address to the crown, which in effect prayed for the dismission of ministers, was carried by a majority of twenty-nine, after a protracted debate which continued until five in the morning. The king's reply to this address was of the most determined character. He refused to dismiss his ministers. No charge, he said, had been made against them either individually or collectively that would justify their dismissal. He could not see that the public interest would be in any way promoted by it, as they had the confidence of the country. He was desirous that public affairs should be conducted by a firm and extended administration, but that object would not be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in his service. It was now plain that all hope of a compromise was at an end. The king and the opposition were brought as it were foot to foot in the contest. Meanwhile the great Whig leader gained his last triumph over Pitt. On the 5th he moved that the committee on the Mutiny Bill, which stood for that day, should be adjourned till Monday, which was carried, but only by a majority of seven. On that memorable Monday the House was filled to overflow. As early as ten o'clock in the morning strangers took their seats in the gallery to witness this last struggle of the two great factions. But they were not suffered to witness it. On the motion of Sir James Lowther the galleries were cleared. Language was about to be uttered which it was not fit the public should hear, lest it might bring the Whig leaders into contempt. Fox and his adherents had asserted that they would no more address the crown in the usual manner, but would embody their grievances and complaints in the more emphatic form of a representation. Accordingly an elaborate remonstrance was drawn up by Burke in the form of an address to his majesty. But the House was not prepared for this violent proceeding. Many of the usual supporters of the Whig leaders became alarmed. The address was moved by Fox, who charged Pitt with unconstitutional conduct, and declared that a union of parties was now impracticable. Fox professed to lament over the disgrace and ruin which this struggle had brought upon the country; but the "disgrace and ruin" only existed in his imagination. Pitt took no part in the debate. Violently as he was attacked, he could not be provoked to speak. The task of defending ministers was intrusted to that clever Scotch lawyer Dundas, who performed it with ability. The debate was long and stormy. The hour of midnight arrived, and the House became impatient to divide. The result of the division was anxiously waited for by both parties, and at length it was announced. The great Whig leader had a majority of one. This announcement was received with loud and vociferous cheers from the ministerial benches. The battle was over. Pitt had by his stern will triumphed over his redoubtable opponents. The opposition acknowledged the majority of one only was a defeat. They did more. They acknowledged that in this fiery struggle of two months' duration, Pitt "had joined to great boldness, sagacity and discretion." There were no more divisions. The supplies were voted without opposition; the Mutiny Bill was passed with but a slight show of resistance, and then what the opposition had all along dreaded came to pass. On the 25th of March parliament was dissolved.

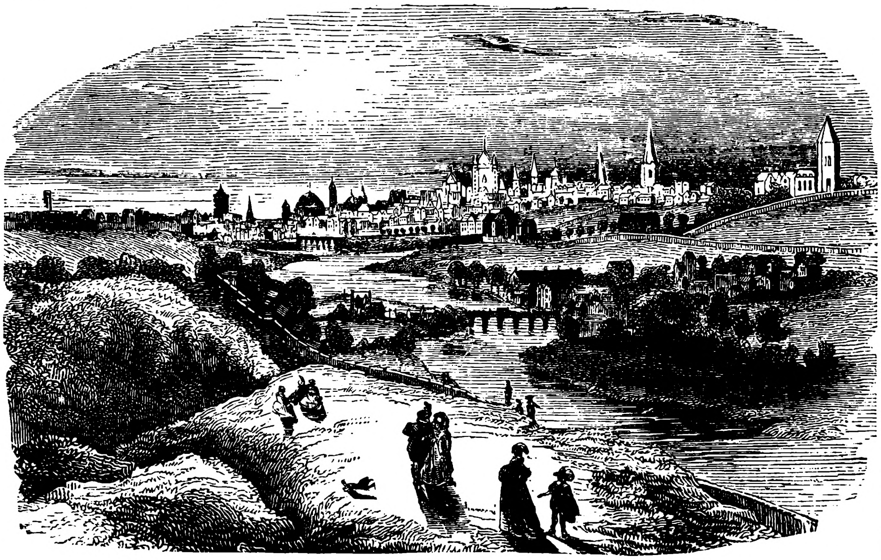
The king had told the House of Commons that ministers had the confidence of the country, and although this might be "undignified and unconstitutional," it was the language of truth. In the midst of the conflict Pitt had been presented with the freedom of the city of London. But a farther proof of Pitt's growing popularity among the whole people of England was especially manifested in the result of the election. Pitt was no longer the member of a rotten borough: he was returned at the head of the poll for the university of Cambridge. The elections went almost universally against the coalition party. They lost no less than a hundred and sixty seats.

The new parliament assembled on the 18th of May. The late Speaker resumed his chair without opposition. The royal speech avoided every topic which could provoke controversy. His majesty expressed satisfaction at meeting his parliament at this time, after having appealed in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He had no doubt that they would echo the sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution which the people had so fully manifested; and he recommended to their most serious consideration the framing of suitable provisions for the good government of the British possessions in the East Indies. The proposed address contained sentiments of grateful eulogy to the king for having dissolved the late parliament. The opposition took exception to this. Probably with a view of trying their strength, an amendment was moved censuring the dissolution, but it was rejected by a majority of more than two to one in a full House.

Pitt commenced his career as a financial minister with great success. His operations in finance were received with favour on both sides of the House. His budget, which included the subject of taxation, was produced on the 30th of June. At this time there was a floating debt of about fourteen millions: chiefly the result of the late war. Pitt proposed to fund nearly half that amount at five per cent. stock, and to make it irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the existing fund should be extinguished. To pay the interest of this fund, together with four per cent. on the remainder, which was in the market in bills and debentures, nearly one million annually was required. Pitt undertook to find that sum by new and increased taxation. This was the most difficult part of his task. New imposts are generally obnoxious to the public; but Pitt so distributed them as not to make them burdensome. Pitt's manliness, together with the ability he displayed in his financial detail, gained for him the applause of the whole House. Fox generously said that too much praise could not be given him for his management of the unfunded debt; a generosity the more noteworthy, as Pitt, from an unworthy resentment of his great rival, had no small share in keeping him out of his seat for Westminster.

Pitt was as successful with his India Bill as he was with his financial measures. The main feature of the bill was the partition of power between the crown and the company; but the regulations relating to the government of India were manifold. Their chief features related to the appointment of all officers, from the governor-general and commander-in-chief down to the writers and cadets. All promotions were to be made according to seniority and in succession, unless for some urgent cause to be transmitted to the directors. There were to be three presidencies, that of Bengal enjoying the supremacy. But the supreme government was not to enter into any offensive treaty, or to make war, without the command of the directors, against any power, unless that power had commenced or manifested a full intention of commencing hostilities. As might have been expected, Pitt's bill did not pass without some opposition. The partition of power between the company and the crown was especially censured by the opposition. In committee the bill underwent several amendments, but its main features were preserved. As amended it passed both Houses with large majorities. In the whole there were twenty-one amendments, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet. Sheridan humorously suggested that some member of the House should suggest three more clauses, which would "complete the horn-book of the present ministry." Like most great measures, Pitt's India Bill resulted in a compromise; but the small minority in the House of Lords entered a strong protest in their journals against it as ineffectual in its provisions; inquisitorial in its spirit; and in its partial abolition of trial by jury unconstitutional. And, after all, the measure proposed and carried by Pitt must be considered only a measure of expediency; a measure not designed for a permanent institution, but as a stepping-stone to that which in the fulness of time has been accomplished: the assumption of the sole power of the crown of England over the rich dominion in the east, of which the East India Company had by its policy and the sword laid the foundation. A double government is an anomaly in the history of a nation, and can never prove enduring. Yet such was the unanimity displayed by this two-fold government that it existed in all its integrity down to the year 1858, when the terrible mutiny in India necessitated a change, and that magnificent empire was by an Act of Parliament handed over to the sole power of the British executive.

The last measure of this session was an act of strict justice. This was the restoration of the estates in Scotland to the heirs of those who had forfeited them in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. As Dundas, who brought in the bill, remarked, this was a subject worthy of the justice and generosity of the British Parliament. There was no opposition to the measure in the Commons; but when sent to the Lords it met with a most determined resistance from the Lord Chancellor Thurlow. The "old tiger" growled over it terribly, contending that treason was of so deep a dye that nothing but the total extinction of the person, name, and family out of the community was adequate to its punishment. But Thurlow was left in a large minority, and the bill passed, to the great satisfaction of the public. The session closed on the 20th of August, at which time Pitt's popularity was at its height, and finally established in power.



DUBLIN.

But the new ministry could not fold their arms and sit down at their ease. They had the old problem to solve—how they could best quiet Ireland. The late cabinet had sought to do this, and had failed. Ireland was in a state of disturbance during the whole of their administration, and it was disturbed still. The subject of parliamentary reform was now the question agitated; but it was adopted by the popular leaders merely as a cloak for their revolutionary purposes. During the last year there had been assemblies of delegates from the volunteer corps held in different provinces for the purpose of consulting on measures proper to be adopted to effect a reform in parliament, and a national convention was appointed to be held on the 10th of November. Meantime the Irish Parliament met, and having passed a vote of thanks to the volunteer corps for their public services, on the motion of Lord Mountmorres, resolved, "that in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there should be a session of Parliament held annually." But this did not satisfy the convention of delegates, which met at Dublin on the day appointed. On the motion of the bishop of Derry, a committee was formed to digest a plan of reform, and at the suggestion of this committee a measure was adopted of the most revolutionary character. It was a measure which directly affected the property and interests of three-fourths of the Irish members of parliament. It was introduced into the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Flood, a popular leader of great eloquence, but who was both factious and unprincipled. Flood was a rival of the great Irish patriot Grattan, and he hoped by the popular question of reform to supplant him in the eminence he had obtained by his high-souled patriotism. But Flood did not trust to his eloquence alone to carry his motion, for all the members who were volunteers took their seats attired in their uniform, as if to intimidate the House into acquiescence. Flood's motion gave rise to a scene of unexampled violence, even in that assembly, where an important debate frequently gave rise to an appeal to the pistol. After a stormy debate, in which the authority of the chair and the rules of the House were alike disregarded, the motion was rejected by a large majority. An address was subsequently voted in both Houses expressive of the sense of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's rule, and assuring him of their most loyal support with their lives and fortunes. The conduct of the House of Commons was reported by Flood to the national convention on the 1st of December, when they merely resolved that they would individually carry on such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of parliamentary reform. Menace had failed to obtain their purpose. The national convention, indeed, seems to have thought that they were going too far, for they too voted an address to the king, expressive of their loyalty and duty, and praying that he would not attribute their demand for parliamentary reform to a spirit of innovation, but rather to a desire to uphold the constitution, confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and to perpetuate the union of both kingdoms. The convention then adjourned *sine die*. But the subject of reform was still agitated among the people. Early in the session of this year Flood renewed his motion in a modified form. His object was to conciliate the favour of that part of the opposition which were favourable to some reform in the Irish Parliament; and he so far succeeded that several members, among whom was Grattan himself, gave at least a qualified support to the proposal. This time the bill was discussed with greater calmness, but it was again rejected, though with a diminished majority. Its rejection was the signal for an outbreak of popular fury. The mob broke into the House, and most of the members fled for their lives. And the popular fury was greatly heightened when, on the 31st of March, a motion—which had for its object the protection of the manufactures of Ireland, by the imposition of a high duty on woollen cloths imported into the kingdom, and by compelling the inhabitants to consume the produce of native ingenuity and industry—was negatived as visionary and pernicious. The rage of the people now knew no bounds. It was not, however, exhibited in open rebellion, but in a series of outrages, in which the populace exhibited the cold-blooded malice and ferocity characteristic of the Celtic race in the most wanton manner. But these disorders were mainly confined to the capital, and in the capital to its more ignorant and needy population. The Roman Catholics and the lower order of the priests had a large share in these wanton outrages; but some of the Dublin shopkeepers, and even merchants and higher class of traders, were not a little pleased at them, imagining that they would extort some commercial concessions from the government by which they might profit. Pitt was in the mean time devising a plan for the adjustment of the commercial relations of the two countries on an equitable footing. That plan was twofold; it comprehended a system of mutual prohibition and a system of mutual admission. It was laid before the Irish House of Commons on the first day of the next session, in a series of eleven propositions, which were all ratified by a decisive majority.

The British parliament met on the 25th of January, 1785, the same day on which the Irish parliament reassembled. The chief topic of the royal speech related to the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. The subject was warmly recommended to the consideration of both Houses. There was great unanimity in the addresses: all was harmony.

The minor subject of the Westminster election gave place to one far more worthy the abilities of a statesman. But it was a subject on which neither the king, nor the parliament, nor the people, were at this time deeply interested. During the American war, and the government of Lord North, there had been a loud demand for reform in parliament, but that demand was no longer heard. Pitt, however, having pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this great cause, for the third time, on the 18th of April, brought forward a plan for parliamentary reform. His plan was one of the least practicable of any that had yet been proposed. His principle was sound, but its machinery ineffective to produce any salutary effect in the constitution. From this cause it has been doubted whether Pitt had any sincere desire for the reform he advocated. There is not, however, any reason to doubt his sincerity. His plan was to increase the county representation by the extinction of the small and decayed boroughs. This would have added seventy-two members to the counties, and the constituency was to be enlarged by the enfranchisement of copyholders. Thirty-six boroughs were to be selected for disfranchisement. But in order to avoid giving offence to the borough-mongers, whose property they were, Pitt proposed that a fund should be raised to indemnify them. As, however, the transaction was to be placed on the footing of a bargain between them and the state, it rested with them whether the plan should be carried into effect or remain a dead letter. If any or all of the patrons of decayed boroughs refused to part with their patronage, there was no clause in the bill to compel them. But Pitt had a plausible scheme whereby his plan might be carried out in the lapse of time. The fund to be raised for the indemnification of the borough-mongers was one million pounds sterling, and he proposed that the unused fund should accumulate at compound interest, so as eventually to reach a point whereby even the most reluctant might be tempted to part with their patronage. On rising to propose his plan, Pitt remarked that he did so with hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had ever ventured to entertain on the subject. But his scheme was ill-calculated to justify his hopes. It was ridiculed by Mr. Powys as the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote, as an example, a precedent, an incitement, to the wildest and most paradoxical nostrums that speculative theorists could devise. Fox, more sober and generous in his opposition to the measure, eulogized its principle, but strongly objected to the purchasing franchises of decayed boroughs with the public money. From their insignificance, he said, they were no longer entitled to send members to parliament. The bill was not introduced as a government measure. Every one, and even those in office, were at liberty to vote as they pleased, and after a full debate, Pitt's plan was rejected by a large majority; and during his long administration he made no further attempt at reform in parliament.

Early in the session Pitt brought in a bill for the regulation of public offices, for retrenching wasteful extravagance and peculation in the several departments, and for the better auditing and examining of the public accounts. Pitt's bill was founded on a report made by a commission which had been appointed during Lord North's administration. Pitt's measure was carried with great applause, but not without some opposition, in which Sheridan and Burke took a conspicuous part. Sheridan characterized Pitt as a hunter of small vermin, and Burke denounced the bill as a violation of the Great Charter and the common law of the land, a denunciation as extravagant as it was unfounded.

Pitt produced his budget on the 9th of May. He had previously moved for an account of the net produce of the taxes for the last two years, on which occasion he said that the various bills passed last year had worked so well, that, together with the extension of trade and commerce, there was reason to hope that the income of the next year would not only equal the expenditure, but afford a surplus, which might be applied to the gradual liquidation of the national debt. On producing his budget, however, Pitt found himself compelled to increase taxation. The revenue fell short of the supplies voted by about one million pounds sterling. Among the new taxes which Pitt proposed was a tax upon female servants, and on retail shops. The tax upon male servants was also to be increased. Most of the taxes he proposed encountered much opposition, but with some modifications they were adopted by the House.

The subject which chiefly engaged the attention of parliament during this session was that which had been especially recommended in the royal speech. Pitt lost no time in producing his plan of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. It was introduced on the 22nd of February. Pitt was of opinion that the poverty and distress of the Irish people were the cause of all their discontent and disaffection. He was also of opinion that the great panacea for these evils was commercial freedom. That freedom had been in a great measure secured by the Acts of 1780, which had thrown open the

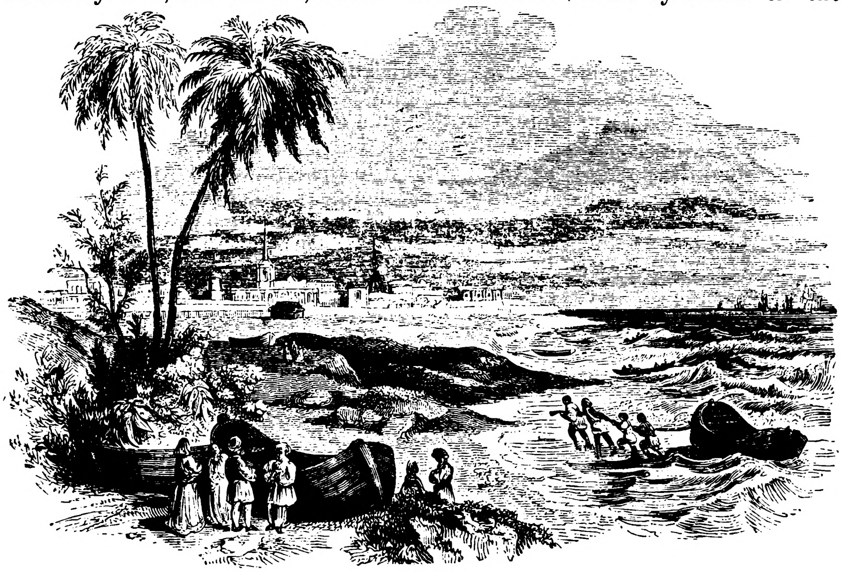
Irish ports to the trade of Europe and the British colonies in the West Indies. Five years had now passed away since that Act was enacted, and yet the poverty of Ireland was greater than ever. Virtually it had proved a dead letter, from the want of three essentials in trade and commerce, enterprise, capital, and credit. Without these no Acts of Parliament can make a nation prosperous and happy. Pitt, however, hoped that by a more complete commercial freedom the Irish would shake off their lethargy, and that the relations of the twin islands would be established on a more friendly footing than they now stood. His proposal was simple, just, and reasonable. He proposed that the Irish ports should now be opened to the American and African trade, in addition to those of Europe and the West Indian colonies: in other words, that the commerce of Ireland should be coextensive with that of Great Britain. He further proposed, that colonial produce which could already be conveyed in Irish bottoms to British ports might be reshipped from Ireland to any part of Great Britain. In return for these concessions, Pitt required that Ireland should, from the surplus of the hereditary revenues of the crown, which were chiefly derived from imposts on commodities, contribute to the expense of maintaining the colonies and protecting the commerce of the empire: her contributions being in proportion to the benefits which she obtained from the removal of restrictions upon her trade and commerce. Resolutions embodying these provisions had been, as before recorded, proposed to and adopted by the Irish House of Parliament. In laying them before the British House of Commons, Pitt explained their purport in a speech of great power and eloquence. Down to a recent period, he observed, from the Revolution, the system of commerce established between the two countries had debarred Ireland from the enjoyment of her own resources, and had rendered that kingdom completely subservient to the interest and opulence of Britain. Ireland had not been suffered to profit either by the bounties of nature, or by native skill and industry. That system had been reversed. Ireland was now free to export her produce to all parts of the world, and to import and re export the produce of the British colonies. No change, however, had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. At this moment the intercourse between the two countries remained, except on trivial points, on the old footing: no material alteration having been made in the exportation of British manufactures to Ireland, or the importation of Irish manufactures into Great Britain. Pitt argued that there were but two possible systems for countries situated in relation to each other as England and Ireland. That of having the smaller country subservient and subordinate to the greater had been tried and found wanting. "The other system was a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burthens; and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries." Pitt's enlarged views were in advance of his age. Party spirit, also, was again brought into play by his liberal propositions. The opposition conceived that his bold innovation on established maxims would give them an opportunity of ruining Pitt's growing reputation. Feeling assured that they could stir up the mercantile and manufacturing community to oppose the measure, they demanded time for the due consideration of so vast a plan. This was readily conceded, and a distant day was named. Pitt was under an impression that the more the subject was discussed, the more likely the cause would be benefited. He did not doubt of complete success. For a time there were no indications of any serious or determined opposition to the measure. But the bill was only the precursor of a storm. The great seats of commerce and manufactures were soon in a perfect commotion. Petitions were poured into the House against the measure from all quarters. A committee of merchants sat in London to watch the progress of the bill. There was one universal cry of sordid prejudice raised against Pitt's commercial policy. Fox and North were opposed to any further concession to the people of Ireland. Fox denounced the scheme as "a tame surrender of the commerce and manufactures of our country;" and North contended that Ireland had no right to become a sharer in the British markets. British trade, he said, ought to belong exclusively to the British manufacturer, and until Ireland was united with England under one legislature, it was not either just or equitable that the one should be enriched at the expense of the other. Feeling assured that the bill would pass through the British parliament, Sheridan, Fox, and Burke sought to defeat it in the Irish legislature, by inflaming the jealousy of its members and the people of Ireland. Sheridan declared that the Irish parliament would not dare to pass these resolutions, and should they hesitate, he appealed to the people to assert their independence. The language of Fox and Burke was still more calculated to excite a fatal prejudice against the bill in Ireland. Burke, especially, by drawing an invidious comparison between the two countries, prepared the minds of the Irish people to resist the measure as an insult to their freedom and independence. England, he said, was the great ruling power which must ever sway the sceptre, and Ireland must ever of necessity occupy a subordinate and subservient position. The bill passed the House of Commons, and was carried up to the Lords on the 7th of May, by whom several amendments were made, to which the Commons agreed. On the 29th of July an address was presented to the king by both Houses, acquainting his majesty with the steps they had taken in the matter. It now remained, they said, for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions, according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of all other parts of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent. The British parliament then adjourned; and on the 30th of September it was prorogued by royal proclamation.

Meanwhile, Pitt's bill had met with an undeserved fate in the Irish House of Commons. The incendiary language of Sheridan, Fox, and Burke had all the effect they desired. The people of Ireland had been told by British statesmen that Pitt's scheme was a badge of their inferiority, and they rebelled against it. When the resolutions reached Ireland, the Irish parliament were not disposed to judge of its conditions with "wisdom and discretion." The bill was foredoomed. Murmurs from the other side of the channel had indicated the reception it would encounter on its arrival. It was introduced into the Irish House of Commons on the 12th of August. On that day, Mr. Orde moved for leave to bring in a bill for establishing the system of commercial intercourse Pitt's bill unfolded. He proposed an adjournment of ten days, in order that the bill might be thoroughly examined, and promulgated throughout the country before it was discussed. But the Irish parliament were not in a temper to have its provisions examined and discussed calmly. The restrictive clauses which Pitt had been compelled to introduce into the measure were at once loudly denounced. The bill as amended was assailed with the whole force of Irish eloquence. Grattan, Flood, and Curran united in assailing it with their impassioned oratory. On a division, the government prevailed, but as it was only by a majority of nineteen, it was equivalent to a defeat; and when a few days afterwards the secretary moved the first reading and printing of the bill, he announced that it would not be further proceeded with during this session.

The British parliament reassembled on the 24th of January, 1786. The royal speech expressed great satisfaction at the prosperous condition of the country. Trade had greatly extended, the revenue had improved, and public credit was well sustained. For some years the tranquillity of Europe, which was always liable to interruption from the intrigues of the great powers for extended territories and influence, had been greatly endangered. The Emperor Joseph had been seeking to obtain by coercion from the States of Holland the surrender of the fortresses of the Netherlands, which since the War of Succession had always been garrisoned by the Dutch as a bulwark against the inroads of France. In the autumn of the last year, however, after four years of dispute and threatened war, the court of Versailles had concluded a treaty of commerce and close alliance with Holland, by which the emperor was restrained from commencing hostilities to enforce his demand. Great Britain had abstained from interference, but if war had broken out there was reason to fear this policy of non-interference must have been abandoned. Hence it was that, in his speech, the king congratulated himself that the disputes which had threatened the peace of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion, and that he continued to receive the most friendly assurances from foreign powers. At the same time, as though he suspected the peace of Europe might yet be broken, he recommended particular attention to our naval strength. He added: "But, above all, let me recommend your attention to the reduction of the national debt."

The reduction of the national debt was a subject of vital importance, but most difficult to handle. Notwithstanding, Pitt determined to grapple with it. He became absorbed in a great financial scheme, from which he expected the most marvellous results. In writing to Wilberforce, he remarked:—"The produce of our revenue is glorious; and I am half mad with a project which will give our supplies the effect almost of magic in the reduction of debt." Year after year that debt had gone on increasing, till it had at length arrived in round numbers to two hundred and fifty millions. The time was most favourable for an important fiscal operation. Large as the debt was, it had not increased in proportion with the wealth and prosperity of the country. From the report of a select committee, the appointment of which Pitt moved for on the 7th of March, it was demonstrated that the public income exceeded the expenditure by one million, or nearly eight per cent. It was on this report that Pitt formed his celebrated scheme for a sinking fund. He proposed to appropriate this surplus towards the reduction of the capital charge. Of itself it was but a drop in the ocean, but Pitt was of opinion that it might be made the deposit of a fund, which in a given number of years, by the operation of the law of compound interest, would absorb the whole of the debt by which the country was burthened. He moved, therefore, that this sum of one million, and a similar sum annually, should be granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the liquidation of the public debt. The commissioners proposed by him were the Speaker of the House of Commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England, and the accountant-general in chancery. In his speech Pitt expressed more than a sanguine hope of the success of his plan. In committee an amendment moved by Fox was, with the warm sanction of Pitt, adopted, to the effect "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash in their hands; the interest and douceur annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." With this amendment the bill passed both Houses *nem. con.*, and on the 26th of March his majesty gave it his royal assent. The public received it with as much favour as did the two Houses of Parliament. And that favour was not soon withdrawn. For years the sinking fund was looked upon as the salvation of the country. It was a deep-rooted belief that "by some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, it would put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out of the pockets of the tax-payer." But this delusion was finally dispelled when it was found that during the next war in which Britain was engaged, the national debt had been increased eleven millions by the less advantageous terms upon which money was borrowed by the exchequer compared with the purchases made by the commissioners under the power of Pitt's celebrated Act. The great error in that Act was, that it did not debar the minister from contracting new loans; for no sinking fund could diminish the national debt unless its resources were derived from an excess of revenue over the public expenditure.

Pursuing his plan of financial reform, Pitt next turned his attention to frauds committed on the revenue in the article of wine. His object was to secure the annual million voted for the sinking fund without resorting to new taxation. At this period large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. To prevent these frauds, on the 22nd of May Pitt brought forward a bill for transferring certain duties on wine from the customs to the excise. This transfer was made, notwithstanding the opposition of Fox, and the cry raised against it by those in the trade and others out of doors. As in the days of Walpole, the exciseman was not a popular member of the community. People did not approve of the existing excise laws, and they had a strong antipathy to their being extended to their wine bins. Pitt, however, carried his bill through the Commons without a division; and after a stern opposition by Lord Loughborough, it obtained the sanction of the Upper House. Another bill brought forward by Pitt, and carried, called "The Manifest Act," had for its object the prevention of frauds committed on the customs by false accounts of imported goods, and the relanding clandestinely such as had received drawbacks at their exportation. At a later date, in consequence of a message from the crown, Pitt brought in a bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and revenue belonging to the crown, and for power to sell or alienate fee, farm, and other rents incapable of improvement. In that bill there was a clause which gave power to the commissioners to call for and take into their keeping all titles, maps, plans, and documents relating to lands holden of the crown. This was rightly objected to by Mr. Joliffe, as instituting a court of inquisition, and as leaving every man concerned without anything like certainty of title or estate. He moved amendments to protect private title-deeds, and to bind the commissioners to report their proceedings to parliament. With these amendments, the bill was adopted in both Houses.

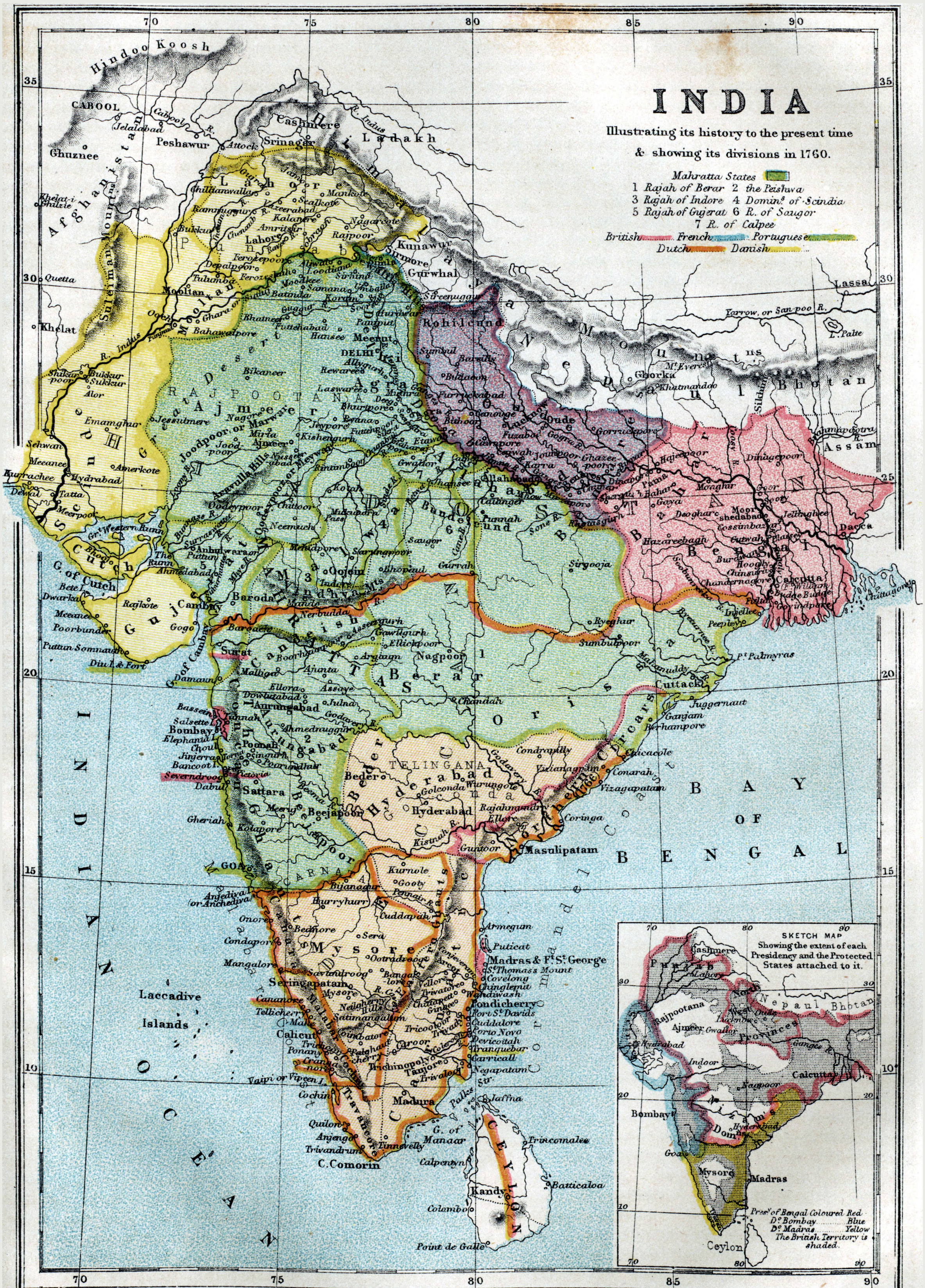


MADRAS.

For several years, whenever the affairs of India occupied the attention of the House of Commons. Burke rarely failed to make a fierce onslaught on the governor-general of that country. He stood forth as the public accuser of the vicegerent's actions. In the previous year Warren Hastings had resigned the government of India, and returned to England. He was well received by the court of directors for the great services he had rendered the company, and was honoured by the royal favour. It was believed that dignities and rewards would be heaped upon him; but instead of this, the proconsul had to defend his fame, fortune, and freedom, if not his very life, against such a combination of foes as a public individual has rarely had to encounter. At the head of this phalanx of foes stood Burke, his most uncompromising enemy. Burke had in his absence denounced Hastings as the scourge and oppressor of India, and his return to England was the signal for his prosecution. The impeachment of Warren Hastings was brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February, and the subject occupied the House from time to time down to the 11th of July, when parliament was prorogued, and when no decisive step had been taken in the matter. The impeachment of Hastings was the exciting question of the session; and in order fully to understand it, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the progress of our arms and policy in India, the details of which have hitherto been omitted, to preserve the narrative of the American war and home events free from embarrassment. This retrospective view will be found in the succeeding pages.

The establishment of the British empire in the East Indies is one of the most wonderful events recorded in the manifold pages of the world's history. Within the brief period of a single generation, a joint-stock trading company had become the masters of ancient kingdoms and rich provinces which the sword of Alexander the Great had failed to conquer. It has been seen in the reign of George II. how Robert Clive—who had been taken from the counting-house of a trading company at Madras—had securely laid the foundations of our Indian empire by his many victories over the native princes. He returned to England, where he was received with all honour. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive of Plassey, the name of the place where he had gained his great victory which established the British power in India on a solid basis.

That power grew daily more and more dominant. Before Clive had departed for England it was rumoured that the Mogul Shah Zada was advancing with an army against Patna, which was under the jurisdiction of Ramnarrain. He pretended that he



INDIA

Illustrating its history to the present time
& showing its divisions in 1760.

Mahratta States 🟩
1 Rajah of Berar 2 the Peishwa
3 Rajah of Indore 4 Domins. of Scindia
5 Rajah of Gujerat 6 R. of Saugor
7 R. of Calpee
British 🟥 French 🟦 Portuguese 🟩
Dutch 🟧 Danish 🟨
Hindoo Koosh
CABOOL
Jelalabad
Peshawur
Attock
Ghuznee
Cashmere
Srinagur
Ladakh
Afghanistan
Suleiman Mounts
Quetta
Khelat
Lahore
Punjab
Mooltan
Rohilcund
Lassa
Yarrow, or San-poo R.
L. Palte
Mt. Everest
Ghorka
Khatmandoo
Bhotan
Assam
DELHI
Meerut
Bikaneer
RAJPOOTANA
Ajmeer
Joodpoor or Marwar
Jeypore
Aravulla Hills
Oude
Lucknow
Allahabad
Bundelcund
Patna
Bengal
Dacca
Calcutta
Chandernagore
Hoogly
Hydrabad
Kurrachee
Tatta
Cutch
G. of Cutch
Guzerat
Ahmedabad
Cambay
Baroda
Oojein
Indore
Surat
Candeish
Nagpoor
Berar
Orissa
Cuttack
Juggernaut
Aurungabad
Bombay
Salsette
Elephanta
Poonah
Sattara
Beejapoor
Hyderabad
Golconda
Beder
TELINGANA
Northern Circars
Masulipatam
Vizagapatam
GOA
CARNATIC
Kurnole
Cuddapah
Mysore
Seringapatam
Mangalore
Calicut
Cochin
Madras & Ft. St. George
Pondicherry
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Madura
Travancore
C. Comorin
Palks Str.
G. of Manaar
Jaffna
Trincomalee
Kandy
Colombo
Point de Galle
CEYLON
Batticaloa
Laccadive Islands
INDIAN OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
Coromandel Coast
Malabar Coast
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
SKETCH MAP
Showing the extent of each Presidency and the Protected States attached to it.
Cashmere
Punjab
Lahore
North West Provinces
Nepaul
Bhotan
Oude
Lucknow
Rajpootana
Ajmeer
Gwalior
Hydrabad
Indoor
Ganges R.
Calcutta
Nagpoor
Nizam's Dom.ns
Hyderabad
Bombay
Goa
Mysore
Madras
Travancore
Ceylon
Presy. of Bengal Coloured Red
Do. Bombay .... Blue
Do. Madras .... Yellow
The British Territory is shaded.

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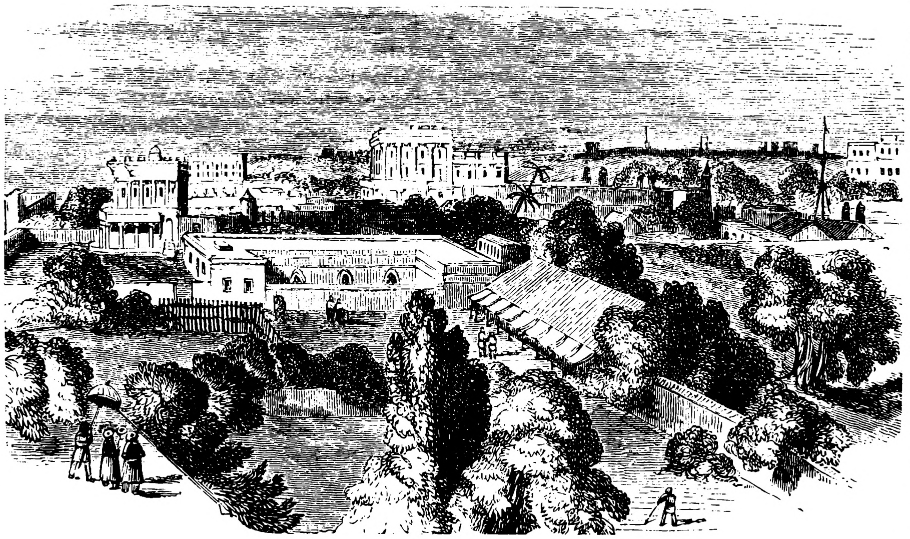
had taken up arms against the vizier, the master of Delhi, who in a fit of desperation murdered the Great Mogul. After this tragical event the Shah Zada took the title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon the powerful ruler of Oude. The young emperor assumed the title of Shah Alum, or "king of the world." Being again joined by Law with his French fugitives, the self styled "king of the world" now marched against Patna. The nabob of Oude supplied his contingent to the enterprise. It was a large army, but Ramnarrain, with only a body of seventy Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, came out of the city to give battle. The result was disastrous. Ramnarrain was wounded, and the Sepoys were cut to pieces, but most of the British fought their way into the city. A passage was opened for them right and left, for the Asiatics stood in awe of the Britons' bold daring. They were in truth what Jeremy Taylor described them to be in the days of Alexander, "men of clouts," and unable to withstand the fierce onslaught of the strong Saxon arm. And this was clearly demonstrated on the arrival of Colonel Calliaud with three hundred British and one thousand Sepoys, who were under the command of Meeran. Shah Alum was compelled to retire from Patna with precipitation. He fled towards Oude, but being joined by the naib or sub governor of Purneah, Shah Alum, eluding his pursuers, returned to Patna. But again he and his followers were obliged to take refuge in flight. Patna had been left almost without troops, and it was on the point of being captured, when Captain Knox, with two hundred British, one battalion of Sepoys, and three hundred horse, arrived from Moorshedabad, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. A few days after Knox defeated the naib of Purneah, who fled northwards for his life. He was pursued by Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops, and Meeran with his Sepoys. It was believed that the naib had all the treasures of Purneah with him, which gave, as it were, wings to his pursuers. The pursuit was rapid, and the naib's artillery and heavy baggage were on the fourth day captured. The treasure and the richer part of the baggage, however, which had been placed on camels and elephants, and sent forward, escaped the vigilance of the pursuers. While the prize was still full in their view a tremendous storm occurred, which necessitated a halt, and Meeran, with some of his attendants, were struck dead in his tent with lightning. Considering this to be an evil omen, Meeran's troops gave up the pursuit, and Calliaud returned to Patna. This event proved unfortunate for Clive's protégé, the Nabob Meer Jaffier. The troops of Meeran marched to Moorshedabad, and surrounding his palace threatened his life, in order to obtain arrears of pay. Other bodies of men also rebelled against the nabob on the same ground. But the treasury of Meer Jaffier was empty, and he had no means of satisfying their demands. His life was in jeopardy, when Mr. Vansittart, the new governor of Calcutta, resolved to depose him. It was one of those opportunities which the company's servants were ever ready to embrace of extending the power and territory of the company. This was the golden rule laid down by the East India directors for their servants to follow, and they followed it to the sacrifice of many a native prince without compunction. Acting upon it, Mr. Vansittart concluded a treaty with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, and general of his army, engaging that he should become nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition that he made over to the company the rich provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Accordingly Meer Cossim was solemnly proclaimed nabob, and Meer Jaffier went into private life at Calcutta. At first the new nabob was all that the company's council at Calcutta could have desired. He sent them six or seven lacs of rupees, and professed his willing submission to their control. But if the council thought that Meer Cossim would suit their purpose better than Meer Jaffier they were soon undeceived. At this time the young Emperor Shah Alum was in the neighbourhood of Delhi, but had no means of securing its possession. Thus situated, he sent Meer Cossim his investiture as nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and offered the council at Calcutta the receivership of these provinces if they would secure for him the ancient seat and throne of the Great Mogul. But the council had no means to defray the expenses of an expedition into Central India, and the offer was declined. Meer Cossim had also become as poor as Meer Jaffier had been when he was deposed, and



CALCUTTA.

therefore could not undertake the enterprise. But there was plunder to obtain, and neither Meer Cossim nor the council at Calcutta were nice in their manner of obtaining it. The new nabob cast his longing eyes on the wealth of Ramnarrain, the governor of Patna. At first Major Carnac, who now commanded the company's troops in Bahar, was instructed by Mr. Vansittart to protect Ramnarrain, but that order was soon recalled. The promise of a share in the plunder given by Meer Cossim left the governor of Patna at his mercy. Major Carnac was averse to the desertion of Ramnarrain, who had received so many pledges from, and had rendered many services to the British, and he was superseded by Coote, the conqueror of Pondicherry, who, proving as high-souled as Carnac, was recalled, and Ramnarrain was left unprotected. Under pretence that he had not accounted for the receipts of his government, he was thrown into prison. His house was ransacked, and, finding no treasures, Meer Cossim had his servants put to the torture, to make them confess where they were concealed. Very little, however, was found, for they chiefly existed in the imagination of Ramnarrain's enemies. It was now that Meer Cossim exhibited a refractory spirit towards the council of Calcutta. That base act of the council recoiled on themselves. All friendly correspondence between them and the native nobility was interrupted. Meer Cossim received offers of service and money on every hand, if he would resist the hated foreigner. Thus encouraged, Meer Cossim showed a disposition to free himself from his British friends. He commenced his hostility by complaints, which were no doubt well founded. The dustuks, or permits, he alleged had been abused, whereby he was brought to the verge of poverty. No notice being taken of his complaints, Meer Cossim proceeded to acts of open hostility. He stopped and searched the company's boats as they sailed up the Ganges, and, growing bold by impunity, seized two boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and then made preparations for getting that place into his hands. Apprised of this, the council gave directions to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate his designs by seizing upon the citadel. On discovering this, the rage of Meer Cossim knew no bounds. He murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna, with two Hindu bankers, supposed to be attached to the British interests, and then marched upon the town with a great army, of which he took possession. The British troops at Patna fled by boats up the Ganges to Chuprah, where famine compelled them to surrender; and about the same time the factory of Cossimbuzar was attacked and plundered by the nabob, and many British were captured. All his British prisoners were sent to Monghir.

Meanwhile the council at Calcutta had entered into arrangements with the old chief, Meer Jaffier, in order to restore him to the runsund or throne of Bengal, from which they had so lately hurled him. The aged nabob, however, had to pay handsomely for his renewed friendship with the British. He confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, and in addition granted an exemption to the company's servants from all search, and from all duties except salt, and engaged to pay the company thirty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, and to maintain an army of twenty-four thousand men at his own charge. This done, Meer Jaffier issued his mandates to the chiefs, and to the cities of the three provinces, and then hastened to join the British, who were advancing upon Moorshedabad, the old residence of the nabobs of Bengal. In their route they were met by three generals of Meer Cossim, who were defeated, and arriving at Moorshedabad, they took possession of it without opposition. A greater battle was fought soon after on the plain of Gheriah, where Meer Cossim's troops were assembled in full force. In number his army was as ten to one compared with that of the combined force of the British and Meer Jaffier, and it was supported by an immense train of artillery. The battle was maintained for nearly four hours, but at length Meer Cossim's army was defeated and driven off the field, and all their cannon, with one hundred and fifty boats that lay in the Ganges laden with provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Those who escaped the slaughter fled to an entrenched camp at Oodwa, from whence in three weeks they were driven and scattered abroad. The defeated nabob fled with a few troops to Patna, while the British laid siege to and captured Monghir, which he had recently made his capital in preference to Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim took a horrible revenge for the capture of Monghir; he murdered a hundred and fifty British prisoners in the fortress of Patna. Having committed this foul deed, the tyrant fled to the powerful ruler of Oude, Soujah Dowla, at Allahabad. On his arrival at the capital of Oude, the Emperor Shah Álum was with his vizier, and the three rulers now combined against the British power in India. But their combined forces were twice defeated; first under the walls of Patna, by Major Carnac, and again in October, 1764, by Major Munro, who had recently assumed the command of the army at Patna, by which victory the threefold confederacy was annihilated. This victory was the more important to the British power in India, because Soujah Dowla, the ruler of Oude, was the only one in India whom the British had then any cause to fear. His power was broken. The disruption of his power was rendered more complete by policy, which ever went hand-in-hand with victory in crushing the power of the native rulers of India. The Great Mogul had during his hostility with the British been seeking an alliance with them, in order to regain his capital of Delhi, from whence he had been expelled by the Mahrattas. Major Munro was now empowered to treat with the Great Mogul. Another capital bargain was made by the council at Calcutta. A treaty was concluded with Shah Alum, by which it was agreed that the British should possess all the country of Ghazipoor, and the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, and that he (the Great Mogul) should be put into possession of Allahabad and the whole dominion of the nabob of Oude. Thus deserted by the Great Mogul, Soujah Dowla applied to Ghazee-a-Deen, the vizier and murderer of Shah Alum's father, who held possession of Delhi. That chief descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse, in May, 1765, and a great battle was fought, when Carnac, now a general, at the head of the British forces, gained a great victory, and drove the enemy in wild confusion over the river Jumna. Thus the British arms and British policy had during the first five years been uniformly victorious over the native princes of India. But with victories there was oppression and misrule.

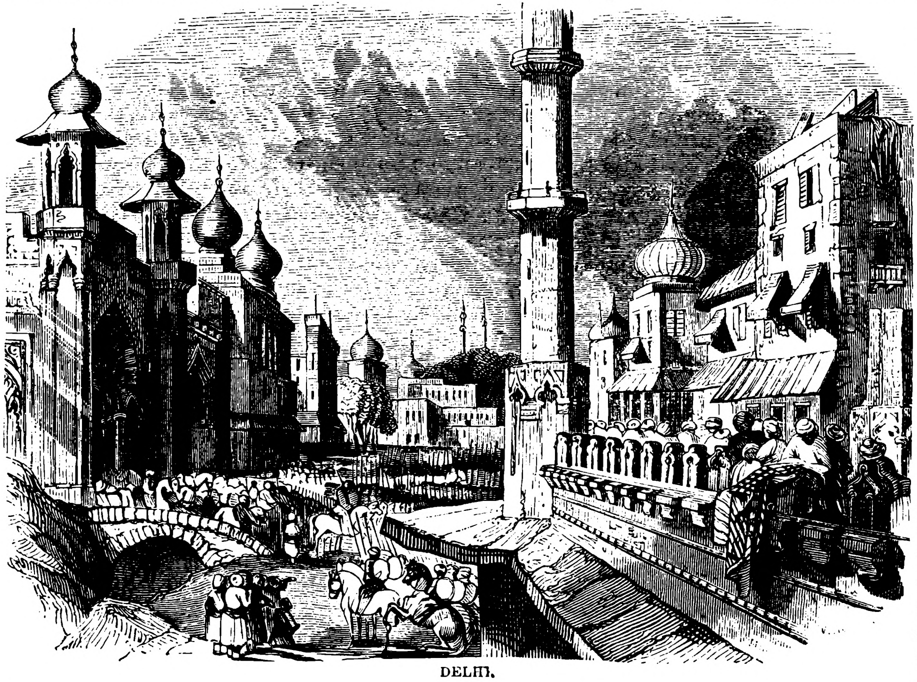
While these varied events were transpiring, Clive, "the daring in war," had been absent from India. There was no one, therefore, to check the misrule of the company's servants. There was no supreme authority, and the three presidencies having rival interests to uphold, had no thought of establishing a just rule over that vast empire. It is probable that the dominion of the British in the east would have passed away as a shadow, if the court of directors in London had not resolved to send Clive back again to Calcutta, with extensive powers as governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal. The directors had discovered that he was the only man who could preserve their ascendancy, and he justified the confidence they placed in him. Clive arrived at Calcutta on the very day that General Carnac gained his great victory over the Mahratta force at Corali, and by a wise policy and vigorous measures in a short time established peace throughout our Indian provinces.

Having thus restored peace, Clive turned his attention to the correction of abuses, both civil and military. This was his most difficult task. His name soon operated upon the native princes; but the rapacious agents of the company were not so easy to control. They went out to India for a twofold purpose: first, to make their own fortunes, and then to swell the dividends of their employers. India was the great high road to fortune at the expense of honour. On commencing his reforms, many of the company's servants were rebellious. They threatened, protested, and refused to act with or under him. But they were soon reduced to submission. Some of the most refractory were turned out of their offices, and civil servants from Madras were put in their places. If he could not find support at Calcutta, Clive was determined to find it elsewhere. Finding him resolved, recourse was next had to flattery, entreaty, persuasion, and arguments; but they were as fruitless as threats and protestations. He was resolved to set some bounds to the rapacity of the company's servants. He debarred the high officers from carrying on private trade, and he made every one give pledges to accept no future presents from the natives. At the same time, as the pay of the company's servants was in many instances insufficient for their proper maintenance—a circumstance which probably increased their rapacity—he made due provision for them according to their rank and services. That provision was made out of the proceeds of the monopoly of salt, which had fallen into the hands of the company. Those proceeds were so divided among them, that all British functionaries were put in the possession of means by which they could, slowly but surely, acquire a competency on which they could return to their native land and live at their ease with honour. Such was Clive's reform in the civil service of the company. That effected, he turned his attention to the abuses existing in the military service. Here was his greatest difficulty. They were his old companions in arms, and held the sword instead of the pen in their hands. But the abuses which existed among the military were great, and demanded a cure. The military expenses were rapidly absorbing the whole revenue of the country. In order to cherish the good-will of the company's military officers, both Meer Jaffier and Meer Cossim had allowed them double batta, or double pay. The court of directors had long ago issued an order that "double batta" should be abolished, but the council of Calcutta, for fear of a mutiny, had suffered its continuance. Clive, however, issued a positive order that it should forthwith cease, except at Allahabad, where the troops were considered as actually in the field. It was in vain that the officers remonstrated. On a given day the reduction took place, and, enraged thereat, two hundred British officers engaged in a conspiracy at Monghir, and bound themselves to throw up their commissions unless "double batta" were restored. As the province was threatened with a new invasion by a Mahratta army, they conceived that Clive would recal his order. Finding him inexorable, however, they resigned. But many of them subsequently begged with tears in their eyes to be permitted to re-enter the service, and they were restored on condition of signing a contract to serve the company on its own terms for three years, and to give a year's notice of their intention to quit the service. One of the chief causes of this mutiny, which was thus promptly quelled, was the gambling and dissipation which prevailed among the British officers; and Clive made several wise regulations to check these evils and to restore discipline and subordination.

On his return to England he was assailed with the breath of calumny; for while the court of directors and the king received him as the saviour of India, he was falsely accused in the House of Commons with maladministration. That accusation failed, but his enemies were not silenced. He was a mark for their malice. They brought him to trial before the bar of the House for the deeds of his early career; and though he was acquitted, his spirits sank under the prosecution, and he put a period to his own life in the forty-ninth year of his age. Such was the sad fate of the "heaven-born general," as Pitt called him, whose sword had won, and whose prudence had preserved the British empire in India.

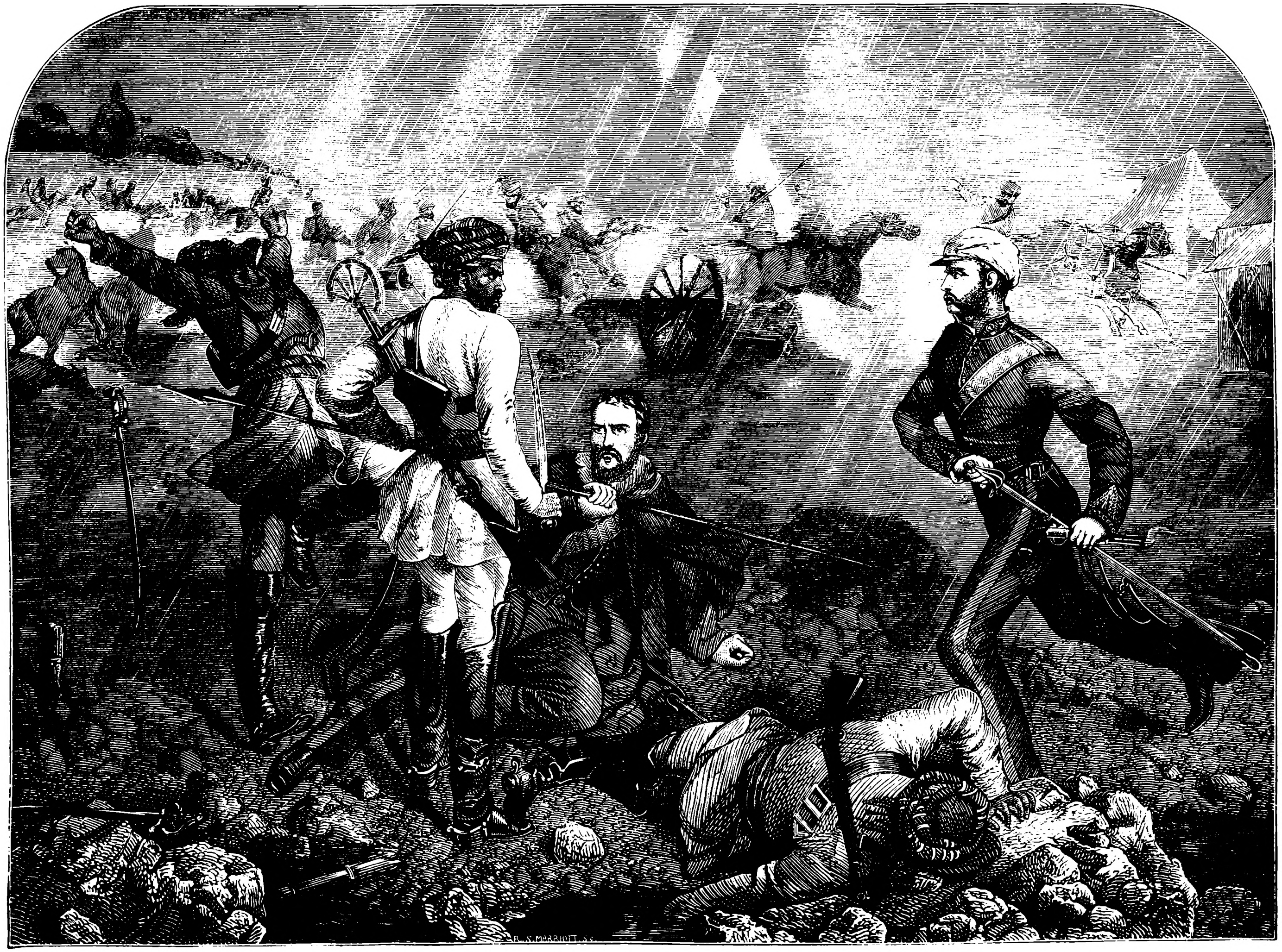
On the return of Clive to England, the government of Bengal was entrusted to a select committee, but subsequently it was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier. In less than two years, however, it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings—who, like Clive, had been taken from a counting-house, and had long been rising in reputation—that he was nominated to the second council at Calcutta, and that on the retirement of Cartier he was to take upon himself the government of that presidency.

Meanwhile a formidable war had commenced, by which the successes of the company in Bengal were to be counterbalanced by defeats in Madras. In the year 1761 Hyder Ali had deposed the rajah of Mysore, his nominal master, and had established himself on his throne. Since that time he had by conquests and seizures extended his dominions almost to the banks of the Kistna. Rajahs and polygars submitted to him on every hand. At this point of his conquests he was checked by the peishwa of the Mahrattas, who crossed the Kistna and deprived him of some of his acquisitions. But he was not destroyed. At a later date he achieved the conquest of Malabar. That country was kept quiet by cutting off all the nairs or Hindoo chiefs. His conquests induced the British, the Mahrattas, and Nizam Ali, the ruler of the Deccan, to enter into a league against him for their mutual protection. But that league was soon broken. Before their forces joined, the peishwa of the Mahrattas proved treacherous. He entered Mysore with a large army, but on receiving thirty-five lacs of rupees, he retired from the confederacy. It was discovered, also, that Nizam Ali was negotiating a treaty with Hyder Ali, the purpose of which was to expel the company from the Carnatic. Thus betrayed and deceived, Colonel Smith, who commanded the British forces in the Carnatic, hastened to take possession of the passes which led into that country. His forces were but few in number, but they were joined by some reinforcements from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of Carnatic, by which he hoped to check the enemy. He was, however, soon compelled to retreat towards Madras. In his route he was attacked by the united forces of Hyder Ali, the peishwa, and the Nizam, who had confederated together against the British. They were repulsed, but want of provisions compelled Smith still to retreat till he reached Trincomalee. He was followed by the enemy, who laid waste the country through which they passed. At Trincomalee Colonel Smith attempted to stop the ravages of the enemy, but from want of cavalry failed in his attempt. Meanwhile Hyder Ali sent his son, Tippoo Saib, with five thousand horse, to Madras. His advance was so secret and rapid, that no preparations had been made for defence, and the town, the magazines, and everything in the vicinity, was plundered and laid waste. The fortress of Madras alone escaped his ravages. Grown bold by success, the allies resolved upon a pitched battle with Colonel Smith in the open country before Trincomalee. Their challenge was accepted. Having received some reinforcements of Sepoys, Smith boldly engaged them, and routed them with great slaughter. The Nizam, who was the first to recommend a pitched battle, was the first to fly from the field. After this defeat the Nizam again sought the friendship of the British, and after a little negotiation, he agreed to separate his troops from Hyder Ali and the peishwa. But before he withdrew his forces from the confederacy, he watched the event of another battle, which was fought at Amboor, where Hyder and the Mahrattas once more encountered the British. They were again defeated, and the Nizam then completed his treaty with the British. By that treaty his titles and rights were to be recognized and supported by the company; and he on his part agreed to reconfirm the possession of the Northern Circars to the company, and to reduce the tribute for those territories for six years, at the end of which time it was wholly to cease.



DELHI.

During the war which broke out between the Mahratta and Mysorean chiefs, the presidency of Madras had taken a large share in one of the foulest acts recorded in our Indian history. The rajah of Tanjore had made an attempt to seize upon some territory belonging to the nabob of the Carnatic. At first Mohammed Ali called upon the British for assistance, and some demonstrations were made by them on the Tanjore frontier; but being apprehensive that they might conquer for themselves and not for him, the nabob secretly entered into a treaty with the rajah to his own particular advantage. He obtained possession of some disputed districts, and the promise of money to defray the expenses of the expedition, together with aid in all his future wars. But this did not suit the views of the presidency at Madras. It ill accorded with the policy of the company, to which they were bound to adhere. It was an opportunity of obtaining territory and wealth too good to be lost. They had gained a footing in Tanjore by the capture of the fortress of Vellore, and the presidency of Madras not only resolved to retain the ground gained, but to push forward their success. Enraged at the presumption


B. S. MARRIOTT, SC.

BATTLE OF DELHI.

of the nabob and the rajah, in concluding a treaty without their being a party to it, the council of Madras directed the British troops not to evacuate the fortress of Vellore, or to withdraw their batteries from Tanjore, which they had invested, until the rajah had made good his money payment. The rajah could not pay on demand, and to prevent further hostilities, he consented to give up the fortress of Vellore to the British, and to cede to them two districts in the neighbourhood of Mandura. Had the presidency of Madras stopped here, they might have saved their honour, for having been called upon to afford assistance to the nabob, it was natural they should expect some reward for their services. Instead of stopping here, however, they now joined with the nabob utterly to despoil the rajah of Tanjore. By a treaty in 1762, his throne had been secured to him by the company; but notwithstanding this, he was hunted down by the British, taken prisoner with all his family, and his territories were annexed to the Carnatic. In this foul transaction the presidency of Madras had acted upon their own responsibility, and in 1775 the rajah was restored to his throne by Lord Pigot, who had been sent out as governor of Madras.

Not less flagitious had been the acts of the government at Calcutta during this period than those of the government of Madras. The rule of government adopted by Clive had not guided the conduct of his successors. Nor had the nabobs of Leadenhall Street given it their continued high sanction. In the year 1770, the resources of India materially failed. There was a dreadful famine in Bengal, by which it was computed that one third of its population perished. About the same time Syef-al-Dowla, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died, and was succeeded by his brother, Muharek-al-Dowla, who was a mere boy. As soon as the court of directors heard of this young nabob's appointment, they issued orders that his annual stipend should be reduced to sixteen lacs of rupees. When these orders arrived Warren Hastings had assumed the government of Bengal, and he immediately carried them into execution. The reduction was made in order to effect a saving in the government, but it had no visible effect on the treasury at Calcutta. The treasury was empty, and the court of directors were continually clamouring for money. At this time the civil list of the nabob and the revenues of Bengal were administered by Mohammed Reza Khan. That functionary had a rival in the person of the Hindu, Nuncomar, who conceived that it would be a good opportunity of ruining him. Stories were industriously propagated of his corruptibility. He was accused of acquiring enormous wealth at the expense of the company; of having increased the famine by monopoly of rice and of other commodities; and of entertaining an idea of turning his power against the British. Hastings knew that there was no foundation in these rumours, but, again acting under the orders of the court of directors, whose cupidity was inflamed by the report of the wealth of Mohammed Reza Khan, the accused was arrested and placed in confinement at Calcutta. His arrest was followed by that of the Rajah Shitab Roy, who had exercised the same authority in Bahar as Mohammed Reza Khan had in Bengal. Both these ministers were brought to trial, and although Hastings formed his own court, and extraordinary efforts had been adopted to prove their guilt, they were acquitted with honour.

In these transactions Warren Hastings was but the agent of the court of directors. No choice was left him but obedience to their commands or dismissal from his office. And of this he was certain, that if he exceeded their instructions, so long as he extended their power and influence in India, so long he would possess their fullest confidence and support. A man of strict honour would have paused ere he committed himself to such nefarious proceedings, but Hastings could not lay claim to that character.

The Great Mogul himself was made to bow before his will. His stipend, which had been withheld, was now stopped altogether. Hastings resolved to pay no more tribute to the shadow of the sovereignty of Hindustan. Nay, more, he sold Corah and Allahabad, which had been reserved to the Great Mogul by Clive, to the vizier of Oude for half a million sterling; and as Shah Alum had by an edict transferred these districts to the Mahrattas, Hastings promptly occupied them with British troops to secure them to the vizier. To manage these transactions Hastings paid a visit to Soujah Dowla, the vizier of Oude, at Benares. While there the allies concluded another bargain, which, at the expense of justice, brought more gold into the treasury of Leadenhall Street. For a given sum, Hastings agreed to effect the subjugation of the Rohillas, and to annex their country to that of Oude. In April, 1774, the British troops under Colonel Champion gained a great victory over the Rohilla chiefs, which placed the whole country at the mercy of the conquerors. The forces of Oude took no part in the battle, but when it was won, the vizier let them loose to ravage the country. They applied themselves to devastate the fertile plains of Rohilcund, and as far as possible to extirpate the peaceful and industrious inhabitants. Their towns and their villages were burned to the ground, and their country, once a garden, without a spot of uncultivated ground, became, by the ravages of the vizier's forces, and by subsequent mismanagement, like a wilderness. And this work of spoliation and massacre went on without any interference on the part of Hastings beyond a simple remonstrance. "He had no authority to control the conduct of the vizier in the treatment of his subjects." Such was his plea. Colonel Champion was to tell him that the English manners were abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression; and yet with the British troops at hand, no attempt was made to enforce justice and humanity to the vanquished. Hastings held out one threat, indeed, to the vizier, but it was a very mild one. He would publicly exculpate his government from the imputation of assenting to such a procedure, and when the present service was completed, the vizier's conduct would be reserved as an objection to any future engagement. It would appear that Colonel Champion laid the sentiments of Hastings fully before the vizier of Oude, and that when he found they were unheeded, there was a quarrel between them, but he was left to work his own will. The Afghan race was almost rooted out of the country, for while a few chiefs lingered on the frontiers, the greater part, with their followers, sought new settlements in other countries.

It was soon after this most unjustifiable Rohilla war was concluded, that the three new members of the council, and the judges of the supreme court appointed under the Regulation Act of 1773, arrived at Calcutta. The three new members of the council were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. Barwell, an old servant of the company, was the fourth member of the council, and Hastings was at their head, with the rank of governor-general of Bengal. In their instructions the court of directors inculcated unanimity and concert among its members. That injunction was unheeded. By the confederation of these three members, indeed, the power of Hastings was for a while broken. He was under their control until the 25th of September, 1776, when, by the death of Monson, he regained his former authority. Despite the protestations of Clavering and Francis, by his casting vote he reinstated Middleton, who had been recalled from his office at the court of Oude. But his power was again threatened by a confederacy. On hearing of the death of Monson, the court of directors supplied his place by Mr. Wheler, who took part with Clavering and Francis. But this confederation was soon broken up by the death of Clavering, and Hastings once more ruled dominant.

In the midst of these quarrels enemies sprung up among the natives against Hastings on every hand. And they were joined by some Englishmen. The most conspicuous of these enemies was the Hindu Brahmin, the wily Nuncomar, whose false accusation had brought Mohammed Reza Khan, the administrator of the civil list of the nabob and the revenues of Bengal, to ruin. Nuncomar's object was to obtain his office, but it had been abolished by Hastings, who transferred its powers to the servants of the company. From that moment the crafty Nuncomar became the bitter enemy of Warren Hastings. He bided his time when he might seek his revenge; and imagining that his power was gone, when he saw that Francis, Clavering, and Monson carried everything before them, he boldly stepped forward as his open accuser. His natural ally against the governor-general was Francis. Perceiving this, Nuncomar put into his hands a series of charges against Hastings. He accused him of selling offices, and of taking bribes to screen the guilty. Francis brought his charges in writing before the council. Hastings contended that they had no right to inquire into charges against him as governor-general, especially from one so perjured and fraudulent as the crafty Maharajah Nuncomar. Hastings resolved to institute proceedings against the old Brahmin and others for a conspiracy. The fate of Nuncomar, however, was decided upon a different accusation. The prosecution for a conspiracy was set aside for a charge which could be better substantiated against him. He had been imprisoned at the suit of a native merchant for forging about five years before, and had been brought to trial at the mayor's court at Calcutta for the offence, but at the interposition of Hastings the case had been dismissed. Yet on this charge the Brahmin was tried and executed. The supreme court, of which Sir Elijah Impey was the head, had the power of reprieve, but it is evident that Nuncomar's fate was predetermined. The punishment of the old Brahmin put an end to all further accusations against Hastings by native informers; but the characters of both the governor and the judge received a blot by the transaction which can never be erased. Which was the most guilty it is difficult to decide, but when the subject formed a theme of invective against them in parliament, it was held that the guilt of the judge preponderated, "inasmuch as tyranny and oppression, perpetrated under the forms and with the sanction of the law, are more terrible than the undisguised violence of arbitrary power."

While the council at Calcutta were bickering, and Hastings was crushing his personal enemies among the natives, danger was gathering thick around the Anglo-Indian government on all sides. The French longed to regain their lost power and influence in India. In 1777, the year before war became inevitable between Britain and France, a French agent had been negotiating with the peishwa of the Mahrattas, at his seat of vice-royalty at Poonah, and an alliance was likely to be formed dangerous to the British interests. Hastings was for an immediate war with the Mahrattas, but this was overruled by the council. At the same time a body of troops was sent under Colonel Keating into the Mahratta territories, to forward the claims of Ragoba, a pretender to the dignity of peishwa. These troops, however, were sent by the presidency of Bombay, to whom Ragoba granted Salsette, Bassein, and other places in the territory of the Mahrattas, as the price of their assistance. Keating was successful in his war with the Mahratta chiefs. They were beaten in the field, and Poonah, their capital, was captured. But the assistance which the presidency of Bombay gave Ragoba did not accord with the policy of the supreme council at Calcutta. In the midst of his success Keating and his troops were recalled, and Colonel Upton was sent by them to treat, not with Ragoba, but with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy. A treaty was concluded, by which Salsette and the small islands near it were to be yielded to the council at Calcutta, upon condition of aid afforded them against Ragoba. This treaty put an end to the war for a season, for Ragoba was rendered powerless by this unlooked-for alliance between the British and the Mahratta chiefs, and he fled for his life. But this alliance was transitory. By the year 1778 the Mahratta chiefs became weary of their bargain, and were yielding to French influence, which had long been working secretly to sap the foundation of the British power in India. Aware of the danger that would arise to the Anglo-Indian government if a union of the French with the Mahrattas should be consummated, the Bombay presidency implored the council at Calcutta to enter into a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate their designs. The council were still divided in sentiment, but by his casting vote Hastings carried a proposition that an army should be forthwith sent from Bombay and

Calcutta. Accordingly orders were issued that the British troops should assemble at Culpee, on the east of the Hooghly river, and about thirty-three miles below Calcutta. The army was placed under the command of Colonel Leslie. It commenced its march in June, almost at the same time that intelligence was received of hostilities between Britain and France. That intelligence gave rise to a fresh division in the supreme council at Calcutta. Francis and Wheler represented that the army of Calcutta should be recalled, as Bengal was now in as much danger as Bombay. Hastings, however, insisted that the army should proceed against the Mahrattas. At the same time he commenced a series of measures of defence against French aggression. The French settlement of Chandernagore and all the French factories in Bengal were taken; Pondicherry, in the presidency of Madras, was invested, and strong works were thrown up near Calcutta for its defence. Meanwhile Colonel Leslie was marching towards the scene of action. But his progress was too slow for Hastings. His orders were to conciliate the rulers of the districts through which he passed, if possible, but if not, to fight his way. He had to engage with a Mahratta chief and the young rajah of Bondilcund, but these were readily defeated, and without encountering further opposition, he reached Rajaghur, a principal city of Bondilcund. He halted there for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the chiefs of that country, but he lingered so long that Hastings recalled him to Bengal. The command of his army was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, who proved to be a much more active officer than Leslie. On receiving his command he marched forward, crossed the Nerbudda and came to Nagpoor, where he established a friendly relation with the Mahrattas of Berar. Goddard was to meet the Bombay army under Colonel Egerton in the neighbourhood of Poonah; but as Egerton was approaching that place he was surrounded by bodies of hostile cavalry, from which there was no escape but by a convention. In his camp were two civil commissioners, whom the Bombay government had sent to share his authority and direct his movements. The Mahrattas having fallen upon his army, and cut to pieces nearly four hundred men, these civilians sent to the Mahratta chiefs to know upon what terms they would be permitted to march back without further molestation. Their terms were that Ragoba should be given up to them—which was forthwith done—and that all the acquisitions which the British had made in that part of India since 1756 should be restored to them. A treaty to that effect having been signed, and hostages delivered up as sureties for its fulfilment, the Bombay army marched back dishonoured. Goddard with his Bengal army was still in the field, and on receiving this intelligence he resolved to march to Surat, on the western coast, where he would be in a British settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion required, or as he might be directed by the supreme council at Calcutta. At Surat he was promoted to the rank of general, and received commands to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Mahrattas. Goddard proposed a treaty of amity with the Mahratta chiefs if they would annul the treaty with Egerton and their alliance with the French. That offer was refused, and the British general now took the field. He reduced the fortress of Dubhoy, captured the fort of Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, by storm, and took the city of Bassein by siege. In the open field, also, he defeated a large Mahratta army under Holkar and Scindia, by which victory he obtained possession of all the country between the mountains and the sea. The Mahrattas fled in all directions, and Goddard put his army into cantonments. In another direction the Mahrattas were successfully encountered by Colonel Popham, who drove them from the territories of the Ranna of Gohud, which they had invaded, and then followed them into their own territories of Scindia, which joined those of Gohud. He stormed the fortress of Lahore, and captured the hill fortress of Gwalior, supposed to be impregnable, by escalade. Agra, the capital of Scindia, was not more than fifty miles from Gwalior, and Popham was about to march upon it when his progress was stopped by another Mysorean war, which threatened to ruin the English power and possessions on the coast of Coromandel.

When the war broke out between England and France the government at home had sent Sir Eyre Coote to be the commander of the forces in India, with a seat in the council.

Ever since his treaty with the council of Madras in 1769, Hyder Ali, the sovereign of the great kingdom of the Mysore, had been at peace with the British. He was now far advanced in years, but his energy was undiminished. One of the principal charges brought against Hastings in parliament was that his intrigues against the peishwa of the Mahrattas had produced amongst the chief princes and states of India a general distrust of the ambitious designs and treacherous principles of the British government. It was contended these intrigues were the cause of the two principal Hindoo powers, the peishwa and the rajah of Berar, and the two principal Mohammedan powers, Hyder Ali and the Nizam of the Deccan, joining in a confederacy to uproot the power of the British. This may have been one cause, but it is certain that there were other causes at work to bring about such an anomalous confederacy. As for Hyder Ali, though nominally at peace with the British during twelve years, he held them in abhorrence. In 1780 his army was computed to consist of 90,000 men, part of which had been well disciplined by French forces. The nabob of Arcot had warned the council of Madras against the coming danger, but his warning was disregarded. No preparations were made to ward off the blow. The storm of war hung for a while portentously on the declivities of the mountains, and no note was taken of its gathering. At length it suddenly burst over the Carnatic. Hyder Ali poured his forces through the ghauts or passes into its plains, and "then ensued a scene of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no pen can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank or sacredness of function—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives—enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities; but escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine." Such was the picture drawn of this terrible invasion of the Carnatic by Burke, and it does not appear to have been overdrawn. The arms of Hyder Ali were irresistible. The progress of the ruthless invader was traced by the inhabitants of Madras, as columns of smoke rose from the burning villages. The danger was approaching the very walls of Madras. The presidency and its inhabitants were terrified. There was no force at hand which could hope to arrest the invader's progress. A force of three thousand men under Colonel Baillie was called in from the Northern Circars; and Sir Hector Munro engaged to meet them at Conjeveram, about fifty miles from the capital. In his route Baillie was attacked by Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, whom he defeated, and soon after he was joined by a reinforcement of seven hundred men under Colonel Fletcher. This little army, however, was met by Hyder Ali, with his whole host, and sixty pieces of cannon, near Conjeveram, and after a hard-fought battle it was utterly defeated. The greater part perished fighting bravely, and the remnant were made prisoners, and reserved for a horrible captivity. On hearing of this catastrophe Sir Hector Munro fled with his army to Madras, and thus the whole country was left at the mercy of the enemy. In a brief period Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged.

These evil tidings roused Hastings to action. The treasury of Calcutta was empty, but he set to work to obtain money wherever he could, regardless of the means how he obtained it. Supplies were obtained from all quarters. But money would have been of little service in such a war, without the adoption of the most energetic measures. Against his own will, therefore, Hastings concluded a peace with Scindia, and recalled Popham from the Jumna. He also adjusted amicable arrangements with the other Mahratta powers under the guarantee of the rajah of Berar. He was thus enabled to concentrate the British forces against Hyder Ali in the Carnatic. He invited Sir Eyre Coote to take the command at Madras, which was readily accepted. Coote proceeded with every man that could be shipped from Bengal to the scene of action. The very name of Coote terrified Hyder Ali. Finding him in the field, he immediately raised the siege of Wandewash and the siege of Vellore, and retreated towards his own territories. He seemed inclined to abandon his conquests and to treat with Coote; but at this juncture a French fleet appeared off the coast, and encouraged by it, he entrenched his army in a strong position near Cuddalore, where he determined to risk a battle. Coote had only nine thousand men wherewith to oppose Hyder's enormous army, but he accepted the challenge. He attacked Hyder in his lines, and obtained a signal victory. Again encouraged by the promise of assistance from France, Hyder risked a second battle near Arcot, but he was a second time defeated. He retreated to Sholingur, where he took up his position; and though Coote had suffered severe loss in the recent battle, he pushed forward with vigour, and Hyder was a third time routed with terrible loss. After this Coote recovered several places in the Carnatic which Hyder Ali had won; and then as the rains, the monsoons, and the swellings of the rivers put an end to further extensive operations, he went into cantonments.

But the old chief's battles were soon over. Death overtook him in the midst of his career, and his son Tippoo succeeded to his sovereignty and his wars. If Hyder had lived a few months longer it is probable he would have made peace with the British, for he had just suspicions of the fidelity and designs of the French. Tippoo, however, scorned all overtures of peace with the British. When he heard of his father's death, he was engaged in a war with the British on the Malabar coast, and had just been defeated by Colonel Mackenzie with considerable loss. Leaving Mackenzie triumphant, he hastened to the camp of Hyder Ali, where he was recognized as commander of the army and sovereign of Mysore. About the same time General Stuart succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command of the British army in the Carnatic. Stuart took the field against the new sovereign of Mysore on the 4th of January, 1783. His throne was now surrounded by dangers. After his retirement from the Malabar coast, Colonel Mackenzie with his Highlanders and Sepoys joined General Matthews, with an army from Bombay, in an invasion of his territories. Matthews took the command, and he was everywhere victorious.

In the Carnatic the war was soon ended. General Stuart had only the French and some Sepoys to contend with, and these were posted behind some fortified lines at Cuddalore. Against these Stuart directed his operations by land, while Admiral Hughes watched Admiral Suffrein, to prevent his aiding in the contest, by sea. Several unimportant encounters took place by land and sea, but in the midst of these, news reached Madras that peace had been concluded between France and Britain, and hostilities were suspended. M. Bussy invited Tippoo to be a party to the cessation of arms; but although he was alarmed at the prospect of being left alone in the war, he was not desirous of peace. As the price of peace he demanded that everything the British had taken from him should be restored, but scarcely any mention was made by him of making restitution to the British. Lord Macartney sent three commissioners to Seringapatam to treat there, but the war with Tippoo still continued. While he continued the siege of Mangalore, the British troops carried on a series of operations in the very heart of his dominions. Those operations were conducted by Colonel Fullarton, who had recently arrived from England with reinforcements. Fullarton made rapid progress in the country beyond Tanjore. Favoured by the rajahs on the Malabar coast, who were all interested in the overthrow of Tippoo, and who supplied all his wants in money and provisions, he captured fortress after fortress, until at length he was within ten days' march of Seringapatam. That captured, the whole of Southern India might have been annexed to the British Empire. And that it might have been captured seems certain. But a treaty between the British and Tippoo was concluded upon the basis of a mutual restitution, and then all the prisoners who had survived their captivity were released, to relate a tale of horror such as before had rarely been related by prisoners of war. In this treaty no stipulation had been made in favour of the native chiefs who had aided the cause of the British, and Tippoo took a terrible revenge on them. His army was let loose upon the wretched Hindoo population, to kill and destroy, or convert them by the sword to Islamism. It was enough for Hastings that our Indian empire was saved; and Tippoo, who now assumed the name of Shah Alum and the regal title of padisha, was left to work his will upon his subjects at his pleasure. Nor was it upon his native subjects alone that he worked his will. One of the first acts of this tyrant's reign was the deportation and forcible conversion to Islamism of thirty thousand Christians from Portuguese settlements on the coast of Canara.

The first victim of Hastings at this time was Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares. That Indian chief had become a tributary to the British in 1774, the nabob of Oude having then surrendered his rights to them. He had to pay a fixed sum annually, and year after year the full amount had been punctually paid. Cheyte Sing had a large surplus in his treasury, to which Hastings could lay no just claim. But money was wanting, and to whom could he apply but to those who possessed it? Cheyte Sing was in the power of the British, and Hastings resolved to exercise that power; which he did by successive and unjust exactions, and, to sum up his tyranny, finally deposed him. A nephew of the deposed rajah was selected to fill his post; but every vestige of sovereignty was taken from him, and placed under the control of the company's resident at Benares. By this revolution a large revenue accrued annually to the company; but Hastings was disappointed in not obtaining more ready money from the treasury of Benares; for though Popham found therein a quarter of a million, that sum was divided as prize money to the army. Hastings had therefore to look to other quarters for the supply of his wants. A richer booty was in view. Asaph-al-Dowla, the nabob and vizier of Oude, had received British protection from the aggressions of his neighbours. He had become virtually a vassal of the company. Hastings required heavy payment for the aid afforded him against the Mahrattas and Rohillas. The nabob of Oude was one of the most extravagant and debauched princes in India, and he was in want of money himself. Hastings might as well as have asked him for the moon as for gold. But if he had no money, his mother and grandmother, who were called begums of Oude, had an abundance. Soujah Dowla had bequeathed a considerable part of his treasures to them, and in addition certain jaghires, which greatly added to their wealth. Hastings admitted the nabob's plea of poverty, but he fixed his eyes on the begums' treasures, which were kept in the palace of Fyzabad. In an interview with the nabob in the fortress of Chunnar, he agreed that some of the company's troops should remain in Oude for Asaph-al-Dowla's protection; but only on this condition, that he should strip the begums of their domains, which he was to retain for himself, and seize their treasures in the palace of Fyzabad for the company. A solemn treaty was entered into to that effect between the nabob and the governor-general. On his return to Lucknow, however, the nabob hesitated to despoil his parents for the company. He had endeavoured to gain the treasures for himself, and had obtained large contributions from their purses, but he revolted at the idea of robbing them for strangers. But Hastings resolved if possible to keep him to the infamous bargain; and if not, he resolved to possess the treasures by other means. He wrote to the British resident at Lucknow, Mr. Hamilton, directing him to enforce the terms of the treaty, and to do the work himself if Asaph-al-Dowla still hesitated. To save his authority the nabob seized the jaghires, but spared the treasures. Obeying his orders, therefore, Hamilton sent a body of the company's troops, British and Sepoys, to Fyzabad, to seize the begums' treasures. Like robbers as they were, the gates of the palace were forced, and the aged princesses were confined to their own apartments. It was alleged that they had been concerned in exciting the insurrection at Benares; and Sir Elijah Impey, who had become reconciled to Hastings, hurried to Lucknow to take depositions against them, and then hurried back to Calcutta. The charge was evidently made for the purpose of extorting the money from the begums, but the design failed. Though imprisoned, and dreading personal violence, they refused to part with their treasures. But Hastings was not to be foiled by their obstinacy. An atrocity was now committed which must ever excite the indignation of every Englishman jealous of his country's honour. In the palace of Fyzabad there were two old eunuchs, who presided over the household of Soujah Dowla's widow, and by their persecution the treasure was to be extorted from the begums. By an order signed by Middleton, the British resident at Fyzabad, they were put in irons, and were to be debarred from all food till they yielded. By these cruel means half a million was extorted from the begums to obtain their release. The whole demand, however, was not obtained, and the eunuchs were still kept in custody. They were sent to Lucknow, where they were imprisoned and kept in continual terror of corporal punishment for months, till at length the begums had surrendered twelve hundred thousand pounds as the purchase-money of their liberty. So far as the begums' treasures were concerned Hastings was now content; but he laid claim to the revenues of the jaghires, which the nabob had seized as his portion of the spoliation of his mother and grandmother. The infamous proceedings against the princesses of the palace of Fyzabad did not end here. They had been charged with being concerned in exciting the insurrection at Benares, and it was necessary, to justify their spoliation, that they should if possible be found guilty. That they were innocent there can be no reasonable doubt. They were too fond of their money to take part in any insurrection against a power which they knew from experience was irresistible. After they had been plundered of their wealth, however, they were tried for their imputed offence at Lucknow. Sir Elijah Impey was their judge. He had not the slightest authority at Oude, but it was thought that his presence, as the head of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, would impart a dignity and give a fair colouring to the proceedings. The farce was followed by a tragedy. There was no difficulty in obtaining a conviction in India. Men willing to perjure themselves by giving false witness were to be found on every hand. Numbers of such were brought forward with affidavits ready in their hands, and the result was inevitable. A partial judge and false swearers convicted the accused, and by their deaths it was imagined that the deeds which stripped them of their wealth and possessions were justified. Hastings, however, adopted some judicious measures, by which India was restored to a state of tranquillity which had not been known for ages. One of his last acts was to make some atonement for the crime committed against the helpless victims of the palace of Fyzabad. He restored the jaghires which had been unjustly seized to Asaph-al-Dowla, who, however, was unworthy, from his guilty participation in the crime, of possessing those domains.

Hastings resigned his government in India, and returned to England in 1785. He was received by the board of directors and at the court of George III. with favour and distinction. The rigid Queen Charlotte even received his wife, who had been his mistress, at court, and condescended to receive some presents from her. Everything on his return wore a smiling aspect. Dundas, who had moved for his recall in 1782, expressed his high satisfaction that his resolution had not been carried into effect. Burke had menaced him with impeachment on his arrival, but for months kept silence. He was still unmolested when parliament assembled in 1786, but not many days elapsed before the threatened storm broke over the head of Hastings and disturbed his repose.

If Burke had been silent, his wrath against Hastings had not been appeased. During the previous session he had been employed with Francis, the old enemy of Hastings, in collecting materials for his impeachment. The friends of Hastings appear to have thought that his threat would not be carried into execution, for it was at their bidding that the long-threatened storm of Burke's accusing eloquence broke forth. On the first day of the session Major John Scott, who had been chosen as the champion of Hastings in parliament, more zealous than discreet in his championship, demanded of Burke whether he intended to produce his charges against the late goveror-general of India. Thus challenged, Burke in a few days made a motion for papers, on the production of which he announced his intention of impeaching Hastings at the bar of the House. At first the ministry were disposed to discourage any proceedings being taken in the matter. The question, however, was taken up with such vigour by the opposition, that they were unable to set it aside. Burke forcibly reminded the attorney-general, Dundas, of his resolution, which had been carried in May, 1782, which contained an unmitigated censure on the conduct of Hastings, which reminder placed the ministry in a dilemma. Burke obtained the Oude papers, which Scott said would establish the reputation of Hastings; but those relating to the Mahratta peace, with others, were refused. Burke now proceeded to reduce his charges into shape; and on the 4th of April he rose to charge Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, with high crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office. In the whole his charges were comprised in twenty-two articles. The principal were the Rohilla war, the transactions in Benares, the treatment of the princesses of Oude, the Mahratta war, the treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan and of the Hindoo Nuncomar, contracts, and acceptances of presents. Hastings desired to have copies of the articles of impeachment, and to be heard at the bar of the House in his defence. These requests were after some opposition granted as a measure of justice. His defence, which was in writing, occupied two or three days in the reading, and when it was closed Hastings requested that it should be laid on the table and printed, which was ordered. In it Hastings took a general view of the accusation, and replied at length to the charges seriatim. After this the House proceeded to take evidence in support of the allegations. The examination of witnesses occupied the House for three weeks, and the ground being thus laid for the prosecution, the prosecutors began to open the several charges in detail. Burke opened the first charge, which related to the Rohilla war. He commenced his speech by a solemn invocation to British justice, and by disclaiming any personal motive or malevolence. It was a theme well suited to Burke's genius. He drew a vivid picture of the character and condition of the Rohillas, both before and after the invasion of their territories by the troops of the nabob of Oude and the company. Pitt took no part in the debate, but he was no unconcerned listener. His sympathies were with Hastings. He gave a silent vote in his favour, and his subordinates followed the example. The motion was negatived by a large majority. The case against Hastings was now declared hopeless, but the prosecution was not abandoned, and the triumph was of brief duration. Fox brought forward the second charge—that relating to the transactions in Benares, by which Cheyte Sing, a tributary of the company, had first been despoiled of all his treasures, and then deposed. It might have been supposed that Pitt, who had failed to discover in the Rohilla affair a sufficient ground of impeachment, would have found plausible arguments to palliate, if not to justify the treatment of the rajah of Benares. No one, however, could tell which way Pitt would vote till he came to the close of his speech. Taking into consideration, he said, that the fine imposed on Cheyte Sing was exorbitant, he thought that the charge of corruption and violence was so far made out, and that therefore he must vote for this article of impeachment. The charge was voted by a majority of forty, and the promoters of the prosecution, content with this triumph, let the matter drop for the rest of the session. In truth, this memorable trial was carried on from 1786 to 1795, during which time Hastings was denounced as a monster of cruelty and rapacity, and could only find consolation in the thought that he had rendered eminent service to his country.

Hastings, like others who had returned from India, had made a fortune, but it was not colossal. He had plundered native princes and impoverished provinces, but the treasures he acquired by his spoliations were for the most part lavished on those by whom he was surrounded, or poured into the company's coffers, or spent in sustaining and enlarging the British empire in India. His whole fortune is stated at 130,000*l.*—a goodly sum, but far less than that accumulated by other members of the Indian Council, and even that of the "patriotic" Francis.

During the recess of parliament the ministry were this year engaged in negotiations and maturing treaties with France and Spain. In the late treaty of peace between Britain and France, an article had provided for the negotiation of a commercial intercourse between the two countries; and this was now effected by a treaty calculated to be highly beneficial to the trade, commerce, and manufactures on both sides the Channel, which treaty was settled and signed on the 29th of September.

During the summer of 1786 an attempt was made upon the king's life by a woman named Nicholson. While presenting a petition with one hand, she aimed a blow at his majesty with a knife which she held in the other. His condescension only saved him from being either killed or wounded. As he held out his hand to receive the petition he bowed to her, and thus the blow fell short of his person. The woman was insane, and she was consigned to Bethlehem Hospital for life.

There was one man in the kingdom from whom his majesty would not on this occasion receive congratulation. That man was his own son, the prince of Wales; for the moral conduct of the son was a deep affliction to the father. At this time Prince George had formed an improper connection with a lady of the name of Fitzherbert, by which the king was deeply offended; and this, connected with the extravagant and expensive habits of the prince, had entirely for the time estranged the affections of his royal father.

Parliament next assembled on the 23rd of January, 1787. The chief topic of the king's speech was the commercial treaty with France. That treaty was to be laid before the two Houses, and his majesty recommended the members to take measures for carrying it into effect. Pitt brought the subject before the Commons on the 12th of February. He moved these three resolutions:—That all articles not enumerated and specified in the tariff should be importable into this country on terms as favourable to France as to the most favoured of all other nations; that if any future treaty should be made with any other foreign power, in any articles either mentioned or not mentioned in the present treaty, France should be permitted to enjoy the same terms as that power; and that all the articles specified in the tariff should be admitted into this country on payment of the duties and with the stipulations stated in that treaty. The treaty with France had been negotiated by Mr. Eden, who had quitted the ranks of the Whigs and become one of Pitt's firm supporters. This had given deep offence to the Whigs, by whom his treaty was in consequence treated with contempt. In the debate on the address, Fox, the proverbial friend of the French people, not only censured the treaty in all its parts, but sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He denounced Louis XVI. as a dangerous monarch; expatiated on the ambitious designs and encroaching spirit of France; blamed the ministry for laying aside all jealousy of that power; and asserted that the court of Versailles was at that very time endeavouring to counteract Pitt's diplomatists. In moving his resolutions, Pitt entered into an eloquent vindication of the treaty. He expressed his abhorrence of the maxim that any nation was destined to be the natural and unalterable enemy of another. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of infernal malignity in human nature. France, it was true, had been the aggressor in most of our wars; but in the negotiations for this treaty of commerce her assurances and frankness had been such as to entitle her to a return of confidence. Pitt owned that France would obtain great advantages from the measure, but so, he contended, would Britain. If France gained for her wines and other articles a large and opulent market, Britain would procure the same to a greater extent for her manufactures. "France," he said, "was gifted by the peculiar dispensations of Providence more than any other country on earth with what made life desirable in point of soil, climate, and natural productions; but Britain had, from the happy freedom of its institutions and the equal security of its laws, acquired the ability of supplying France with the artificial conveniences of life in return for her natural luxuries." Pitt's arguments in favour of the treaty were so cogent, and the wisdom of the policy which sought to open a market for our ever-increasing manufactures so striking, that the opposition were unable to offer any valid objection to the scheme. They were, indeed, driven to the miserable shift of appealing to the jealousies and animosities which had existed and were still existing between the people of the two countries as a reason for not contributing to the prosperity of our ancient foe, even though at the same time our own interests would be advanced in a greater proportion. One circumstance in favour of the treaty was, the lack of opposition to it from the manufacturing and commercial interest. While the Whig orators were opposing it, they were weighing it in the balance. On the one hand France would procure a market of eight millions of people, and on the other Britain would procure a market of twenty-four millions. Which would be the gainer? The chambers of manufactures and commerce could not very readily decide. A petition was presented by them to parliament, praying for a little delay in coming to a final decision on the treaty, on account of its importance to the interests which they represented; but as it was clear that the commercial and manufacturing interests could not oppose it on the ground of injury to their trade and commerce, no delay was granted, and the measure received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament. And, what was more pleasing to Pitt, he subsequently found that it met with the entire approval of the commercial interests. Many great commercial towns, which had hitherto been hostile to him from the innovating spirit he had displayed on all subjects connected with trade, expressed a conviction that in the treaty with France he had sought the good of the country.

Another measure brought forward and carried by Pitt in this session had for its object the consolidation of various duties of customs and excise. Numerous vexatious, uncertain, and unintelligible imposts, were abolished, and specific duties on every article were substituted. By this measure the transactions of commerce were facilitated, the collection of the revenue was simplified, and the amount of the revenue was considerably augmented. At the same time Pitt proposed to lower the duties on foreign spirits, with a view to annihilating the lucrative trade of smuggling, which he stated amounted to four million gallons annually; whilst that which was legally imported, and paid duty, did not exceed the sixth part of that quantity. The whole of Pitt's plan obtained general approbation in both Houses, and passed by large majorities. Subsequently Pitt, having unfolded various frauds committed in the collection of the duty upon post-horses, by collusion between collectors and innkeepers, proposed the farming of that duty. This was opposed as contrary to the principles of the constitution, and as being the mode adopted by the despotic government of France, where the farmers generally acquired great fortunes by the most shameful oppressions. Pitt, however, defended the measure by the analogy of turnpike tolls and cross posts; and by showing that the oppressions exercised upon the French people did not arise from the system of farming, but from the despotic form of government, which naturally led to oppressive modes of collection. The bill passed by large majorities in both Houses. As regards his budget this year, Pitt opened it with high glee. The state of the revenue, he said, was such that it would enable him to provide for all services of the current year, and apply the stated surplus to a sinking fund, without any loan or increased taxation. Fox and Sheridan treated this statement as visionary, and having pointed out certain supposed errors and fallacies, called upon him to supply the deficiency they imagined or pretended they had discovered, by new taxes; but Pitt defended his estimates, and justly contended that it was his duty to render by every possible means the taxes already existing more productive, rather than increase the burdens of the people—sentiments which greatly increased the minister's popularity.

When Fox and Sheridan urged Pitt to impose new taxes, their chief motive appears to have been to enable parliament to extricate the prince of Wales from his difficulties. Pitt opened his budget on the 20th of April, and he had scarcely concluded its defence when Alderman Newnham, one of the members for the city, demanded of Pitt whether he intended to bring forward any proposition on behalf of the prince. Pitt replied in the negative, and the alderman then gave notice that he should bring the subject before the House on the 4th of May. On a subsequent evening Pitt asked this new-born champion of the prince—one of the "independent members" the Whigs had found to support his cause—to inform the House of the specific nature of of his motion, and at the same time held out a threat of opposing it if he brought any measure forward. Thus challenged, on the 27th of April Alderman Newnham stated that his motion would be in substance to this effect: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the present embarrassed state of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom might think fit, and promising that the House would make good the same." Pitt again intimated, that if such a motion was persevered in, it would be his painful duty to meet it with a direct negative, and to disclose circumstances which he would most gladly conceal. Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, spoke more plainly. He significantly observed that the investigation of the question appeared to him to be one of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it affected the constitution in church and state. This was an evident allusion to the marriage of the prince with a papist, and therefore could not be passed over by his friends. But after a protracted debate on this business of minor national importance, the matter of the marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, whether real or not, was hushed up, the prince's debts were paid by parliament, and his income was augmented by the sum of ten thousand pounds annually.

Fox, who had stood boldly forward as the defender and friend of the prince in his embarrassing position, saw how completely he had been duped by him, and he immediately renounced the acquaintance of the prince, holding him "at arm's length dangling with scorn" for more than a year. He could not retract his declaration—he having in parliament denied the marriage *in toto* as a malicious falsehood—without exposing the prince to the risk of losing his succession to the crown; and for his future dignity, therefore, he left his own honour unvindicated.

During these proceedings the impeachment of Hastings was resumed. On the 7th of February Sheridan brought forward the third charge—that which related to the begums of Oude. The speech which Sheridan delivered on this occasion is represented as one of the most brilliant ever delivered within the walls of parliament. For six long hours he held the House entranced by his dazzling oratory, and when he sat down there was a loud and prolonged burst of applause, with clapping of hands, such as would not now be tolerated. The subject was one peculiarly favourable to a display of impassioned eloquence, and Sheridan made the most of it. Only imperfect records of his speech now remain, but some idea may be formed of its pathos by the following extract. Sheridan remarked:—"The conduct of Mr. Hastings respecting the nabob and begums of Oude comprehends in it every species of human offence. He has been guilty of rapacity, at once violent and insatiable; of treachery, cool and premeditated; of oppression, unprovoked; of barbarity, wanton and unmanly. So long since as the year 1775, the begum princess, wife of Soujah Dowla, wrote to him in the following terms:—'If it be your pleasure that the mother of the late nabob, that myself, his other women and their children, should be reduced to a state of dishonour and distress, we must submit; but if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendship of the late blessed nabob, you will exert yourself effectually in favour of us who are helpless.' But, inflamed by disappointment at Benares, he hastened to the fortress of Chunar, to put in execution the atrocious design of instigating the nabob, son of this princess, to matricide and plunder. No sooner had Mr. Hastings determined to invade the substance of justice, than he resolved to avail himself of her judicial forms, and despatched a messenger for the chief justice in India, to assist him in perpetrating the violence he meditated. Without a moment's pause, or the shadow of process instituted, sentence was pronounced; and thus at the same time, when the sword of government was converted into an assassin's dagger, the pure ermine of justice was stained and soiled with the basest contamination. It was clear to demonstration that the begums were not concerned in the insurrection of Benares; their treasures were their treason. If the mind of Mr. Hastings were susceptible of superstition, he might imagine the proud spirit of Soujah Dowla looking down on the ruin and devastation of his family; beholding the palace which he had adorned with the spoils of the devoted Rohillas plundered by his base and perfidious ally; and viewing the man whom on his death-bed he had constituted the guardian of his wife, his mother, and his family, forcibly exposing those dear relations, the objects of his solemn trust, to the rigour of the merciless seasons or the violence of the more merciless soldiery. Such were the awful dispensations of retributive justice. It was not given to that House to witness the tremulous joy of the millions whom the vote of that night would save from the cruelty of oppressed power. But the blessing of the people thus delivered would not be dissipated in empty air. No! they would lift up their prayers to heaven in gratitude to the power which, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, had saved them from ruin and destruction." Sheridan's motion was supported by Pitt, and it was carried by a majority of nearly three to one. As Pitt was now clearly on the side of the accusers, it was very little use for the friends of Hastings to persevere in his defence in the House of Commons. As charge after charge was brought against him during this session, they made but a feeble resistance. Indeed, they could scarcely obtain a hearing, and they finally gave up the contest in the Commons in despair. They reserved their further defence for a more dispassionate and impartial tribunal. Twenty articles of impeachment were voted against him, and Burke carried them in triumph to the House of Lords. Hastings was taken into the custody of Black Rod, but was admitted to bail, himself in twenty thousand pounds and two sureties of ten thousand each. He was ordered to answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from the date of his being taken into custody, the 21st of May, or upon the second day of the next session of parliament.

The king prorogued parliament in person on the 30th of May. His speech chiefly dwelt upon the dissensions which prevailed in Holland, which, as a friend to the republic, he said, he could not see without deep concern. The state of Holland was such at this period that there were grave causes for fear that it would involve Britain with other nations of Europe in war. Insults had been offered by that country offensive to all the crowned heads of Europe, and the States of Holland resolved to stand upon their dignity. As the first step, orders were given for laying the whole country under water the moment the Prussian troops should appear on the frontiers of the republic. But this order was not carried into execution. The duke of Brunswick entered Holland unopposed by floods or arms. His progress was one of continued victory. Like Cæsar, "he came, and saw, and conquered." At Amsterdam there was a show of resistance, but on being closely invested, like many other towns, its gates were opened to the conqueror. The issue of this brief, and almost bloodless war, was that the stadtholder was not only reinstated in his former privileges, but gratified with an extension of them, and that the ancient forms of government were re-established. This, however, was only for a brief season. The triumphs of the Orangists did not put an end to disaffection, but on the contrary so greatly increased it, that when the revolutionary army of France subsequently entered the United Provinces, they were as easily and rapidly conquered as they had been by the duke of Brunswick.

Parliament reassembled on the 27th of November. Great satisfaction was expressed by his majesty at the termination of the war in the United Provinces. They had not only, he said, threatened their constitution, but affected the security and interests of the British dominions. His majesty entered into a detail of the negotiations which had taken place, and concluded his speech by commenting on the flourishing state of the revenue, and the advantages which might be expected from a continuance of peace. The addresses were voted *nem. con.* Fox, however, manifested his opposition to Pitt by resisting a proposal made by him of granting a subsidy to the prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year 1788. Fox insisted that it was essential to show how the Hessian troops were to be employed. Burke, on the other hand, warmly commended the measures which had been pursued with respect to Holland, and urged no objection to the subsidy; at the same time expressing a hope that no foreign troops would be brought into Britain; but Pitt's motion was agreed to unanimously.

During the alarm excited by the affairs of Holland, government had despatched four regiments of the king's troops as a reinforcement to the army in India; and when the alarm had subsided, it was determined to render this addition to the military establishment a permanent measure. The court of directors had agreed that the expense of conveying these troops to their destination in India, and their maintenance in that country, should be defrayed by the company. When, however, all danger was over they changed their sentiments, contending that unless they themselves made the requisition, they were by Lord North's bill of 1781 relieved from the obligation of maintaining any troops sent to India by the government. Their argument was supported by the opinion of several eminent lawyers. On the other hand the crown lawyers argued that the Act of 1784 transferred to the Board of Control all powers formerly vested in the court of directors relative to military and political concerns, as well as the collection and application of the revenues. There was much disputing about the matter, but Pitt set all doubts at rest by bringing in and carrying a bill confirmatory of the view taken by the crown lawyers of the Act of 1784. Dundas, who supported the measure, declared that the Board of Control might if it chose devote the whole of the revenue of India for its defence, without leaving the company a single rupee. Great opposition was made to the bill in both Houses, but it passed by large majorities. In its passage through the Commons, however, some clauses were added which rendered it less objectionable to its opponents. Thus, for instance, Pitt added a clause limiting the number of troops for the payment of which the Board of Control were empowered to issue orders; and other clauses introduced into the measure prohibited gratuities unless recommended by the directors, and stopped all increase of salary unless proposed by them and submitted to parliament. By another clause, not in the original bill, the directors were to lay before parliament an annual statement of their revenues and disbursements.

The budget of this year was brought forward on the 4th of May. Pitt was still exultant in the results of his financial policy. There was again to be no loan and no new taxes. There was enough and to spare. The sinking fund was still to be held sacred, and Pitt rejoiced in the phantom prospect that the national debt would one day be wholly discharged. And yet the minister was not disposed to be niggardly with the revenues. At the close of the American war commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the losses the loyalists of that country had sustained by their steady adherence to the cause of the mother country. Those losses had been great, and on Pitt's proposal, a sum amounting to about 1,340,000*l.* was voted to them, rather on the ground of national generosity and compassion than of strict justice. The case was different with the East Florida claimants, whose cause Pitt next pleaded. They had been compelled to quit their habitations and property when their country was ceded to Spain, and as their losses had arisen from the voluntary act of government, Pitt contended that they ought to be indemnified by the state; and with the entire concurrence of the House, the sum of 113,952*l.* was voted to them. A measure of mercy was also meted out this session to the earl of Newburgh, grandson of Charles Radcliffe, who was beheaded in 1746 for his share in the rebellion of 1715. The estates of this rebel, together with those of James Radcliffe, his brother, and third earl of Derwentwater, who had forfeited his life on the same account in 1716, had been forfeited and settled upon Greenwich Hospital; but by a bill passed this session, a clear rent charge of 2500*l.* was granted out of these estates to the earl of Newburgh, who is represented as being an amiable and deserving nobleman.

This session of parliament, however, is chiefly rendered memorable by the agitation of the question of the slave trade—a question which for several years excited a greater amount of public interest than any matter of political importance discussed during the same period. Strange tales had been long related of the horrid traffic which existed in the bones and sinews of men. Negroes had been kidnapped and imported from Africa to the continent and islands of America, and sold as articles of merchandise. Men, women, and children had been torn from their homes by thousands and tens of thousands, thrust into floating dungeons, and carried into lands unknown to them, to become slaves to merciless taskmasters. At this period a general feeling existed in favour of the oppressed sons of Africa. We had no slaves at home, and there was a wide-spread feeling growing up in the heart of the nation that it was a national sin we should have slaves abroad. A society was now formed, having two objects in view: first, the mitigation of the evils of slavery, and next its abolition throughout the British dominions. Among the Christian philanthropists who espoused this holy cause, the names of Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Macaulay, and Wilberforce stand prominent, and must ever be honoured. The great champion of the cause, however, was Wilberforce, the bosom friend of the premier. There were still many persons who were far from being convinced that the condition of slavery was indefensible on grounds of religion or morality, and were still less prepared for a sudden measure of emancipation, which would injure if not ruin some of our most valuable colonies. Among these was Pitt. Wilberforce, however, so far succeeded in bringing him over to his cause, as to induce him to issue a summons to certain members of the privy council, to examine as a board of trade the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. In the absence of Wilberforce, Pitt introduced the subject on the 9th of May with a formal motion that the slave trade should be taken into consideration early in the ensuing session. Pitt said that if his friend was still unable to conduct the inquiry, he would himself undertake it; but he refrained from committing himself to any decided opinion on the subject. Fox and Burke, who were warm in the cause, deprecated the delay. They were both willing and prepared, they said, to take up the question themselves, and had only been deterred from doing so out of deference to the eloquence and humanity of Wilberforce, and on account of the influence he possessed with Pitt and his ministry. Pitt's motion was carried. The representations of the witnesses called to give evidence were somewhat favourably received by the committee of the privy council, its members from education and habits being inclined to regard the tales of horror, which had been generally adopted as facts, with incredulity. The testimony, however, with which the assertions of the slave dealers was met, swept away the favourable impressions made upon the minds of this committee, and though they made no decisive report, their bias in favour of the slave trade was sensibly diminished. Incredulity gave place to conviction, and they inclined to the side of reason and humanity. But it was before the committee of the House of Commons that the horrors of the slave trade were more fully unfolded. In that House the delegates of the slave-trading community underwent a cross-examination, in which out of their own mouths the oft-repeated tales of its horrors were fully confirmed. The facts reluctantly drawn from them were so decisive against the system that the committee declined calling any counter evidence. There were indeed members in both Houses who criticised the measure with as much jealousy as if it was a wanton interference with vested interests and freedom of commerce; and the Lords would not even pass it without clauses of compensation to shipowners and merchants for the additional outlay they would incur by its regulations. This triumph, however, small as it was, encouraged the philanthropists to persevere in the cause of humanity, not doubting that the traffic would be finally and fully abolished.

During this session a motion was made for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, the late chief justice of India. His complicity in many of the criminal transactions charged on Hastings was so evident, that it was conceived he ought to be involved in his punishment. But Impey as a practised lawyer proved to be more than a match for his unskilled opponents. The motion was negatived. The House of Commons, discriminating between the case of Impey and Hastings, found that there was not sufficient evidence to put the accused dismissed chief justice of India on his trial. But the righteousness of this verdict is called into question to this day; and it seems clear that though Sir Elijah Impey may not have acted criminally by foully dishonouring the English ermine, he stained it by stretching the law in support of the policy of his old schoolfellow, the governor-general, Hastings.

Meanwhile the solemn impeachment of Hastings had been carried on in Westminster Hall. His trial recommenced on the 13th of February. It commenced with every solemnity that the forms of official dignity could impart. It was a grand state pageant. The hall was fitted up with the utmost magnificence: benches, stages, and boxes were erected, and its old grey walls were hung with scarlet. All the magnates of the land assembled at his trial, either as actors in its proceedings or spectators. The queen was there with the three elder princesses; and there were also all the representatives of the European powers. When the assembly was collected, the peers of the realm, marshalled by heralds, entered the hall and took their seats. The lord chancellor, as president of this high court of parliament, was seated on a throne, and on one side opposite to him was the box of the managers, and on the other the space assigned to the prisoner and his counsel. All being ready, the serjeant-at-arms made proclamation for Hastings to appear in court; and the accused having advanced, accompanied by his two bail—Sullivan and Sumner,—proclamation was again made, that whereas charges of high crimes and misdemeanours had been exhibited by the Commons, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, esquire, all persons were to take notice that he now stood upon his trial, that they might come forth and make good the said charges.

The proceedings were opened by the Lord Chancellor Thurlow. Hastings having been called upon to fall on his knees, his lordship thus addressed him: "Warren Hastings, you stand at the bar of this court charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, a copy of which has been delivered to you. You have been allowed counsel, and a long time has been allowed you for your defence; but this is not to be considered a particular indulgence, as it arose from the necessity of the case, the crimes with which you are charged being stated to have been committed in a distant place. These charges contain the most weighty allegations, and they come from the highest authority. This circumstance, however, though it carries with it the most serious importance, is not to prevent you from making your defence in a firm and collected manner, in the confidence that, as a British subject, you are entitled to and will receive full justice from a British court." Hastings replied to this impressive address:—"My lord, I am come to this high tribunal, equally impressed with a confidence in my own integrity, and in the justice of the court before which I stand." After this the clerks of the court proceeded to read the charges and answers, which occupied the remainder of the first day and the whole of the next, and when this was completed Burke opened the first charge.

The speech of Burke on this occasion continued for four days. Nearly half of his oration was purely historical, consisting of a review of the history of India up to the period of Hastings' administration. From that history Burke endeavoured to show that the people of the east had been accustomed to good government, and that they knew nothing of despotic power until it was introduced by Warren Hastings. According to his arguments, the Koran, the institutes of Tamerlane, the Gentoo law, and other authorities, all testified to the truth of his deductions. This part of his harangue, however, must be considered fallacious, for although the written law of India might inculcate good government, the action of its rulers was not governed by them. Burke himself must have known that they were despotic, and that he only represented them as mild and merciful rulers in order to make the crimes of Hastings which he was about to unfold the more hideous to his audience. It was on the third day of his speech that Burke commenced his tale of horrors. And in relating these he was remarkably successful in exciting the feelings of his audience. Ladies fainted in the galleries, and even the inflexible face of Lord Chancellor Thurlow was occasionally seen to quiver with emotion. Nay, Hastings himself became almost convinced that he was more monster than man. "For half an hour," he said, "I looked up at the orator in a reverie of wonder; and during that space I actually felt myself the most culpable man on earth; but I recurred to my own bosom, and there found a consciousness that consoled me under all I heard and all I suffered." Burke's appeals to the feelings and passions of his auditory were much too frequent, especially in those parts of his harangue which were derived from the tales of the enemies of the accused—tales that were amplified and exaggerated, either by private malevolence or oriental hyperbole. Apart from the strangely exaggerated portions of Burke's speech, it was one of the finest that was ever delivered in the English language. Portions of it were "soberly sublime, exhibiting a wonderful range of knowledge, a high statesmanlike philosophy, and an exalted spirit of Christian philanthropy." Towards the conclusion of his speech on the fourth day, Burke gave a summary of the charges. These were: The abolition of the six provincial councils for his own purposes; the illegal delegation of power; the establishment of a committee of instruments and tools; the appointment of an infamous person to exercise the power of which the six provincial councils had been deprived; taking bribes from Gunga Govind Sing; neglecting the services for which he had been bribed; robbing the people of whom he took bribes; fraudulently alienating the fortunes of widows; appointment of Deby Sing as guardian of the minor rajah; and appointment of Deby Sing as manager of three provinces, thereby wasting the country, destroying the landed interest, cruelly harassing the peasants by burning their houses, seizing their crops, torturing and degrading their persons, and destroying the honour of the whole female race of that country. Then, raising his voice to a pitch which seemed to shake the walls and roof of Westminster Hall, Burke exclaimed:—"Therefore it is with confidence, that, ordered by the Commons, I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonoured. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, and whose country he has laid waste and desolate. I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life. And I conjure this high and sacred court to let not these pleadings be heard in vain."

After Burke had concluded his speech, a debate ensued respecting the manner in which the defence should be conducted. The managers urged that the charges should be heard and disposed of seriatim. To this the counsel of Hastings objected. Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, urged the hardship of subjecting a prisoner to a series of trials, for the purpose of establishing what must result in a single charge. Such a mode of proceeding was utterly at variance with the course of justice, and yet Loughborough, taking a party view of the case, vindicated it. Lord Chancellor Thurlow, however, denounced the injustice of such a course in such emphatic terms, that it was decided the prosecutor should, according to the usual practice of trials, complete his case before the accused commenced his defence. After a brief delay, Fox, after complaining of the decision, opened the Benares charge down to the expulsion of Cheyte Sing, and the evidence of this charge being completed, the trial was postponed for a month, while the judges were absent on their circuits. On its resumption the charge relating to the begums was opened by Mr. Adam, and continued and completed by Mr. Pelham. The evidence on this charge was summed up by Sheridan, which afforded him another opportunity of displaying his powers of oratory. His performance, which lasted three whole days, attracted a fuller attendance than had yet assembled in the hall. The orators, indeed, in this celebrated trial were the great attraction. While the dry details of evidence were going forward the audience was but meagre, but when it was known that the oratorical part of the state pageant was proceeding, the hall was full to the overflow. In a little time the proceeding was looked upon rather as a school of oratory than a grave judicial inquiry. In the begum affair, Sheridan did justice to his wonderful powers of eloquence. It is said that those who heard him were fairly entranced by his eloquent harangue. His speech was plentifully adorned with tropes and figures, which appear to have been its great charm. He concluded it, however, with a stroke of pantomime, which probably pleased the ladies more than all his tropes and figures. Having appealed to British justice in a sonorous roll of words, without any great depth of meaning, he fell back into the arms of Burke, an exhausted orator. And thus ended the trial of Warren Hastings during the present session.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, by the king in person. In his speech his majesty mentioned that the emperor of Germany had joined the empress of Russia in a war with the sultan. He also referred to treaties into which he had entered with the king of Prussia and with the States-General of the United Provinces. These treaties had been concluded early in the year. That between Britain and Holland embraced a mutual guarantee of dominions; a security for the existing form of government in the United Provinces; and regulations by which the commerce of each country was placed on the same footing as the most favoured nations. The treaty with the king of Prussia was one of defensive alliance, the contracting parties also binding themselves to act in concert for the maintenance of the existing form of government of Holland in all its integrity. In noticing these treaties, the king expressed a hope that they would be productive of the happiest results both to Britain and all Europe. The object of these treaties was twofold; first to preserve the balance of power in Holland against the influence of France, and next to secure that country from any attempts which might be made upon it by the ambitious rulers of Germany and Russia.

When his majesty prorogued parliament he appeared to be in his usual health. In the previous month, however, his health had been seriously deranged. Relaxation from public business had somewhat restored him, but after the prorogation he had a relapse. His malady was a disorder of the biliary system, for which he now sought relief by drinking the Cheltenham waters. After a few weeks he returned to London, and his malady increased. The symptoms became alarming. From the commencement of his illness his intellect had been disordered, and its aberrations became more marked. He returned from Cheltenham in August, and his twofold maladies daily increased, until at length, early in November, it became known that he was wholly incapacitated from business, and that his life was in danger.

Parliament stood prorogued to the 20th of November. It was not intended to have proceeded to business until after Christmas, but the exigency of the case admitted of no delay. Circulars were issued requesting the attendance of the members on that day, and there was a full attendance in both Houses. The excitement was great. A demise of the crown was daily expected, and even if the king's life was spared, it was the opinion of the physicians his intellectual faculties would be clouded to the day of his death. The prince of Wales had hastened to Windsor to assume the control of the king's person. It seemed evident that he would soon be either king or regent. The opposition, therefore, became fully assured of their return to power. Fox was on the Continent, but a messenger was despatched for him, and he arrived four days after the meeting of parliament. Nothing had then been done. It had been found impossible to proceed to the despatch of business. Respect for his majesty dictated a brief adjournment, and accordingly the two Houses agreed to adjourn to the 4th of December. On their reassembling the Houses were still in the same dilemma. Before any business could be transacted, it was deemed necessary to appoint select committees to examine the king's physicians, in order to ascertain the true nature of his majesty's illness. Resolutions to that effect were carried in both Houses. The committee of the Commons made their report on the 10th of December. The physicians had declared the king to be incapable of meeting parliament; but at the same time they expressed a confident hope of his majesty's recovery. As the functions of government were suspended, Pitt now moved "That a committee be appointed to examine and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in case of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same." This proposition did not meet with the views of the Whig leaders. Standing as they were on the very tiptoe of expectation of being called to office, they could not brook delay. Fox urged that the motion could only result in a loss of time, as no precedent could be found bearing upon such a case. There was no necessity, he said, for their deliberations on the matter. There was a person in the kingdom different from any other person that could be referred to as a precedent. There was the heir apparent, of full age and capacity to exercise the regal power, and, in his opinion, he had as clear a right to assume the reins of government during the continuance of his majesty's affliction as in the case of the demise of the crown. Fox further remarked, that if his royal highness did not at once assume his rightful functions, it was only out of respect to the principles which had placed his family on the throne, and which guided him in his desire that parliament should sanction his claim. This deference, however, had its limits. It was not reasonable that the prince should wait for examination of precedents which, in reality, did not exist. Pitt was not slow in taking advantage of his great rival's manifest blunder. He denounced the doctrine which Fox had enunciated as utterly at variance with the laws and history of the country, and as savouring of treason to the constitution. He emphatically declared that the prince of Wales had no more right to assume the government than any other person in the kingdom. Whatever might be his pretensions, it was the province of parliament alone to provide for the government of the country, whenever the functions of sovereignty were suspended. The doctrine of Fox, he added, was incompatible with the rights of the legislature. It went to deprive the legislature of any deliberate power under the circumstances which had arisen. Kings and princes derived their power from the people; and to the people alone, by means of their representatives, it belonged to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no provision. Fox soon found that he had committed a grave error; that he had not only struck a blow at the rights of the legislature, but had exhibited an indecent haste to grasp at power which offended the majority of his audience. He attempted to retreat, but in doing so still further committed himself. He admitted, he said, that in effect parliament would have a right to deal with the question, and even to alter the succession to the throne or change the laws and constitution of the country, but he denied that they were a parliament. Fox only found one supporter of his doctrines of right, and that was Burke, who damaged the Whig cause more than the great Whig leader. Burke did not, indeed, contend for that right in such absolute terms as Fox had employed—for he knew they were untenable—but he vindicated the pretensions of the prince of Wales as a question of comparison. And if the terms of his vindication had been rational, as they might have been, Burke would have carried the whole House with him. For instance, if he had urged that unless it could be shown the heir apparent was personally disqualified from exercising the power of sovereignty during the disability of his royal father, then he must of necessity as heir to the throne have the preference to any other regent, his argument would have carried conviction to all who heard him. But Burke lost his temper, and, as a natural consequence, his judgment likewise. In carrying out his question of comparison he took Pitt to task for setting himself up as a competitor with the prince. This preposterous idea was received with shouts of derision and cries of order, and Pitt having uttered a few contemptuous words in reply carried his motion without a division. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to search for precedents which every one knew were not in existence. On the following day a similar motion was made by Lord Camden in the Upper House, on which occasion he denounced the doctrine of right set up by Fox as both novel and dangerous. So also did the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who declared that the doctrine was new to him. Lord Loughborough, on the contrary, who was a friend of the prince of Wales, and was looking for the chancellorship, supported it, as did the Lords Stormont and Porchester, but by the peers generally it was emphatically condemned.

This singular debate was renewed on the report of the committee to search for precedents. Aware that his doctrine was repudiated by the House and the people at large, Fox however contended that the right of the prince was irresistible, and that parliament could not set it aside without a dereliction of its duty. He was still ready to maintain, that while parliament had the right to determine during the king's incapacity, the heir-apparent after that determination had the right of government, so long as that incapacity existed. But, he added, as Pitt allowed that the prince was the person who ought to be invested with the regency, it would perhaps be better to abstain from any discussion on such nice and subtle distinctions. In reply, Pitt pointed out that the explanation of Fox was inconsistent with his former language with regard to the forbearance of the prince to "assert his" claim; and he still contended that he had no right whatever to the regency. Upon the question of right they were still at issue, and Pitt declared that he would not move a step farther till that question was decided. In accordance with that declaration, on the 16th of December Pitt moved three resolutions, the substance and object of which was to declare "That his majesty being prevented by indisposition to transact public business, it was the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority." And after a protracted debate, the resolutions were passed.

The resolutions were communicated to the other House on the 23rd of December. Meanwhile the question of the regency had been warmly discussed in that House. There was a discussion on the subject the day before Pitt moved his resolutions in the Commons, in which two of the royal dukes, York and Gloucester, took part; both warmly deprecating the sense of parliament being taken on a question of right.

On the day on which the royal dukes were brought down to the House of Lords to advocate the interests of their brother, Thurlow had come to a decision. It seems probable that he was influenced in this decision by a doubt, that even if the king should not recover, the Whig leaders might play him false, and advance his rival Loughborough to the woolsack. At all events, on that day Thurlow with tears in his eyes—a remarkable phenomenon—gravely admonished their lordships that their first duty was to preserve the rights of the king entire, so that when God should permit him to recover, he might not find his situation worse than it had been before his infirmity. Thurlow then gave vent to his grief for the king's affliction. He owed a debt of gratitude to his sovereign, a debt for favours graciously conferred, great beyond the power of expression. Finally, raising his voice, he exclaimed, "When I forget my king, may God forget me!" According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated had also actuated other noble peers; first worshipping the rising sun, and then in the prospect of the king's recovery rallying round his throne. Be this as it may, Pitt's resolutions were carried by a majority of thirty-three, and a committee was appointed to inform the Commons at a conference that they concurred in them. A protest was entered on the journals, and signed by forty-six peers and the dukes of York and Cumberland.

The Christmas holidays were brief. It was no time for allowing a recess. The Commons reassembled on the 2nd of January, 1789. Some further delay, however, was occasioned by the death of the Speaker on that day. A trial of strength took place on the appointment of a successor, but Pitt's relative, William Wyndham Grenville, was elected to the chair by a majority of seventy-three over Sir Gilbert Elliott, the nominee of the Whigs. On the next day there was a crowded House, it being understood that the minister was to declare the restrictions he considered necessary to be annexed to the regency.

The report of the committee was brought up on the 13th of January. Three days after Pitt introduced his plan of a restricted regency. He had submitted that plan by letter to the prince on the 30th of December, and though, acting under the advice of friends, his royal highness expressed his entire disapprobation of it, he nevertheless consented to undertake the regency with the proposed restrictions. Pitt now unfolded his plan to the House. After having expressed his satisfaction at having consented to the re-examination of the physicians, the event of which had justified his sanguine expectations of the king's recovery, he remarked that what parliament had to make provision for under the circumstances, was a deficiency in the executive government for an interval which he trusted would be brief, and against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority when his majesty should be able to resume that authority. This was all that was required at the present, but should his majesty's illness be unfortunately protracted, a more permanent plan of government might then be arranged. What Pitt proposed was as follows:—The prince was to exercise the royal authority in the name and behalf of his majesty, and the queen was to have the care of the king's person, together with the management of the royal household, including the appointment of its officers and servants. As regent, the prince was to have no authority to grant new peers, or to dispose of the king's real or personal property, or to grant any office in reversion, or any pension, or any office except one which must be granted for life or during good behaviour. The queen was to be assisted in the discharge of her duties by a council, which council were to have no power of control, but only that of giving advice, and daily watching over the king's health. Pitt embodied these restrictions on the regency in five resolutions. The Whig leaders were still in expectation of supplanting the minister and his party. Nay, it seemed certain that such would be the result of these proceedings, for while the prince consented to accept the regency with its stringent conditions, it was made known that his first act as regent would be the dismissal of the minister who had put such an indignity upon him. But Pitt heeded not his threatened fate. He persisted in carrying his resolutions in all their integrity. Four of them were passed by the 18th of January, and on the following day the final struggle took place on the fifth, which related to the household. The opposition entertained a sanguine hope of defeating this part of Pitt's plan. Such, however, was the ascendancy of the minister, that an amendment proposed by Lord North, that the control of the household should only be withdrawn from the executive for a limited period, was defeated by a majority of fifty-six. Pitt was triumphant. His resolutions were carried up to the Lords, where, after an animated debate, and the defeat of two amendments, one for limiting the time in which the regent should be restricted from the creation of peers, and another to annul the restriction put upon him with regard to the granting of places, they were finally adopted. A protest was signed by the minority—the dukes of York and Cumberland heading the list of the dissentients.

The regency bill, which was still required to complete the three estates, was now forthwith proceeded with. It was read for the first time on the 5th of February without a division, and without any marked debate. On the 6th, or the day following, however, when the second reading was moved, Burke renewed his hostility to it in his usual vituperative style.

The Bill was read a second time without a division, and was ordered to be committed on the morrow. The Bill contained thirty-two clauses, which in committee gave rise to various debates. Every article was contested on the same grounds as when the resolutions were discussed. The clauses by which the regent was restrained from creating peers, granting places, pensions, &c., were especially objected to by the opposition. That referring to the creation of peers was by an amendment limited to three years, but Burke declared that there ought to be no restriction at all. He endeavoured to show that the Whigs when in power had always been moderate in granting peerages; and he wanted to know how it could be supposed that they would now be prodigal of those honours? Lord North took up the subject of pensions with considerable warmth. By that restriction, he said, the prince would not have the power of choosing his own servants; and he asked how it would be possible for him to fill the highest situation in the land, when not a puisne judge, or even a common barrister, would accept the precarious office of lord chancellor, if there were no hope of a pension on dismissal? To this Pitt replied, humourously, that it was fit the Regent should have the free choice of a chancellor, if the country should be so unfortunate as to lose the learned lord who now filled that office; and though the bill did not give the power of providing for him, when the occasion should occur the regent might apply to parliament, and he himself would readily agree to the pension. Pitt knew that the king was now on the eve of convalescence, and could afford to make merry with his opponents. The opposition, however, still pursued their course, as though there were but slight hopes of his majesty's recovery. The terms with which Burke was wont to speak of his majesty's afflictions created a doubt in the minds of many of his audience whether he was not as fit a subject for restraint and discipline as the sovereign. During this debate the House strongly marked their disapprobation of his unfeeling language. It was the climax of the lamentable errors into which the passion and whirlwind of his eloquence too often hurried him. The agitation which it caused in the House scarcely subsided before the debate was closed. Burke's imprudence greatly aided the minister. The Bill passed through the Commons with increased majorities. It was carried up to the Lords on the 12th of February. It was read a second time, and it had passed through several stages in committee, when, lo! on the 19th of February, the lord chancellor announced that so great an improvement had taken place in the health of the king, that it was extremely probable there would be no necessity for a regency!

The regency, about which there had been such storms of human passion displayed, was, after all, unnecessary. It proved to be a myth; and the hopes of power and place which the Whigs had formed vanished as a shadow. Pitt had for several days been hesitating whether he should proceed with the bill or stop the proceedings. His majesty's disorder had taken a favourable turn on the very day of its first reading in the Commons—the 6th of February. His pulse, which had been during his malady at fever height, on that day beat steadily from seventy-two to eighty-two. From that circumstance Dr. Willis augured his speedy recovery. He felt a firm conviction that within a week his royal patient would be himself again. And his conviction proved to be well founded. It is probable, however, that had it not been for the rapid progress which the Regency Bill was advancing to its final stage, Willis would have deferred the announcement of his majesty's recovery for some days longer, till all fears of a relapse had entirely passed away. When Willis informed the rough old chancellor that the king was recovered, and that therefore the bill ought not to be proceeded with, he declared that he did not believe it, and that he would not act on his information. But Willis was not to be browbeaten by the "old tiger." He threatened that if his opinion was disregarded, he would not only publish it to the world, but that he should be impeached if he dared to act on the assumption of his sovereign's continued incapacity. Thus threatened, Thurlow consented to see the king and judge for himself. He visited the king on the 20th, and an interview of two hours' duration satisfied him that the opinion of Dr. Willis was correct. When his lordship announced that there would probably be no necessity for proceeding with the Regency Bill, he moved an adjournment till Tuesday, the 24th of February. That motion was agreed to, and the consideration of the bill was not resumed. On the day previous the king had written to Pitt announcing his convalescence, and on the 26th the physicians issued their last bulletin. The Whig physician's name was not appended to it. Dr. Warren was still in opposition to his Tory rival, Willis. The other physicians, however, Sir George Baker and Sir Lucas Pepys, who had for some time maintained a cautious reserve, now joined with Dr. Willis in apprising the public of his majesty's complete recovery.

It was the opinion of Dr. Willis, that had he been consulted in the first instance, his majesty's illness would have been of very short duration. The mode of his treatment before that humane physician was called in had a tendency to aggravate his mental disease. At first, when Willis was introduced, he was by no means welcome to his majesty. He looked upon him as another added to the number of his tormentors. On his introduction the king reproached him with having given up the sacred calling to which he had been ordained, for a more lucrative profession. "Our Saviour," replied Willis, "cured demoniacs." "Yes," retorted the king, "but he did not get seven hundred a year for it." There was method in his madness. His intellect was obscured, but it was not gone for ever. The mild manners of Dr. Willis soon obtained a salutary influence over his irritable patient. The king was especially indignant at being denied the use of a razor. They think, he said, I shall cut my throat. "I am sure," replied Willis, "that your majesty is too good a Christian, and too sensible of what you owe to your people, to commit such an act." Then, without more ado, Willis presented his majesty with a razor, which he used as rationally as any sane man in his kingdom. But the great balm for the wounded mind of the king was the free admission of the queen and the princesses into his presence. That was on the 13th of December. That interview is a scene for a painter, and well deserves to be immortalized on canvas. On her entering, the king seized the hand of her majesty, kissed it, and held it in his hand during the whole of the interview, while his favourite child, the Princess Amelia, sat upon his knee. It was now that his majesty's person was taken out of the sole care of his keepers, the royal pages. Ernst was dismissed in disgrace, and the rest were placed under the immediate control of Dr. Willis and his son, the result of which was his ultimate recovery, as before recorded.

The proceedings in the Irish parliament in consequence of the king's illness form a striking contrast to that of the British. At the opening of the session of 1789, the lord-lieutenant informed the members of that parliament of the king's incapacity. This information was given in terms which implied that their proceedings should be shaped according to the course pursued by the British legislature. But the Irish Commons were not disposed to act upon the lord-lieutenant's suggestion. It was an opportunity for them to assert the independence of the Irish parliament, and they eagerly embraced it. In reply to the lord-lieutenant, Grattan remarked that Ireland did not wait for a lesson from Britain, as for a model whereby to frame her proceedings. Accordingly, without waiting for a decisive vote of the British legislature in the matter of the regency, a resolution offering the prince of Wales the government of Ireland unconditionally, and without limitation, was voted without a division. This resolution was confirmed by the Lords. The Irish viceroy, the marquis of Buckingham—late Earl Temple—refused to transmit the address to the British government; and commissioners were therefore appointed by both Houses to present it in person to the prince of Wales. Six persons of the highest rank and influence in Ireland consented to act as delegates on this fool's errand. On their arrival in London they found they were too late. The king had recovered, and the Regency Bill was abandoned. Notwithstanding, they proceeded to Carlton House to fulfil their mission. They presented the address to the prince of Wales, who thanked them for the expressions of loyalty which it contained towards the sovereign, but postponed to a future day his answer to that portion which referred to his assumption of the executive in Ireland. All that the delegates obtained for their pains and their loyalty were empty thanks and a splendid entertainment, at which the Whig leaders were present to honour them.

Entertainments at Carlton House were by no means uncommon. Ever since his majesty's illness, the Saturday and Sunday of every week were days of feasting and conviviality, of rioting and drunkenness. On these occasions it is recorded that the standing topic was ridicule of the king and queen, the prince himself setting the example. Having a talent for mimicry, he was wont to amuse his witty and profligate companions—men and women—by imitating the gestures and actions of his insane father. The duke of York, also, the favourite son of George III., so far forgot himself as to join with his brother in the defamation of their parents; and that which they did they suffered their friends to do without a word of rebuke from their lips, or a blush of shame on their countenances.

How the king was beloved by his people at this time was fully manifested on his formal resumption of the reins of government by opening parliament. That was on the 10th of March. His majesty did not appear in person, but a speech was delivered by commission in the ordinary manner. Addresses of congratulation to the king and the queen were voted unanimously. On that night all London was illuminated. Festal lights were hung out in every part, while the music of the city bells rang out the general joy. And this scene was repeated on the 23rd of April, when the king's recovery was celebrated by a solemn thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral. His majesty, accompanied by the queen and royal family, and the two Houses of Parliament, went to St. Paul's to return his own thanksgivings. As he passed through the crowded streets he was greeted with the most loyal acclamations. With bad taste, some of the friends of the prince of Wales attempted to get up a demonstration in his favour, but this had the effect of provoking a more enthusiastic and general ebullition of loyalty and attachment to the sovereign. As the procession advanced through the more crowded streets of the metropolis, there was one long-continued shout of "God save the king!" It was conceived and hoped by some of the friends of the heir apparent that the excitement of the scene would again upset his reason; and some of his majesty's friends were not without apprehensions it might be the result. But he passed through the ordeal of that imposing ceremony with great composure. Once, as he passed into the cathedral, amidst the peal of organs and the voices of five thousand children, who were singing that grand old melody the Hundredth Psalm, tears started to his eyes, but he immediately recovered his self-command. He had boasted that the House of Brunswick never shed tears; but they flowed from his eyes when, after his recovery, his graceless sons the prince of Wales and the duke of York were allowed to have an interview with him, and he would have been more than mortal if on this occasion he could have altogether suppressed his emotions. Yet while the queen and the princesses were weeping beside him, he succeeded in suppressing any marked outburst of feeling. His mind seemed more bent on his devotions, the fervour of which was so manifest that a deep impression was made on all who saw him on his knees. But there were two in that vast assembly who witnessed the scene with ill-concealed chagrin. These were the prince of Wales and the duke of York. It is recorded that at their private interview with their father they mingled their tears with his; but it is also recorded that on this solemn occasion they exhibited their petulance, not only before their own countrymen, but before strangers and the foreign ambassadors. Their conduct throughout the late events bore its bitter fruits. It caused divisions in the royal family which were never wholly healed.

The administration was reinstated in all its former power. The session was not, however, productive of any legislation of importance. Yet its business was not wholly barren of interest. The slave trade question was resumed on the 12th of May. Wilberforce having recovered his health, now stood forward as the champion of that great cause. In a committee of the whole House, he moved twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of the African slaves. His resolutions were founded on a report of the committee of the privy council, which, since the last session, had been employed in investigating facts concerning the slave trade. Wilberforce introduced the subject in a speech which made a deep impression on the House and on the country at large. Wilberforce obtained the applause of the leaders on both sides of the House. Pitt, Fox, and Burke gave in their adherence to the views of the large-hearted philanthropist. Pitt confessed that the slave-trade must be abolished; and consented that the resolutions should be entered on the journals, in the hope that such a step might produce the effect of causing foreign nations to concur with Britain in the proposed abolition. The question was now fairly launched on a career which finally led to its adoption by the legislature.

The trial of Warren Hastings was resumed in Westminster Hall on the 20th of April. The third article, which related to the corrupt receipt of money, was opened by Burke. No progress, however, was made in the trial during this session. The proceedings in this session were chiefly remarkable for leading to a vote of censure in the House of Commons on Burke, the prime accuser of Hastings. In his speech he indiscreetly charged Hastings with having murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey. As Impey had been acquitted by the Commons on that charge, and as the transaction formed no part of the charges contained in the articles, Hastings presented a petition to the Commons for protection against this and other similar allegations; the result of which was that the marquis of Graham moved a vote of censure on the conduct of Burke, which, though strenuously opposed by Fox and the other managers, was carried by an overwhelming majority.

During this session, Lord Sydney having resigned the seals of secretary of state, Grenville, who had so recently become Speaker, was appointed his successor. The chair, therefore, became vacant. There was some difficulty in finding a person on the ministerial side of the House who possessed the requisite qualifications for the speakership. Sir Gilbert Elliott was again put forward by the opposition, with every chance of success; but at length, after much hesitation, Pitt determined to place his friend Addington in the chair.

Pitt produced his budget for this year on the 10th of June. He again congratulated the House and the country on the matter of the sinking fund. His hopes of its efficacy, he said, had been well-founded. For the last two years the receipts had exceeded the expenditure by 78,000*l.* As, however, there had been several extraordinary expenses, among which was the payment of the debts of the prince of Wales, Pitt said it was necessary to raise one million by loan, and to increase taxation to pay the interest of that loan. Two provisions in his financial arrangements of the year illustrate the character of the times, and the progress of public opinion. In the first place Pitt proposed to transfer the article of tobacco from the customs to the excise. It had been found that one half of that article, which would have produced a revenue of nearly 300,000*l.*, was obtained by smuggling. Pitt's object, therefore, by making such a proposition, was threefold; to increase the revenue; to extend legitimate trade; and to discourage the trade of the smuggler. The new duties proposed by Pitt were laid upon newspapers, advertisements, cards, dice, probates of wills, and horses and carriages. He conceived that none of these would press upon the poor, or heavily upon the rich. Newspapers were fast becoming a power in the nation—a power able to control, if not to dictate, the policy of the minister. Pitt's financial arrangements for the year were emphatically confirmed.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August. The king had gone to Weymouth for his health, and the speech was delivered in his name by the lord chancellor. In that speech Thurlow remarked, that although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of general tranquillity, yet the situation of affairs abroad promised to this country the continuation of the blessing of peace. This assurance, at such an eventful period, was gratifying, but it was not founded on a right view of "affairs abroad." The state of Europe was such as promised nothing but war instead of peace. The foundation of a stupendous revolution had been laid, which threatened to involve the whole civilized world in strife and bloodshed and wide-spread desolation.

There were commotions everywhere on the Continent. While the Emperor Joseph was prosecuting victories and conquests which could only tend to the aggrandizement of the Czarina Catherine, his own subjects in the Netherlands drew the sword to cast off his yoke. That yoke had been made bitter to them. It was from no spirit of innovation that they revolted against him. The Netherlanders had shown an heroic devotion to the Empress Maria Theresa, and would have continued their devotion to her son, if he had not laid a sacrilegious hand on their time-honoured institutions, both civil and ecclesiastic. His mad-brained tyranny roused the choler of the Netherlanders, and open rebellion was the result. And victory attended their arms. The imperial troops entered the Low Countries, and dyed their swords in blood; but it was to no purpose. Strong in the justice of their cause, the people of the Netherlands triumphed. The Flemings, the states of Brabant, and every province except Luxembourg, in this year of general commotion, established their independence. The Emperor Joseph had overturned ancient constitutions, and had violated venerated religious establishments, and he paid the penalty in the loss of popularity and dominion.

The great event of the memorable year of 1789 has still to be briefly recorded. It was an event which had long been foreseen by a few keen-sighted statesmen, but which at length transpired so suddenly as to make the people of Europe stand aghast with wonder and amazement. The hydra-headed monster democracy, which had long been wriggling into existence in France, now stalked abroad, trampling the throne under its feet, and there was no one who could arrest its progress. The French monarch had sown the wind, and was now reaping the whirlwind. While the French court was aiding the revolution in America, and encouraging a democratic spirit of resistance to established authority in the United Provinces, the new doctrines by which it was actuated were undermining its own power. For thirty long years those renowned infidel philosophers—Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Condorcet, and Diderot—had been preparing the minds of the people of France for a new and unheard-of form of government. The great ends to which they used their subtle pens were the subversion of those truths on which the eternal interests of mankind are formed, and of the principles on which civil government had hitherto been founded. Nor were their pens used in vain. The whole intelligence of France was captivated by their new doctrines, and eagerly embraced them. Revelation was held to be a falsehood; and all the received maxims of civil policy to have become obsolete. Henceforth reason was to be the only guide of reasonable beings; and the only form of government suitable for an enlightened people, a republic. These opinions were universally adopted, and it only required an opportunity for the people of France to put them into practice. That opportunity arose out of the financial embarrassments of the court of France—embarrassments which in a great measure were induced by the insane policy of that court in supporting the American revolution. That event had inflamed the imagination of the French people, and had strengthened and confirmed them in the faith of the new doctrines they had embraced. Even the very notables convened by Colonne uttered such strange words about liberty—as a national assembly, and other unwonted sounds—that his successor, the archbishop of Toulouse, alarmed at their boldness, dismissed them. All Paris was now in a state of wild excitement, and troops were called into the city to suppress the growing disposition towards violence. A compromise, however, was effected between the king and his parliament. The obnoxious edicts were withdrawn regarding partial taxation, and another was proposed and accepted, which recognized equality of taxation without exemption.

CHAPTER II.

History of Laws and Government from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1789.

In Chapter XX. of "The English Government and Constitution," Earl Russell remarks:—"The tranquil accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of these realms is the greatest miracle of our history. The ministry of Queen Anne, great part of the church, and almost all the country gentlemen, were against this violation of the rules of legitimacy, merely in order to preserve the civil and religious liberty of the country; it was the triumph of the enlightened few over the bigotry of millions."

When George I. ascended the throne, the Whigs became the dominant party in the government. It was the era when government by party through the medium of parliament was fully established in Britain. During the reign of William the two parties of Whigs and Tories had been employed together in matters of state, the king being desirous of engaging their mutual support. While William lived there was no great struggle between these to obtain the ascendancy; but no sooner was he laid in his tomb, and Anne had ascended the throne, than each party put forth all its strength to obtain power. But in the reign of Anne neither party entirely obtained the mastery over the other.

While this first monarch of the House of Hanover favoured the Whigs, they showed themselves to be zealous in his cause. The succession of that House had been tranquil, but its peaceful continuance was threatened. The son of the deposed monarch, James II., had many adherents, and it was deemed necessary by the Whig government to protect the throne as by law established by yet another Act of Parliament. This was what is known in history as the Septennial Act; an Act which, though only passed for a temporary purpose, has endured through all the vital changes which have taken place in parliamentary representation since it was enacted, and which will probably endure for ages yet to come.

During the passing of the Septennial Bill through committee in the Commons, Mr. Lechmere proposed a clause to disable pensioners of the crown to sit in either House of Parliament. This was opposed, as interfering with the privileges of the peers; but subsequently Stanhope, one of the secretaries of state, brought in a bill which provided that no person having a pension from the crown during pleasure, or for a term of years, should sit or vote in the House of Commons under a penalty of twenty pounds for every day he should so sit or vote; and by an Act passed in the reign of George II. numerous inferior officers were excluded from the House of Commons.

The object of these enactments was to prevent ministers exercising undue influence in matters of legislation. It had been discovered that the inferior officers of government who had found their way into parliament were at all times the willing tools of the government. It was only natural that they should support the state which supported them: hence their exclusion. But the governments of this period had ready means of securing support to their measures without the votes of "inferior officers of state." True patriotism was rare at this period. It was the age when that species of bribery at elections termed treating—that is, bribing the poorer electors with drink and food—began to make a prominent figure in our political annals. In spite of prohibitory Acts of Parliament, the corrupting of the poorer electors with drink was openly practised to a great extent. Public-houses were thrown open, and there was universal swallowing, without money and without any other price than that of giving a vote. Nor was treating practised only among the poorer voters. Hogarth represents Francis Goodchild, Esquire, sheriff of London, as feasting the liverymen of his company, in which his guests are depicted under various features; some as clamouring for fresh supplies, others as feeding with a gloating satisfaction, and others as bordering upon a fit of apoplexy from over-gorging. This bribery and treating at elections was a sign of the times; a sign that political power had changed hands, and that at least some portion of it was in the possession of those who were thus paid for their votes either in money or drink. But this practice was clearly a breach of the principles of our British constitution. Bribery is proscribed by statute and by custom, but it is still a covert medium of gaining votes.

We have seen in a previous chapter that copyholders were admitted in the reign of William and Mary to serve upon juries in any of the king's courts. In the reign of George II. any leaseholder for the term of five hundred years, of the absolute yearly value of twenty pounds or upwards, was admitted to serve upon juries. In that reign several Acts were passed relative to juries and the mode of conducting trials. Thus by one statute it was ordered that the sheriff or officer should not return a separate panel for a separate case, as had been the practice, but one panel for every cause to be tried at the same assizes; the panel to contain not less than forty-eight, nor more than seventy-two jurors. The names of jurors empanelled were to be written on tickets and put into a box or glass, and when a case was called the first twelve jurors whose names were first drawn out of the box or glass were to be sworn on the jury. If, however, they were absent, challenged, excused, or it was deemed necessary by the court that their qualifications should be investigated, then six or more of the jurors returned—to be either agreed on by the parties, or named by a judge or other proper officer of the court—were to be appointed by special writ of *habeas corpora*, or *distringas*, and to have the matter in question shown to them by two persons named in the writ, after which, such of the jury as had had the view, or as many of them as had appeared, were to be first sworn on the inquest. By the same statute both plaintiff and defendant were entitled on motion to demand a special jury either at assizes or bar. In such case the party had to pay the expenses, unless the judge before whom the cause was tried should immediately after the trial certify in open court under his hand, upon the back of the record, that it was a proper case to be tried by a special jury. From the time of the restoration of King Charles, practitioners pleaded their causes in the Latin language. This was now felt to be inconvenient, and accordingly in 1731 that practice was annulled. By the statute it was enacted that all proceedings in courts of justice in England, and in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, should be in the English language only, and should be written in a common legible hand in words at full length; and that Latin should only be allowed in the using of technical words.

Massey remarks: "Before the Act of 1753, known as Lord Hardwicke's Act, every compact into which a man might be called upon to enter by the exigencies of the social system was strictly defined and limited by legal tradition or by positive law. The Statute of Uses, the Statute of Wills, the Statute of Limitations, the Statute of Frauds, among many other enactments, had settled the rights and liabilities of persons in every transaction of life. But no provision was made for the most important engagement of all. Until the Act of 1753 it was doubtful what constituted a marriage."

By that Act it was ordered that all banns of matrimony should be published, and that the marriage should be solemnized in one of the churches in which the banns had been published. Seven days' notice was to be given before the publication of the banns to the minister; and he was to be made acquainted not only with the names of the parties, but with their places of abode and time of residence. After the banns were published, if parents or guardians gave no dissent, the minister might perform the ceremony, even if one or the other of the persons was under the legal age of twenty-one, without fear of punishment. If such dissent should be publicly declared, the banns published were to become void. Under this Act, licenses might be granted to solemnize marriages in the church or chapel of any parish where one of the parties had resided four weeks immediately before they were granted; but marriages solemnized by licenses were declared void if either of the parties were under age, unless the parents or guardians had given their consent. The archbishop of Canterbury was to have a reserved right of granting special licenses. Books for the registration of banns and marriages were to be provided by the churchwardens, and were to belong to the parish and kept for public use. All registers were to be signed by the clergyman who officiated at the ceremony. Marriages were to be solemnized in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses, who, as well as the minister and the parties themselves, were to sign the register as witnesses.

A few domestic measures of this period require brief notice. Among these was one of real interest to the nation. This was a bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters, entitled "A Bill for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms." Its original design, as proposed by Stanhope, secretary of state, was to repeal, not only the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism Act, and the Test Act, but to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics. This, however, was too enlightened a measure for the age. Religious differences had long agitated the nation, and men were not yet disposed to cease their strifes on matters of religion. After a warm debate, Stanhope's measure passed, but without the repeal of the Test Act, and without placing Roman Catholics upon a juster footing of equality with their fellow-subjects. This Act passed in 1718. Twelve years after another attempt was made by the dissenters to obtain the repeal of the Test Act; but Walpole, who was then prime minister, was not so liberal-minded as Stanhope, and he set it aside by an adroit manœuvre. He persuaded the body of London dissenters to choose a committee, and "as the honest gentlemen who composed that committee were all moneyed men of the City, and scriveners who were absolutely dependent upon Sir Robert, and chosen by his contrivance, they spoke only as he spoke, and acted only as he guided."

In 1737 an Act was passed for licensing plays. The theatre at this time was made the medium of attacks upon the public men of the day. The Act for licensing plays still exists, and no friend to morality, or liberty of thought, speech, or writing, can desire its repeal. It has put, and still puts a wholesome restraint upon the pen of the play writer and the representations of play actors; and thereby has changed the character of the theatre from that of a sink of corruption to a place of innocent amusement; a place tending rather to improve than to corrupt the morals of an audience.

During the reign of George II. other legislative measures were passed to remedy the prevalent immorality of the period. Thus, in 1752, an Act was passed "for the better preventing thefts and robberies, and for regulating places of public entertainment, and for punishing people keeping disorderly houses." This statute was preceded by a royal proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery of any offender who had committed a murder, or a robbery with violence within London and Westminster, or five miles round. Another Act was passed in 1752, directing that in cases of wilful murder the criminal should be immediately executed after his sentence, and his body, when dead, be given to the surgeons to be dissected and anatomized. That part of the above-mentioned Act which had for its object the regulation of places of public entertainment, and for punishing people keeping disorderly houses, contained a clause by which no person could open his house or any place for a musical entertainment without taking out a license. This Act is still in force. "Licensed for music, under the Act of 25th George II.," must still be written up on a public-house or garden where musical entertainments are offered for the public.

By ancient statutes, combinations of masters and of workmen were punishable at common law. Thus by the statute of 1548, if workmen engaged, under a system of promises and mutual oaths, in a confederacy against the liberty of other workmen, they were liable to the penalties of imprisonment and the pillory. But combinations of workmen still existed in this period, as at the present day. Subsequently, several acts were passed in reference to particular trades. These statutes, with numerous others, were repealed in 1824, as arbitrary and inconsistent with the principles of justice; so that at the present day workmen, if they do not interfere with the freedom of action in others by violence or threats, are free to combine for an advance of wages and regulated hours of labour at their pleasure; whether to their real interest is a question.

The interval between the accession of George III., 1760, and the French Revolution, 1789—the end of the term of years covered by this chapter—is memorable for the agitation of several questions of constitutional right between the crown and parliament. Prerogative on the one hand and privilege on the other came into frequent and serious collision, involving a complete deadlock on more than one occasion in the customary working of a constitutional government under a ministry responsible to parliament. The two first princes of the Hanoverian line never grew sufficiently familiar with the speech of the nation that adopted them, and consequently were never sufficiently conversant with the drift of its social and political thought to enable them to enter thoroughly into the position of an English sovereign. Immersed more in the affairs of Germany than of the British empire, they studiously refrained from conflicts with that parliament which, in the not remote past, had thrust out one royal family for its addiction to governing by prerogative, and in its place had set up another, with large and somewhat indefinite restrictions on the personal share of the sovereign in the government of the country. But George III. shared neither the indifference nor the timidity of his two predecessors in respect to English politics, and in the very first weeks of his reign he gave ministers to understand that he intended to be the chief administrator of public affairs, and that the authority which they had appropriated in the distribution of the patronage of the crown must now lapse into his own hands. He was determined not only to reign but to govern; to be "every inch a king;" and the circumstances of the time lent their aid to his purpose.

The Tories had now finally abandoned their old leanings towards the fallen cause of the Stuarts, and were ready to make amends for disloyalty in the days of the preceding Hanoverian kings by extra devotion to the first prince of the line who by birth and education was an Englishman. Their own political theories inclined them to go any lengths in supporting the new king's high estimate of his personal rights in the government of the country.

In the words of Horace Walpole, "They abjured their ancient master; but retained their principles." Then the country was growing tired of that confederacy of great Whig families who for half a century had monopolized all the high offices of state, and divided among them nearly all the authority of the crown. Moreover, the young king was popular in consideration of his English birth and education, to which he made a telling reference in his first speech to parliament. He increased this popularity, and with it the power to cope with ministers and parliament, by the spontaneous abandonment of that branch of the kingly prerogative which gave him the right to dispense with the further services of all judges appointed before his accession. The Act of William III., which deprived the crown of the right to dismiss a judge except on an address of both Houses of Parliament, enacted that commissions of judges came to an end on the death of the sovereign, or, at the utmost, six months afterwards. A new king was entitled to appoint new judges. George III. not only waived the exercise of this prerogative for himself, but he caused an Act to be passed for continuing all judges in the uninterrupted exercise of their office without reference to a demise of the crown. Thenceforward no heir apparent to the throne could warp the independence of a judge by working upon his fears of that day of reckoning which would come with a new reign. This graceful concession of a further security for the upright administration of justice was hailed with general applause, and gained for the new king a yet stronger hold on the affections of his subjects. He had full need of popularity to sustain him in his cherished scheme of exalting the kingly office and wresting all power from the hands of his ministers. Parliament and the public were remarkably long-suffering under repeated provocations of royal obstinacy, which over and over again refused to be guided by the responsible advisers of the crown. When ministers not of his own selection were in office he plotted to oust them, and no ministry ever retained his favour except on condition of sinking their own views and giving effect to his. From the beginning to the end of his reign he was repeatedly contesting the accepted practice of parliamentary government. Lord Bute, a mere courtier, became premier solely on the ground of the king's partiality, founded on personal and private considerations. The choice expressed the king's resolution to be in effect his own minister, with the Jacobite earl, lately his groom of the stole, for his mouthpiece in parliament. The new premier, whose mission was to inaugurate government by prerogative and court influence, had no weight in parliament or the country. On the contrary, he was distrusted even in circles friendly to the extension of royal influence in the government, and hated in quarters favourable to the popular element, in both of which he was regarded as the evil genius that had warped the king's mind from early boyhood onwards with overstrained notions of prerogative. Bute's premiership suddenly collapsed within a year, despite all the bolstering of royal favour, which proved to be no fit substitute for ascendancy in political circles. The ex-groom of the stole descended in terrified bewilderment from the perilous elevation of the premiership, scared by a storm of troubles in his cabinet, in parliament, and in the temper of the public, not without dread, as he himself stated, that his royal master might be involved in the ruin that threatened him. Again and again the king returned to the charge, and each time he was baffled in his soaring efforts to exalt prerogative over the popular elements of the constitution; he talked as if nothing were left to him but to abandon the throne and retire to Hanover, where German notions of kingship were more akin with his own tendencies to absolutism.

In 1780, when he had had twenty years' exercise of regal functions, the country resounded with protests against the overgrown influence of the crown. In April of that year Dunning carried, by a majority of eighteen in a committee of the whole House, his celebrated motion that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The persistent effort to control the will of parliament under the direction of the king's personal wishes had large chances in its favour as the House of Commons was then constituted. Representation of the people was in those days the merest mockery. The counties were absolutely at the bidding of the great territorial aristocracy; many of the small boroughs were owned right out by proprietors whose right of property in the representation was acknowledged to be on the same footing with any other of their possessions, and therefore capable of sale or transfer; most of the remaining constituencies were entirely controlled by the neighbouring landowner; and sixteen seats were in the direct nomination of the crown. The franchise varied extensively in its condition as fixed by royal charters of various dates, and was commonly vested in an absurdly small number of persons. Thus the county of Bute had only twenty-one electors, only one of whom resided within its limits. At Buckingham and Bewdley the only electors were the town bailiff and twelve burgesses; at Tavistock there were only ten voters; at Gatton, seven; at Bath, the members of the corporation. In Scotland the people at large had no part in the choice of representatives. The only electors for the boroughs were the town councils, which were self-elective. Edinburgh and Glasgow had each only thirty-three electors. The aggregate constituencies of all the towns in Scotland amounted to fewer than fourteen hundred voters. All the Scottish counties had but two thousand electors among them. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and other large and flourishing seats of trade and manufacture, were totally unrepresented, even in name. The influence of peers in the choice of members of the people's branch of the legislature was enormous. The duke of Norfolk's control over small constituencies gave him the nomination to eleven seats. Lord Lonsdale had the disposal of nine; three other lords had each six; another had seven.

The duke of Richmond stated in 1780 that a clear majority of the House of Commons was returned by an aggregate of about six thousand electors. A petition presented to Parliament a few years later by the Society of the Friends of the People stated that seventy members were returned by thirty-five places where there were hardly any voters; that ninety more members were returned by places each with fewer than fifty electors; that nineteen other constituencies, each with less than a hundred electors, returned among them thirty-seven members; and that a clear majority in the Commons was returned by nomination and other forms of control or undue influence exercised by one hundred and fifty-four patrons, including forty peers. When the electors were left with any option, any independence of the will of local magnates, their individual votes were almost always purchasable. Secret service money flowed profusely in the purchase of seats for nominees of the crown. In November, 1779, the king wrote to Lord North, on the eve of an appeal to the constituencies: "If the duke of Northumberland requires some gold pills for the election it would be wrong not to satisfy him." The general election of 1768 presents some curiosities in the buying and selling of seats. The mayor and aldermen of Oxford, in the spring of the year, when the horrors of an early dissolution brooded over the moribund parliament, offered to secure the re-election of their city members on the simple condition that those favoured representatives should forthwith wipe off the debts of the corporation, which then stood at 7,500*l.* The two sitting members, being either more squeamish or less opulent than the general run of their contemporaries in the Commons, exposed the corrupt overture of the Oxford civic functionaries to the House. However peccant the members may have been individually, they exhibited a becoming spirit of virtuous indignation when the nefarious proposal of the boroughmongers was submitted to their collective wisdom. They committed the mayor and aldermen to Newgate for five days. The civic dignitaries confessed their guilt, and humbly asked pardon; but they were not discharged until they had meekly submitted themselves to the offended House, and on their bended knees received at the bar a severe rebuke and reprimand from the Speaker. Their penitence was none of the deepest, and their self-reproaches and contrition not of the most poignant description, for the very days of their incarceration were dedicated to a negotiation with new candidates for parliamentary honours. They made a bargain whereby the nominees of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Abingdon represented Oxford in the following session, and the pecuniary burdens of the corporation vanished forthwith into thin air. At the same date the celebrated George Selwyn, the owner of the borough of Ludgershall, gave a similar illustration of the adage that a man may do as he likes with his own. He received 9000*l.* from the two honourable gentlemen whose hearts were set on the costly privilege of representing the diminutive constituency of Ludgershall. Lord Chesterfield sought a seat in the same parliament for his son, but the price of a borough was found to range higher than even that liberal nobleman and most generous father was prepared to bid. He tells his son shortly before the elections: "I have looked out for some venal borough for you, and I spoke to a borough-jobber, and offered 2,500*l.* for a secure seat in parliament, but he laughed at my offer, and said that there was no such thing as a borough to be had now, for that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of 3000*l.* at least, but many at 4000*l.*, and two or three that he knew at 5000*l.*" The contested elections of that period sometimes swamped sums which even nowadays would be counted a substantial fortune. Earl Spencer squandered 70,000*l.* in the Northampton election and the after proceedings upon the petition to set aside the return of his nominee. The borough of Shoreham had a regular association or confederacy of all its electors (and they were not many in the days of close boroughs), who, because they adopted an equal partition of the money received for their suffrages, irreverently styled themselves the Christian Club, after the manner of the primitive Church, which had all things in common. On one occasion it seems to have been scared into a fit of unaccustomed purity, when a statesman of the time was "glad to see the borough of Shoreham brought back from Bengal, and restored to its ancient place in the county of Sussex; for a century past it has been in the hands of Bengal nabobs." The small estate of Gatton, carrying with it the right of nomination to the so-called borough of that name, was sold in 1774 for 75,000*l.*, the bulk of the purchase money being in consideration of the unchallenged right of the proprietor to return two members to the House of Commons. And the value of this pocket borough continued to augment until 1830, when the same privileged estate was sold to Lord Monson for 180,000*l.* His lordship must have had little faith in the passing of the impending Reform Bill, which only two years after swept away the franchise of the Gatton burgesses, and reduced the value of his recent purchase by fully two-thirds. But even after all our later reforms we are still a long way off from that political millennium in which the electors and elected will alike be free from the reproach that the long purse carries with it something more than a fair field and no favour to the open-handed candidate. The grosser kinds of bribery are no longer rife and rampant, but the large sums disbursed by opulent candidates under the specious name of legitimate expenses are, to a great extent, indirect forms of bribery. Self-reformation still remains as one of the labours for the exercise of the collective wisdom of both branches of the British legislature. The first earnest efforts in the direction of parliamentary reform date from the period under review. The earl of Chatham led the way in 1766. He denounced the borough representation as "the rotten part of our constitution," and predicted that before the end of the century either parliament would reform itself from within or be reformed with a vengeance from without. In 1780 the duke of Richmond introduced a bill to establish equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments; a programme almost identical with the Chartist scheme of more recent times. The king's speech at the close of the session glanced at this proposal (which had been rejected without a division) with his accustomed intolerance for all innovations aiming "to resist or to reform the law." Mr. Pitt, in 1782, in the first freshness of his great powers, turned his thoughts to the purification of parliament. His motion for a committee of inquiry was thrown out by a narrow majority. He renewed the attempt in the following session in an outspoken speech, that charged the disastrous course of the American war on the secret influence of the crown, which he held "was sapping the very foundations of liberty by corruption." Two years later, when his sturdy independence had been toned down by contact with the court and the favour of the king, who invited the young statesman to become chief of a cabinet, his sentiments on reform had lost much of their former precision. In 1785 he brought in a bill "to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament." His scheme embraced the disfranchisement of numerous decayed boroughs, with pecuniary compensation, exceeding a total of one million pounds, to the patrons, and the redistribution of the hundred seats thus gained among the counties and some large towns not hitherto represented. His bill was thrown out, and thenceforward, to the great satisfaction of the king and the Tory party, he was ever ready with a reason for postponing the question of reform. Erskine May, a recent constitutional historian, who has treated with an exhaustive research and singular acumen every phase of the contest between royal prerogative and popular rights through the century beginning with the reign of George III., gives the following summary of the result of twenty years of kingcraft, during which his majesty had kept in his own hands all important matters of foreign and domestic policy; the framing of motions for debates in parliament; the direct personal exercise of acts of patronage in arranging the cast of successive cabinets; in the nomination and promotion of judges, bishops, deans, generals, and colonial governors; and generally in the giving or withholding of honours, titles, and pensions: "Whenever the king's personal influence had been the greatest, there had been the fiercest turbulence and discontent amongst the people, the most signal failures in the measures of the government, and the heaviest disasters to the state. Of all the evil days of England during the king's long reign, the worst are recollected in the ministries of Lord Bute, Mr. Grenville, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord North. Nor had the royal will—however potential with ministers—prevailed in the government of the country. He had been thwarted and humbled by his parliaments, and insulted by demagogues; parliamentary privilege, which he had sought to uphold as boldly as his own prerogative, had been defied and overcome by Wilkes and the printers; the liberty of the press, which he would have restrained, had been provoked into licentiousness; and his kingdom had been shorn of some of its fairest provinces."

The most prominent point of law that came under discussion in the first half of the reign was that relating to the function of juries in cases of libel. The crown lawyers and several of the judges commonly held that the part of the jury in such trials was limited to deciding exclusively on the fact of printing and publishing, and whether the matter so printed and published meant what the indictments alleged it to mean. These authorities held that the judge alone was competent to decide whether the meaning thus determined by the jury was or was not a breach of the law. The trials arising out of the memorable libels of Wilkes and the publication of the "Letters of Junius" concentrated public attention on this branch of the law and on its relation to the liberty of the press. In the trial of Woodfall, the printer of the "Letters of Junius," Lord Mansfield directed the jury in his summing up "that the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of." And in some after proceedings, arising out of the verdict, which declared the defendant "guilty of printing and publishing only," the same judge, in delivering the opinion of the court, reasserted in terms ampler, and, if possible, yet more explicit, his former construction of the law. His words are: "That the law as to the subject-matter of the verdict is as I have stated, has been so often unanimously agreed to by the whole court upon every report I have made of a trial for a libel, that it would be improper to make it a question now in this place. Amongst those that concurred the bar will recollect the dead and the living not now here. And we all again declare our opinion that the direction is right and according to law." In the trial of Miller, for republishing the same paper for which Woodfall had been prosecuted, Lord Mansfield directed the jury in the following terms: "If you find the defendant not guilty, you find that he did not print or publish as set forth; if you find him guilty, you find that he did print and publish a paper of the tenor and meaning set forth in the indictment. Your verdict finally establishes that fact; but you do not by that verdict find whether that production was legal or illegal." His lordship's doctrine, as laid down in these trials, formed the subject of severe animadversion in both Houses. In the debate on 5th December, 1770, arising out of the exclusion of Wilkes from his place in the House of Commons, Lord Chatham said: "If I conceive the noble lord on the woolsack right, or have been rightly informed by the public prints, from which, I candidly confess, I originally derived my information on this subject, the doctrine of the King's Bench is, that a libel, or not a libel, is a question of law to be decided only by the court, and the sole power of the jury is to determine upon the fact of printing and publishing. This, my lords, I understand to be the noble lord's opinion; but this I never understood to be the law of England. On the contrary, I have always understood that the jury were competent judges of the law as well as of fact; and, indeed, if they are not, I can see no essential benefit from their institution to society." Lord Camden held the same view. With reference to the judgment in the case of the king against Woodfall, he bluntly declared his utter dissent from Lord Mansfield: "In direct contradiction to him, I maintain that his doctrine is not the law of England." In 1784 the dean of St. Asaph was prosecuted for libel. He had published a tract written by Sir. W. Jones, entitled a "Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer," in which the administration of public affairs was handled with a freedom that the crown lawyers held to be libellous. It was urged by Erskine for the defence, that the jury had the right of declaring whether the tract was a libel or not; and, secondly, that the publication of the tract by the defendant, without any criminal intent, was not libel. The verdict ultimately brought in, after a warm altercation between the judge and the counsel for the defence as to the terms in which the jury could record their finding, was, "that the dean was guilty of publishing, but whether it was a libel or not they did not find." These and similar cases paved the way for Fox's Libel Bill, which became law three years after the period now under review. Under the Act of 1792, libel is that, and that only, which twelve jurors pronounce on oath to be libel; in technical phrase, the jury have the right to find a general verdict upon the whole matter. The judge explains the law, but his direction to the jury is not final, conclusive, or binding upon them; it still remains their duty to determine whether the accused has violated the law. The law does all it can in defining the offence of libel, but it leaves the application of general rules for a jury, guided, but not governed, by the skilful direction of the judge. A time-serving judge is thus effectually checked in any attempts to strain the application of the law.

It was in this period that the national debt began to assume a formidable character. The contraction of that debt cannot be said to have commenced before the Revolution. The English monarchy, it is true, had from a remote date borrowed money upon emergencies, but those ancient loans had been repaid out of the revenues of the crown. Our national debt, properly so called, commenced with the loan of one million sterling in the fourth year of the reign of William III. A bill for the loan of that sum passed both Houses almost without dissent, the principle being popular with all parties. With the Revolution came an expensive war, and the nation had to support the choice it had made of a sovereign by sacrifices of every kind. In this situation government resorted to that system of public credit which had already been adopted with success in Holland and in Venice. The scheme was in high favour with moneyed men, who were glad of an opportunity of investing what they had hoarded in the Bank of England—then first established—at eight or ten per cent. interest; and landowners hard pressed by the load of taxation were willing to consent to anything which would afford them present relief. By this law new duties were imposed on beer and other liquors, which duties were to be kept separate from all other receipts, and were to form a fund for the payment of the interest. At first, parliament endeavoured to avoid the burthening future generations for the exigencies of the present moment by a system of life annuities, which were to be granted for lives and terms of years, and not in perpetuity. The expensiveness of the wars, however, in which the nation was engaged at the end of the seventeenth century, made it necessary to incur debts beyond the means of prompt redemption. The debt rapidly increased. At the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, it amounted to twenty-one and a half millions. During the next ten years it was reduced to little more than sixteen millions, and great efforts were made to raise money without imposing any lasting burthen upon the people. But these efforts proved abortive. At the accession of George I. the debt had accumulated to forty-four millions. To reduce that amount, Sir Robert Walpole instituted a sinking fund, of which great hopes were entertained, and his scheme was so far successful as partially to reduce the debt. However, in 1739, the Spanish war commenced, which resulted in increasing the capital of the debt to about seventy-eight millions. That war ended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. During the next few years some reduction was made, but at the breaking out of the Seven Years' war in 1756, the debt still amounted to seventy-five millions; and when that war was ended by the peace of Paris in 1763, the debt had reached one hundred and thirty-nine millions, the annual charge on which was four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Macaulay well remarks that "if the most enlightened man had been told in 1792, that, in 1815, the interest on eight hundred millions would be duly paid at the Bank, he would have been as hard of belief as if he had been told that the government would be in the possession of the lamp of Aladdin or of the purse of Fortunatus. It was in truth a gigantic, a fabulous debt; and we can hardly wonder that the cry of despair should have been louder than ever. But again that cry was found to have been as unreasonable as ever. After a few years of exhaustion, England recovered herself. Yet, like Addison's valetudinarian, who continued to whimper that he was dying of consumption, till he became so fat that he was shamed into silence, she went on complaining that she was sunk in poverty, till her wealth showed itself by tokens which made her complaints ridiculous. The beggared, the bankrupt society not only proved able to meet all obligations, but while meeting those obligations grew richer and richer so fast, that the growth could almost be discerned by the eye. . . . It may be now affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that we find it as easy to pay the interest of eight hundred millions as our ancestors found it, a century ago, to pay the interest of eighty millions." As Earl Russell remarks, we have not at present any reason to fear national bankruptcy or national ruin; but we should not for this reason undervalue the evil of a great national debt.

CHAPTER III.

History of Religion from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1789.

It has been seen in the preceding chapter on religion, that Convocation, which reassembled in 1701, continued its sittings till 1717, the third year of the reign of George I., when its proceedings were stopped by a royal prorogation. The immediate cause of its prorogation appears to have been a violent attack upon the doctrines of Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, whom the king on his accession made one of his chaplains, and whom he subsequently appointed to the bishopric of Bangor. His appointment to the bishopric of Bangor was the commencement of a long course of professional prosperity, for he wore in succession the mitres of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, of which last diocese he was bishop twenty-seven years, not dying till the first year of the reign of George III.

It was while bishop of Bangor that he more earnestly engaged in the defence of those principles he had promulgated as rector of St. Peter's Poor, London. He enunciated them particularly in a book entitled, "A preservative against the principles and practices of the nonjurors," and in a sermon which he printed from the text, "My kingdom is not of this world." Out of this latter publication, especially, arose the celebrated Bangorian controversy, one of the most remarkable in the history of the Protestant church in England. It drew down upon its author a host of adversaries. The Lower House of Convocation rose in arms against the offending prelate. Hallam writes: "After turning over some forty or fifty tracts, and consuming a good many hours on the Bangorian controversy, I should find some difficulty in stating with precision the propositions in dispute. There was nothing whatever in Hoadley's sermon injurious to the established endowments and privileges, nor to the discipline and government of the English Church, even in theory. If this had been the case, he might be reproached with some inconsistency in becoming so large a partaker of her honours and emoluments. He even admitted the usefulness of censures for open immoralities, though denying all church authority to oblige any one to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God. Another great question in this controversy was that of religious liberty as a civil right, which the convocation explicitly denied. Another related to the much debated exercise of private judgment in religion, which, as one party meant virtually to take away, so the other perhaps unreasonably exaggerated. Some other disputes arose in the course of the combat, particularly the delicate problem of the value of sincerity as a plea for material errors." Hoadley appears to have had a twofold advantage over his numerous opponents—in his superior clear-sightedness and logical dexterity, and in his absolute control over his temper. The controversy, which continued long after the Convocation had been prorogued, resulted greatly in favour of the celebrated advocate of what were called Low Church principles.

Controversy in matters of religion was one of the peculiar characteristics of this period. One of the most noted writers—who called up opponents as it were "from the vasty deep"—was, next to Hoadley, Dr. Samuel Clarke. The name of Clarke could not, it is said, have been pronounced in his day in any mixed company of intelligent men without at once rousing warm friends and equally bitter enemies. His life was fruitful in controversy. His works on philosophy and religion were numerous, and almost every one raised up its own particular set of opponents.

While learned and able divines were thus spending their lives in almost fruitless controversies, there was an obscure student at Lincoln College, Oxford, who was preparing himself to work out a mighty change in the religion of England. Lincoln College is considered almost a holy place by a great body of the people of England, who care but little about universities or colleges, for there it was that John Wesley laid the foundation of that schism in the church called "Methodism," which more than any other religious movement on record has resulted in practical godliness in the great heart of society.

Owing in a great measure to the writings of latitudinarian divines originally, and of those of this period—as Locke, Addison, Burnet, Hoadley, Clarke, Whiston, and others—there was a growing indifference to the doctrines of the church. They were as dry bones without life. If any one had asked, "Can these bones live?" human reason would have replied in the negative. But not so thought John Wesley, with whom was associated a little knot of pious companions in the University of Oxford, the most conspicuous among whom were his brother Charles, Hervey, the author of "Meditations in a Churchyard," and the still more notable George Whitefield.

The Wesleys were the sons of a country clergyman, who held a living at Epworth, in Leicestershire, a part of the kingdom where at that time the inhabitants were peculiarly rude and uninformed. Wesley the elder had been educated among dissenters, but appears to have been one of the few among that body who conformed to the church in the reign of King William. At the age of seventeen John Wesley went from the Charter House, where he was educated, to Christ Church, Oxford. According to his biographers, Coke and Moore, having taken his degree of B.A., he was elected fellow of Lincoln College in 1724, and in the succeeding year was ordained by Potter, then bishop of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Southey, however, says, that he was not elected to his fellowship till the spring of 1726, and that towards the close of that year he was appointed Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes. Be that as it may, soon after he was ordained, he went to officiate as curate to his father at Wroote—for the elder Wesley was a pluralist—where he resided, according to Southey, about two years. While at Wroote he received priest's orders from the same prelate by whom he had been ordained deacon. In consequence of a regulation that such of the junior fellows as were chosen moderators should perform the duties of their office in person, Wesley was summoned back to college at the close of the year 1728. At that time Charles Wesley, his younger brother, was at Christ Church, and was one of a small association of religious students whose pursuits and views may be gathered from the opprobrious epithets showered upon them by the great mass of their fellow-students.

When John Wesley joined his brother and his pious companions, they placed themselves under his direction. Their meetings now acquired more form and regularity, and obtained an accession of numbers. His standing and character in the university gave him a degree of credit, and his erudition, keen logic, and ready speech, commanded respect wherever he was known. Under John Wesley's management of this little society, its numbers increased to twenty-seven, and among them was George Whitefield, who became the founder of one of the two great divisions of the sect called Methodists. In 1735, with his brother Charles and Mr. Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia, he embarked for America. On board the same vessel there was a party of Moravians, going to join their brethren who had gone out the preceding year under the sanction of the British government. On arriving at the Savannah the brothers separated. Charles went with Benjamin Ingham, who was one of the Oxford Society, to Frederica, and John took up his lodgings with the Moravian brethren at Savannah. A door was opened to him in the whole Moravian Church. For a time, his ministry was acceptable to his congregations. Crowds flocked to hear him preach, and his preaching was not in vain. The field for usefulness seemed so wide and promising, that he invited Whitefield over to Georgia to assist him in his labours. But soon a change took place in the sentiments of the colonists towards John Wesley: a change which arose from his attachment to rigid and impracticable discipline. In opposition to the practice of the English Church, he insisted upon following the rubric. He baptized children by immersion; refused persons to stand sponsors unless they were communicants; refused to administer the sacrament to a pious dissenter, unless he would submit to be re-baptized; and would not read the burial service over another upon the same principles. For these and other reasons a spirit of persecution was invoked against the once popular preacher, and John Wesley in 1738 returned to England.

As one vessel was bringing Wesley home to his native land, it was passed by another, which was bearing Whitefield to his deserted post in Georgia. Whitefield had been ordained deacon by Benson, bishop of Gloucester, in 1736, and from the commencement of his ministry his preaching made an extraordinary impression upon his hearers. It was not so much from the novelty of his doctrine that this impression was made, as from the manner in which it was delivered. His earnestness and passionate enthusiasm formed a striking contrast to the cold and lifeless mode of preaching by the great body of the clergy at that period. His whole soul was in his work. His voice, his action, and his language, gave the greatest effect to the sermons he delivered. His voice was so powerful, that it is affirmed it could be heard at the distance of a mile; and yet it was so flexible, that it was capable of taking every variety of emotion. But whether it was poured forth in thunder, or in tones soft as the strains of music, it made its way to the heart with irresistible force and effect.

It was on the reunion of Wesley and Whitefield that the course of preaching commenced which established Methodism as a popular faith. They were still in the communion of the Established Church, in which they had been bred. But the pulpit was soon shut against their ministrations. To preach in the open air was an offence and a stumbling-block to the clergy of the establishment. Whitefield first set the example. In the afternoon of Saturday, the 17th of February, 1739, he preached on Hamram Mount at Rose Green to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol. Soon afterwards he preached in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and on Blackheath, whither crowds repaired to hear him. In this course he was speedily followed by Wesley. In truth, if they preached at all, they were under the necessity of preaching under the canopy of heaven. Both Wesley and Whitefield were excluded by this time from nearly all the pulpits of the Established Church.

For a brief period the two fathers of Methodism acted in concert. But their union, after their complete separation from the communion of the Church of England, was not of long duration. In 1741 they quarrelled and divided. The breach has been attributed to Wesley's love of power and aversion to equality and brotherhood, but it would rather appear that Whitefield was the aggressor. At all events, he it was who first came forward as the public opponent of Wesley. Their differences arose on doctrinal points.

Whitefield's career, however, was essentially the same as that of Wesley, varied only in its details. He made it his general rule to travel through England and Scotland yearly, and occasionally he made a voyage to America to look after the orphan school he had founded in Georgia. Nor was Ireland forgotten by Whitefield. In 1751 he visited Dublin, where he preached to large and attentive congregations, and where his labours were, as in England, Scotland, and America, very useful. But Whitefield's form of

Methodism did not flourish like that of his co-worker, Wesley. It did not spread among the mass of the population to the same extent as Wesleyanism. For a time he sowed the seeds of Methodism in a different soil: a soil in which they were choked by the pleasures of the world. It took no abiding root in the upper regions of society; but to the lower classes it was a life-giving power. The great glory of Methodism is this: that its founders were the awakeners, civilizers, and guardians of the poor at a time when no other body of religionists took any particular trouble about their temporal or eternal interests. And this they did despite the persecutions to which they were subjected. For as it was in the beginning of Christianity, so it was in the early days of Methodism: "the sect was everywhere spoken against." Wesley had often to brave the rage of the multitude in his labours; and Whitefield, the preacher admired by some among the highest circles both of rank and literature, was the object of the world's contumely.

During this period there were several secessions from the Church of Scotland. The most important is that which originated in the resistance and protest made against a decision of the General Assembly in 1732, by four ministers who had been called to an account for boldly inveighing against the arbitrary enforcement of the law of patronage; or the settlement of ministers by the directors and elders of the parish in opposition to the wishes of the people. These four ministers were Mr. Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, Mr. William Wilson of Perth, Mr. Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, and Mr. Fisher of Kinclaven. They protested against the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly, and refusing to withdraw their protest they were declared to be no longer ministers of the Church, on which they constituted themselves into a presbytery, which was afterwards known by the name of the Associate Presbytery. Erskine and his three ejected brethren published reasons for their secession, which appear to have been of a weighty character. At all events, the General Assembly which met in May, 1734, rescinded the act of 1732, and empowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling to invite the four brethren to return to the communion of the Church, and to restore them to their respective charges. But it was too late. The Synod by a vote declared them to be reinstated to their office, but they resolved to remain in a state of separation till they were fully convinced that the Church would for the future act agreeably to their views; in other words, that succeeding assemblies would proceed in the desired reformation. If they had any hopes that this would be the case they were soon undeceived. The two next assemblies, so far from proceeding in the reformation, actually confirmed all the grounds of the secession; and accordingly, in December, 1736, the brethren published a "Declaration and Testimony," in vindication of their formal and final secession. During the next two years, four other ministers joined the Associate Presbytery, and the seceders having declined to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the existing judicatories of the National Church when cited to appear before the Assembly, were in 1740 deposed from the ministerial office and cast out of the Church. But notwithstanding the reproach which their secession incurred, their numbers rapidly increased. In 1744, the Associate Presbytery consisted of about thirty ministers; and in 1745, these ministers having divided themselves into three presbyteries, met for the first time as an Associate Synod at Stirling. Scarcely, however, had the Secession Church thus been set up, than it was rent in twain by a violent difference of opinion among its members. At their very first meeting a dispute arose as to the lawfulness of taking the burgess oath, at that time exacted in several of the royal boroughs. The oath in question ran as follows:—"Here I protest before God and your lordships that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof. I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." One section of the Associate Synod, who became known as Burghers, contended that there was no inconsistency in taking this oath, because notwithstanding all faults in its profession and settlement, the religion established in Scotland was the true religion. The other section, afterwards called Antiburghers, as warmly contended that the oath involved an approval of the corruptions against which they had protested, and that it could not be taken without a renunciation of their testimony. This dispute led, in 1747, to an open rupture. Each party claimed to itself the constitution, powers, and name of the Associate Synod, and followed up its claims by judicial proceedings against the other, which tended to widen the separation, and to extinguish every hope of reconciliation. For seventy-three years, indeed, the schism was obstinately maintained by the two Synods; nor was the breach healed till the year 1820, when the burgess oath was abolished, and the two bodies of seceders, which had greatly multiplied in every part of the kingdom, as well as in Ireland and America, reunited under the denomination of "The United Associate Synod of the Secession Church."

Another secession from the Established Church of Scotland, of inferior importance, took place anterior to the date of the Secession Church. This was occasioned by the expulsion of Mr. John Glas, minister of the parish of Tealing, near Dundee, for avowing notions of justifying faith, differing from Presbyterian doctrines, and for his views of church government, which were at variance with those of the Presbytery. Mr. Glas was prosecuted before the Synod of Angus and Mearns, and ultimately deposed by the General Assembly in 1730. His principles were embraced by Robert Sandeman, who, in 1757, published them with some peculiar views of his own in "Letters on Theron and Aspasia," under the signature of Palaemon. Sandeman came to England in the year 1760, where he formed a sect which is denominated Sandemanian, but in Scotland the members of this communion are called Glassites. Their strict and peculiar discipline has prevented the Sandemanians in England and the Glassites in Scotland from being at any time very numerous. Another body of Scottish dissenters, known under the name of the

Relief Church, or the Synod of Relief, date their existence from the year 1752. The origin of this schism was the unjust treatment of the Rev. Mr. Gillespie, one of the most inoffensive, upright, zealous, and pious men of his age. He was a man of enlarged views in matters of religion. Those views are embodied in this fundamental tenet of the principles of the Relief Synod: "That it is agreeable to the principles of the Synod of Relief to hold communion with visible saints in the Episcopalian and Independent Churches." These enlightened views were widely embraced by the Scottish nation. In 1740 eight ministers were deposed by the General Assembly for embracing them, and the late Sir Henry Moncrieff—himself a clergyman of the Scottish establishment, who bears honourable testimony to the character of the dissenting bodies in that kingdom—computed that from the congregations of these eight deposed ministers there had risen up nearly three hundred and sixty seceding meetings, containing about a fifth part of the population of Scotland. Apart from all these sections of the religious community of Scotland there was a small body of Presbyterians—which still exists under the appellation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church—who dissented from the Revolution settlement of Church and State. These were the Cameronians or Covenanters, of whom, in 1726, Ker of Kersland gives the following account: "The Cameronians affect that form of church government established in the year 1648, when Presbytery was at its greatest height, dissenting from the indulgence granted by King Charles II., the toleration granted by James VII., and the present Revolution establishment. They are governed by a general quarterly meeting, composed of two commissioners deputed from each county and town where they live; and whatever is concluded at this meeting is a general rule to the whole. They are closer in their deliberations than the other parties are; for whatever comes before them is disputed and concluded with the profoundest secrecy and expedition; for the Cameronians are always ready under their proper officers well appointed, and when it is found at their general meeting to be their duty, can assemble upon the least notice given them; so that though they be the fewest in number, yet they are in effect the most considerable of the three; for the commonalty of the Presbyterians, who have a wonderful opinion of their piety and virtue, always readily join with them in anything that concerns the public, which the Cameronians encourage and allow, but do not permit them to be members of their societies, or to bear any part in the conduct of their affairs. They continue to preach in the fields, as they did in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., when the persecution was hot against them; still retaining the doctrine of resistance and self-defence, which they never fail to put in practice when violence is offered, or when in the least disturbed in their worship, at their meetings or their conventicles or elsewhere, by any sort of governors or governments whatsoever."

The years between the accession of George III. and the French Revolution were marked by a revival of religious zeal among all the communions, established and dissenting, in Great Britain. There was a contagious influence in the marvellous earnestness and energy of Wesley and his fellow-labourer Whitefield, that passed eventually beyond the limits of their own following. First the older sects of English nonconformists, and then, though more slowly, the established church, grew alive to the need of more earnest ministrations in order to retain a hold on congregations that were rapidly drifting into new folds. In Ireland the clergy of the established church continued to officiate in almost empty parish churches, while the mass of the people adhered to their ancient faith and attended mass in their chapels. The temper of the educated English had now grown more tolerant of divergences in matters of religious faith. Working on this basis, several advanced politicians occupied themselves in earnest efforts, not without a large measure of success, to break down old statutory restraints on liberty of conscience, and to remove civil disabilities attaching to nonconformity with the established church. Bit by bit the process went on, at irregular intervals, not under any comprehensive scheme of religious liberty, but by attacks in detail, as the circumstances of the day seemed favourable, on points that pressed most for redress. Now an onset was made on some oppressive penalty, and now a movement for the abolition of a disqualification or disabilty for secular employment on the score of religious faith. We take account in this chapter of such grievances only as claimed redress between the opening and the middle of George III.'s reign.

Under the Toleration Act dissenting preachers and teachers were obliged, as the condition of their license to preach or teach, to make a certain confession of faith and doctrine, taken from the articles of the established church. New forms of dissent had grown up, to which the prescribed confession formed a barrier. After two unsuccessful attempts in earlier years, a measure for the further relief of Protestant dissenters received the sanction of both Houses in 1779, from which time dissenting ministers and schoolmasters were enabled to follow their vocation without expressing concurrence in any of the thirty-nine articles; but in lieu of the old form of subscription, they were to make a declaration that they accepted Holy Scripture as their rule of faith and practice. In the same year the Protestant dissenters in Ireland gained the right of admission to civil and military employments, from which they had before been shut out by the Test and Corporation Acts, which reserved to communicants of the established church almost every office of trust or emolument in the service of the state. Nearly half a century passed away before a similar measure could be carried for the kingdom at large. In Ireland the concession was less the fruit of enlightened liberality than the price paid to Protestant dissenters for their co-operation with the establishment in upholding the policy of repression of the Catholics. The growing enlightenment of the time found expression in a measure for the relief of the English Catholics from the penal laws still in force against them, though very rarely put in motion. The bigotry of a zealot or the avarice of an informer had recently brought about the prosecution of several priests for saying mass. As the law then stood, imprisonment for life was the penalty affixed to this offence. One of the priests was convicted and sent to jail, to the disgust of all but a few intolerant bigots. The king had misgivings as to his power of granting a pardon, but ministers ventured on the responsibility. To avoid the repetition of such a scandal, a bill was now passed repealing the Act of 1700, thereby leaving priests at liberty to discharge their functions, and restoring to Catholics the liberty to acquire landed property by purchase, and to educate their children abroad, without forfeiture of their inheritance. This bill applied to England only, but notice was given that a similar measure would be brought forward next year for extending corresponding indulgence to Catholics in Scotland. This announcement awoke the slumbering Puritan fanatics of the northern kingdom, who quickly raised a storm of indignation and alarm. Under the incitement of inflammatory harangues, the mob in Edinburgh destroyed two Roman Catholic chapels and some dwellings belonging to members of the obnoxious faith. In Glasgow and other places similar riotous demonstrations gave warning that the time had not yet come for the contemplated relaxation, which accordingly was deferred. The success of these riotous ebullitions in the chief cities of Scotland, in arresting the repeal of penal statutes against Catholics, suggested to some religious bigots in London that similar outrages would frighten the government into an abandonment of the late concessions to English Catholics. A Scotch fanatic, the notorious Lord George Gordon, took the lead in a series of "No Popery" demonstrations, which quickly grew into furious riots. Under the mask of religious zeal all the rascaldom of the metropolis was launched against buildings dedicated to the obnoxious worship, and the burnings and plunderings were not limited to chapels. Many hundreds of rioters were shot down by the soldiery in quelling this insensate opposition to the repeal of a persecuting statute. Sober men of all parties would have gone great lengths at this time in redressing all the grievances of the Catholics throughout the British empire, but even the Catholics themselves preferred to await the growth of more tolerant views in the mass of their fellow-countrymen.

In 1787, and again in 1789, the English nonconformists made strenuous efforts to secure the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. They had stood by Pitt, and contributed to his large electoral triumphs in a recent appeal to the constituencies, and they counted, not without reason, on securing his co-operation with the earnest champions of toleration who were pledged to fight their battle. Mr. Beaufoy introduced the bill on each occasion in an admirable speech, replete with forcible arguments proving that no danger to the state could be apprehended from the admission of nonconformists to office. He dwelt on their loyal adhesion to the reigning family through that trying crisis when the high church party, who now opposed their claims, were active in promoting rebellion. When the Pretender marched into the heart of England, the English dissenters bore a prominent part in confronting the danger that threatened the existing government. Instead of receiving the rewards meet for loyal adherents, the nonconformists had to take shelter under an Act of Indemnity from the penalties and proscriptions fixed by the Test Act on soldiers whose orthodoxy was unvouched by participation in the sacrament in the mode laid down in the liturgy of the established church. The exclusion of dissenters was not limited to government employments and municipal offices; it extended also to membership in the chartered companies, such as the board of governors of the Bank of England, and the directors of the East India Company. In Ireland the dissenters had enjoyed for seven years the privilege now sought on behalf of their fellow-subjects in England, and no harm or danger to the church or state had followed the concession there. In Scotland no Test Act had been found needful to protect the established church. It was a profanation of the holy sacrament to exact it in any form as a test for secular employments, and the Indemnity Act, passed every year to excuse previous infractions of the religious obligation, was but a clumsy and dishonest substitute for a full and free measure of equality between all forms of religious faith in claims to offices and employments. Lord North, the champion of old-fashioned Toryism in church and state, resisted the motion on the flimsy ground that the Test Act was "the great bulwark of the constitution, to which we owed those inestimable blessings of freedom which we now happily enjoyed." Pitt, despite his known elevation above the narrow prejudices which favoured the continuance of penal laws against all outside the pale of the establishment, was constrained by his deference to the king and the episcopal bench to argue against his convictions. He insisted that it was the duty of the state to uphold the established church, and among the means of carrying out that duty, it might justly decline to employ those who belonged to other religious communions. Fox protested that the state was concerned rather with the actions than the opinions of those in its service, yet the dissenters were frowned down by the state, not for their actions, which were confessedly loyal, but for their tenets in matters of religious faith and practice, which no one thought dangerous to the state. It might be objected that the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts would enable nonconformists to obtain a majority in local and imperial representation. Without thinking this likely, he held that "if a majority of the people of England should ever be for the abolition of the established church, in such a case the abolition ought immediately to follow." This conclusion, however unpalatable to an extreme section of the church, is not one that would be gainsaid in our times. It is, moreover, in harmony with the views of Paley, one of the most learned and able upholders of the church, who, in his "Moral and Political Philosophy," frankly admits that, "If the dissenters from the establishment become a majority of the people, the establishment itself ought to be altered or qualified." The bill was rejected by a majority of twenty, and the question was not resumed within the limits of time with which this section is concerned. The scepticism which Hume, Gibbon, and other philosophical writers had made fashionable in the opening years of the reign of George III., received no countenance in good society from the middle of the reign onwards, when the French revolution was thundering forth its notes of warning against the teachings of infidelity.

The question of subscription to the thirty-nine articles, before admission to the universities, and before the issuing of degrees, formed the subject of a petition to parliament and an interesting debate in the Commons in the year 1772. It was urged that this test shut out dissenters from the higher education of the country, and by that means narrowed their chances of success in any of the liberal professions. In answer to the customary objections that any relaxation in existing practice would open a door to the entry of sectaries into the church, Sir G. Savile offered the cutting rejoinder: "Sectaries, sir! had it not been for sectaries, this cause had been tried at Rome. Thank God, it is tried here." No immediate result came of this debate, but the subject was resumed in following sessions.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of Literature, Science, and Art, from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1789.

The history of literature during the period immediately succeeding the accession of George I. presents no marked features from that of the preceding age. Some of those writers who adorned the reigns of William and Anne still survived to adorn that of George I., and, in a few instances, that of the second of the Georges. Three of the most noted, however, Doctor Gilbert Burnet, Dr. South, and Addison, did not long survive the death of Anne. Burnet died in 1715, leaving the "History of his own Time" in MS.; Dr. South in 1716; and Addison in 1719. Parnell, too, died in 1717, and Prior in 1721. Swift lived till 1745, having survived Gay and Arbuthnot, whom he numbered among those in his verses on his own death who would most mourn over him. Gay, who is chiefly remembered for his "Beggar's Opera," his "Fables," and his mock heroic poem of "Trivia," died in 1732, and Arbuthnot in 1735. It was during the reign of George I. that Swift produced two of his most clebrated works, his "Drapier's Letters," in 1724, and his "Gulliver's Travels," in 1727. His poem of "Cadenus and Vanessa" appeared in 1723, and his "Polite Conversation" in 1738. At his death Swift left behind him a "History of the four last years of Queen Anne," his "Direction for Servants," a "Diary written to Stella," and other minor pieces in prose and verse which were afterwards published. Swift's genius and writings are thus graphically described by Pope:—

> "Whatever title please thine ear,
> Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!
> Whether thou choose Cervantes' serious air,
> Or laugh and shake in Rabelais' easy chair,
> Or praise the court, or magnify mankind,
> Or thy grieved country's copper chains unbind."

Pope, as seen in a previous chapter, commenced his literary career in the reign of Queen Anne, but his works chiefly belong to this period. Atterbury, the bishop of Rochester, who, as before mentioned, was the principal author of the reply to Bentley's "Dissertation on Phalaris," was outlawed in 1722, having previously been chiefly engaged as regards literature in the professional controversies of the day. He died in exile in 1731. Bentley's "Dissertation," which gave rise to the famous controversy called the Battle of the Books, was published in 1695, but he lived till 1742, during which period he rendered considerable service to literature by his various editions of classical works, the best of which are those of Horace and Terence. One of the most considerable writers of his time was Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who was born in 1671, and died in 1751. His collected works consist of five quarto volumes, exclusive of his letters; but as their subject matter appertains chiefly to the temporary politics of the day, his writings, with few exceptions, have now lost much of their interest. The most popular are his "Letters on the Study and Use of History," which will long retain a place in our standard literature for their style, as well as for their great merit as instructive compositions.

Such were the principal labourers in the field of literature, whose pens were employed before and subsequent to the accession of the house of Hanover to the British throne. Those who followed them now require notice. And first the theologians of this period, among whom may be numbered Warburton, Hoadley, Butler, Middleton, Secker, and Watts. Warburton, who was born in 1691, lived till the ninth year of the reign of George III., 1769; but his works, which are numerous, were mostly produced before that epoch. According to Dr. Johnson, he began to make his appearance in the first ranks of learning about the year 1738, in which year appeared his "Divine Legation of Moses." Johnson says that he "brought to every work a memory full fraught, together with a fancy fertile of original combinations, and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit." The fame of Warburton, who became bishop of Gloucester in 1760, chiefly rests on his "Divine Legation of Moses;" but most of his other writings are still appreciated. His contemporary, Benjamin Hoadley, was born in 1676, and was first known as a writer in a controversy with Dr. Atterbury on points of doctrine. At the accession of George I. he was made bishop of Bangor, in which capacity he preached a sermon from the text, "My kingdom is not of this world," which gave rise to the celebrated "Bangorian controversy." Hoadley became bishop of Winchester in 1734, which see he held when he died in 1761. His writings, like Warburton's, are numerous, and well worthy of attention. Conyers Middleton, a distinguished divine of this age, was born in 1683, and died in 1750. Middleton's theological writings were chiefly of a controversial character. His most celebrated work is "The History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero," which was published in 1741, and which is written, like all his other works, in a pleasing and perspicuous style and great originality. Secker, who was born in 1693, died in 1768, was successively bishop of Bristol and Oxford, and finally, in 1758, he became archbishop of Canterbury. He was a most learned divine, as his writings abundantly testify. Every sentence in them is calculated to improve the heart, which should be the primary aim of every writer of divinity. Dr. Isaac Watts, who was a divine and poet of great celebrity, was born in 1674, and died in 1748. Watts was one of the most eminent nonconformists of this age. As a preacher he was very popular among his own persuasion; and as a writer he occupied a high rank in sacred literature. His work on "The Improvement of the Mind" is one of the best publications in the English language; and his catechisms and sermons are to the present day extensively read and approved. It has been justly said of him that "he has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons, to the enlightened reader of Malebranche and Locke." Dr. Philip Doddridge, another eminent nonconformist divine, was born in 1702, and died in 1751. He was one of the most learned and amiable of the dissenting body. He was the author of many valuable works, but his fame rests principally on "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," which is a body of practical divinity and Christian experience, and "The Family Expositor," on which critics and scholars, and Christians of every denomination have set their seal of approval. Among other writers of divinity may be mentioned Thomas Stackhouse, vicar of Beenham-Vallence, Berkshire, who died in 1752, leaving behind him "Sermons" and other works, which are still highly esteemed; and James Hervey, incumbent of Weston Favell, Northamptonshire, who died in 1758, and whose chief works are "Meditations among the Tombs," and "Theron and Aspasia," which, though florid in style, contain sentiments calculated to improve the heart.

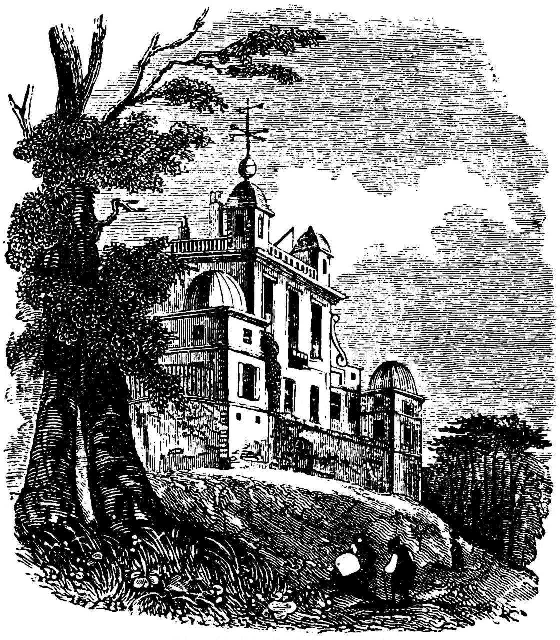
In lighter literature the most eminent, who succeeded the wits of the reign of Queen Anne and the earlier part of the reigns of the Georges, were Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, and Samuel Richardson. Defoe was the greatest writer of prose fiction of whom the Whigs had to boast as a partisan. But Defoe's literary renown does not rest on his political writings. They were penned in earlier life for a temporary purpose, or on particular occasions, and although some of them still retain a considerable value, such as the "History of the Union," the greater portion of them possess no interest to the modern reader. It was in later life that Defoe rendered his name immortal as a writer of fiction. He was born in 1661, but it was not till the year 1719 that his first novel was issued from the press. This was the world-famous novel entitled "Robinson Crusoe," a story which has never been exceeded in popularity. This novel was followed by a succession of works in fiction from the pen of Defoe; some of which still rank high in that department of literature, both in England and in translations throughout Europe. The most popular are "Captain Singleton," published in 1720; "Moll Flanders," in 1721; "The History of Colonel Jack," in 1722; "The Fortunate Mistress," in 1724; the "New Voyage round the World," in 1725; and the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," in 1728. Besides these, Defoe wrote "The History of the Plague," which is still popular, and about twenty miscellaneous works in the interval of the publication of "Robinson Crusoe" to the time of his death, in 1731. Henry Fielding, who has been justly styled the father of the English novel, was born in 1707. His two principal novels are those of "Joseph Andrews" and "Tom Jones." Fielding's other novels were "Jonathan Wild," and "Amelia," which was his last important work. He died in 1754. Samuel Richardson, who has been termed the inventor of the modern English novel, was born in 1689. He first became author in 1740, in which year the first part of his "Pamela" was published. This was soon followed by the second part, which was very unequal in merit to its predecessor. His "History of Clarissa Harlowe," however, which was published in 1748, raised his reputation as a novelist to the highest point. It acquired for him a name not only in England, but in Europe. It was translated into the French and German languages; a rare occurrence in literature at that period. Richardson's last great work, his "History of Sir Charles Grandison," appeared in 1753, which displays great dramatic genius, but which on the whole is inferior in merit to the first part of "Pamela," and especially of the greatest of his novels, "Clarissa." Richardson died in 1761. Another celebrated writer in the lighter literature of this period commenced his career towards the close of the reign of George II. This was Laurence Sterne, who was born at Clonmel, in Ireland, in 1713, and who died in 1768. Sterne entered the Church, and became a prebendary in York Cathedral, but his writings ill accord with his clerical character. He published some sermons, which are said to have been excellent: two of these sermons—"The case of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath," and "The Abuse of Conscience"—were republished in his "Tristram Shandy," the first two volumes of which appeared in 1759, and are more celebrated for their wit and humour than for their theology. Sterne's fame rests on his "Tristram Shandy" and his "Sentimental Journey."

Poetry.—At the accession of George I. Pope occupied the throne of poetry, as the legitimate successor of Dryden. Pope, who "lisped in numbers," and could not himself tell when he began to make rhymes, was born in 1688. He published verses when he was only fourteen years of age, but it was not till 1712, on the publication of his celebrated work, "The Rape of the Lock," that it became fully known that there was a great poet in the land. That work was occasioned by a frolic of gallantry, and it has been termed the most ingenious and the most delightful of all his compositions. In the year preceding the publication of "The Rape of the Lock" he had published his "Essay on Criticism," which ranks among the best of his works. The greater part of his most celebrated poems, however, were published during the reigns of the first two Georges. These were his well-known translations of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, his Eclogues, his Satires, and his moral Epistles. The "Dunciad," which is a grand satire upon many of the remarkable characteristics of the poet's age, was one of his latest compositions. It was not completed till 1742, just two years before he died at his house at Twickenham.

At that time a constellation of poets, consisting of stars of greater or lesser magnitude, shone, or was dawning in the region of English literature. James Thomson, who was born in 1700, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh, is one of the most brilliant stars in that poetic constellation. His most celebrated works are his "Seasons," his poem on "Liberty," and his "Castle of Indolence." His vivid descriptions of natural scenery in the "Seasons" will ever make it a popular poem, in spite of its cumbrous diction and occasionally harsh versification. "The Castle of Indolence" is perhaps his best sustained effort, as on the whole it has fewer defects than the "Seasons." Some of the stanzas, and especially in the first canto, "fill the mind with lazy luxury." Thomson died in 1748. Two years before Robert Blair died, the author of several poems, the most noted of which is "The Grave," which contains many splendid passages, which shine out with peculiar lustre from among other passages of inferior merit. One of the finest lyric poets in the English language is William Collins, who was born in 1720, and died in 1756. His Odes are generally regarded as the best that have appeared in England. They unite vigour of conception, bold and varied imagery, with great warmth of feeling. Of a kindred spirit to Collins was Thomas Gray, who was born in 1716, and died in 1771. Both were devoted to classical literature, and both took high rank among the poets of their age. Gray's principal poetry is his Elegy and his Odes. After Milton, Gray has been pronounced the most learned poet in England. Beattie declared him to be of all the English poets of that age the most admired; but Beattie confined his fame to the Elegy—by no means the best of his works—by which alone Gray was then known to the public. Mark Akenside, who was born in 1721, and died in 1770, is a poet of this period. His great work is "The Pleasures of Imagination," which was published in 1744. Macaulay, however, considers his "Epistle to Curio" to be his best production, and says that it indicates powers of elevated satire, which, if diligently cultivated, might have disputed the pre-eminence with Dryden. Akenside's Odes were of inferior merit; but when they were written, Gray and Collins had not revived the beauty of lyric song, and the richer melodies of the former century were nearly forgotten. Yet in his Odes the true poet is manifested in all his power, as in his "Ode on the Winter Solstice." A poet of far higher pretensions was Dr. Edward Young, who was born in 1681, and died in 1765. His principal poems are his well-known "Night Thoughts," and his "Paraphrase on the Book of Job." These poems exhibit great force of language and purity of sentiment, but their author sometimes, and not unfrequently, degenerates into bombast and extravagance in his language. The "Night Thoughts" contain some of his best and worst passages; the "Paraphrase" is better sustained, and is worthy of the sacred text which the poet has amplified. Of a different genius to all the preceding poets of this period was William Shenstone, who was born in 1714, and died in 1763. Shenstone was a pastoral poet. The shepherd's crook, the pipe, the sheep, and the kids, were the delight of his muse. The verse of Shenstone, however, is remarkable for its easy flow and simplicity: its general defect is want of variety and comprehension.

We have thus noted in our pages the poets who may be said essentially to belong to the period of the first two Georges. There were other poets who had become candidates for fame at the death of George II., but who as essentially belong to the first period of George III. Among these were Oliver Goldsmith, who died in 1774; William Falconer, in 1769; Thomas Chatterton, in 1770; Henry Brooke, in 1783; Dr. Samuel Johnson, in 1784; Thomas Warton, in 1790; William Cowper, in 1800; and the two Scottish poets, the celebrated Robert Burns, who died in 1796; and Dr. James Beattie, in 1803.

Philosophy.—During this period there were many illustrious names connected with the higher sciences, which were beginning to engage the attention of scholars. Pre-eminent among these is Sir Isaac Newton, who died in 1727. As Newton, however, was eighty-five years of age when he died, he had established his reputation as a philosopher during the past age rather than the present. His "Principia," which established his fame, was published at the expense of the Royal Society in 1687, but a second edition was not called for till 1713. The publication of that great work gave a new direction and character to scientific speculations, and even to what had previously been termed science in Britain. Newton, indeed, who was the greatest philosopher and mathematician that had ever appeared in Britain, if not in the world, may be termed the father of modern philosophy. The second edition of Newton's famous "Principia" was superintended by Roger Cotes, who prefixed a preface to it, which obtained for him a wide scientific reputation. Cotes died in 1716 at the early age of thirty-four, having given promise of being one of the profoundest mathematicians of this or any other age. Contemporary with Newton and Cotes was John Flamsteed, who died in 1719. While yet young, Flamsteed discovered a great bias for mathematical learning, which being sedulously cultivated, he became the most celebrated astronomer of the age. When Charles II. founded the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1676, Flamsteed had the appointment of Astronomer Royal bestowed upon him, which office he held during the rest of his long life. His successor was Dr. Halley, who died in 1742. Halley was the first who observed the great comet in 1680, the return of which he accurately predicted. To establish his theory of the variation of the compass, King William gave him the command of a ship, when by his astronomical discoveries he greatly improved the art of navigation. Halley was succeeded as Astronomer Royal by James Bradley, who was born in 1693, and died in 1762. It has been said of him that he "was the first of all astronomers in the union of theoretical sagacity with practical excellence." And that peculiar talent must have been displayed in early life, as Newton declared him to be the best astronomer in Europe.



GREENWICH OBSERVATORY.

Bradley appears to have had a large share in drawing up the necessary tables for the adoption of the New Style by Parliament in 1751, as it drew upon him great odium from the common people, who imagined that he had robbed them of eleven days of their natural lives, and who pronounced the philosopher's subsequent illness and decline to be a judgment from heaven. Among the most eminent mathematicians of this period was Colin Maclaurin, who was educated at the university of Glasgow, and who in 1725 became professor of mathematics at Edinburgh. Maclaurin died in 1746. His principal works are treatises on curves, on fluxions, and algebra, all of which are "distinguished by profoundness and solidity united with elegance, and often by originality in the method of exposition, or novelty in the application of principles." Other noted mathematicians of this period were Dr. Robert Simson, professor of mathematics in Glasgow, who was born in 1687, and who died in 1768; and Thomas Simpson of Market Bosworth, by trade a weaver, and who having worked at his trade till he was twenty-seven years of age, suddenly left his loom and astonished the world by his mathematical genius, as displayed in his numerous works on algebra, geometry, trigonometry, fluxions, and other subjects in that branch of science. Thomas Simpson was born in 1710, and died in 1761. And in the same year that he was born, another self-taught man of genius was born in Banffshire in Scotland. This was James Ferguson, who was the son of a day labourer, and who, while employed in tending sheep on the mountains of his native shire, taught himself the elements of mechanics and astronomy. Ferguson lived till 1776, but his principal works—his "Phenomena of the Harvest Moon," and his lectures on Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics, &c.—were published within this period. It has been observed of this self-taught shepherd boy that "he has perhaps contributed more than any other man in this country to the extension of physical science among all classes of society, but especially among that largest class whose circumstances preclude them from a regular course of scientific instruction." Another eminent Scottish mathematician was Dr. John Keill, who in 1710 was chosen Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and who in the following year was appointed "decipherer"—that is, one who reads all writings, now called an "expert"—to the queen. Keill published an "Introduction to Astronomy" in 1718, and died in 1721. Another name deserving honourable mention in these pages is that of Dr. Whiston. Whiston was a divine and mathematician of uncommon parts and learning. He succeeded Sir Isaac Newton in the Lucasian professorship of mathematics at Cambridge. Whiston published several works explanatory of the Newtonian philosophy, and was one of the first to render those principles popular. His best work known is "A Theory of the Earth from its Original to the Consummation of all Things;" wherein the creation of the world in six days, the universal conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are demonstrated to be perfectly agreeable to reason and philosophy. Whiston died in 1752.

In another department of natural philosophy—that of electricity—two important discoveries were made within this period. Thus Francis Hawkbee discovered by a series of experiments, partly performed by a glass globe, the remarkable phenomenon of the production of light by friction; and Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charter House, discovered the conducting property inherent in bodies non-electrical. In chemistry the most important discovery made in this period was that of fixed air, or, as it is now called, carbonic acid. This new and important discovery was made by Black, and made known to the world in 1755 in a publication entitled "Experiments on Magnesia, Quicklime, and other Alkaline Substances." In medicine, Dr. Mead, who was physician to George II., and who died in 1754, is known as the author of an ingenious treatise on poisons. Mead, for his liberality to authors and men of learning, was considered the Mæcenas of his age. Among other philosophers of this period may be briefly mentioned Dr. Derham; George Berkeley, who in 1734 became bishop of Cloyne; David Hartley; and Francis Hutcheson—all of whom may be termed speculative or moral philosophers: men of high talents they were, as was manifested in the various works which they published.

Architecture.—In a previous article on architecture, Wren and his contemporaries underwent review. The style and character of the works they executed are also described in that article. Though Wren, therefore, with Vanbrugh and others, were still living in the early part of the reign of George I., no further notice of them or their works is needed. Passing by them we arrive at another school of architecture, of which Richard Boyle, third earl of Burlington, may be said to be the founder. This nobleman was born in 1725, and in his early years travelled much in Italy, where he acquired a strong love for architecture. He returned from that country full of admiration for the works of Palladio and Inigo Jones, who had been termed the English Palladio. The works which Burlington personally executed are not very numerous; but his knowledge of his favourite art was always at the command of others. Among his own works is the beautiful villa of Chiswick, which has since received large additions, and which is copied with great minuteness from a country house built by Palladio, near Vicenza, called the Villa Capra, or Rotonda. Of the villa of Chiswick it was sarcastically remarked "that it was too little to live in, and too big to hang to a watch-chain." Lord Burlington also repaired the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, built by Inigo Jones, whom he deeply reverenced, and designed and finished several other works; but after all, Lord Burlington as an artist has no claim to originality. He died in 1753. Contemporary with him were Colin Campbell and Kent, both of whom shared his patronage and imitated his style, as he did that of Palladio and Inigo Jones. Campbell built Houghton, Wanstead, Goodwood, and many other mansions, which are typical of the whole school of architecture which his noble patron founded. Kent is better known by his publication of "The Antique Baths of Palladio and Castell's Villas of the Ancients." Other architects who flourished in the reign of George II. were Thomas Ripley, who built the Admiralty; Giacomo Leoni, on whom Lord Burlington bestowed his patronage; and a Swiss named Labelye, who erected Westminster Bridge, which was commenced in 1739 and completed in 1747.

Sculpture and Painting.—The art of carving in stone during the reigns of William and Anne, and down to the sixth year of George II., was in a barbarous condition. The monuments executed in that period for the most part are not worthy the name of sculpture. And even during the ages of the first two Georges there was no native sculptor worthy to be had in remembrance. Kent, who had the reputation of being a universal genius, laid claim to the title, but his chisel lacked the skill of turning stone into the appearance of possessing life. He was not even a skilful designer, as his wretched cenotaph to Shakspeare in Westminster Abbey, which was executed by Scheemakers, testifies. Scheemakers was one of three foreign artists who came over to England after the year 1720 to rescue our monumental style from the state of degradation into which it had fallen. The names of the other two were Rysbrack and Roubiliac. Rysbrack was the first to arrive, and for some time he was employed in executing the monumental designs of Kent and Gibbs, of which they claimed the credit and reaped the profits. Rysbrack, however, soon discovered the value of his art in England, and asserted his independence. For a time he was the paramount statuary in his adopted country. At length, however, his supremacy was interrupted by Peter Scheemakers, from Antwerp, and Louis Francis Roubiliac, from Lyons. At first Scheemakers fell into the hands of Kent, for whom he executed the above-mentioned cenotaph; but he, like Rysbrack, early discovered the value of his art, and became independent. Both found abundant employment for their chisels, but a greater artist than either, Roubiliac, came to share in it and carried off the palm of excellence. Rysbrack's principal works are the monuments of Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Stanhope, Admiral Vernon, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, at Westminster, and the statues of George II. and Dr. Radcliffe at Oxford; Scheemakers', the monuments of Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, Sir Charles Wager, Sir Charles Watson, and the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; and Roubiliac's, the statues of Handel, Sir Isaac Newton, at Cambridge, and of Shakspeare, now in the hall of the British Museum; and the monuments of Bishop Haugh, at Worcester, and of the duke of Argyll, Handel, Fleming, Hargrave, and Warren, at Westminster. Roubiliac also executed the well-known Nightingale monument in Westminster Abbey, the design of which is an imperfect metaphor—Death warded off by an arm of flesh, and in which the execution of the skeleton, and the drapery by which it is surrounded, is justly admired. This is his most celebrated work. Near to this monument is that most picturesque of all monuments in Westminster Abbey, concerning which an anecdote is related of Roubiliac which proves that he had a deep appreciation of his art. He was seen one day gazing upon one of the figures displayed in that monument, with his arms folded in deep contemplation, and as one approached him, pointing to that figure he exclaimed —"Hush, he will speak soon!"

Early in the reign of George I. the art of painting, which like sculpture had become debased, showed unequivocal signs of a revival. Among the painters of this period were Michael Dahl, a Swede, who died in 1743, and John Murray, a Scot, whose portraits excel greatly the wretched daubs of Sir Godfrey Kneller. After the death of Kneller, however, the public patronage, for the first time since the art revived, was chiefly inherited by native portrait painters. Those who obtained any degree of reputation in portrait painting were Charles Jervas, Jonathan Richardson, Thomas Hudson, and Joseph Highmore.

In other branches of painting the following artists may be enumerated in this period. Sir James Thornhill succeeded Louis Laguerre, before noticed, in the Italian and French style of decoration with great success. Loitard and Zincke, foreign artists, painted flowers, fruit, birds, and other light decorations on the panels of mansions and palaces. Monamy, a native of Jersey, was a painter of sea pieces of considerable merit; and several others of inferior note.

But of all the painters of this period, England is most proud of her own son, William Hogarth. Hogarth, who was born in 1697, and died in 1764, was the true regenerator of painting in England. He is the first English painter who acquired any real fame among English painters, and one of the few who can lay claim to originality. What the satirist was with his pen, Hogarth was with his pencil. His pictures are satires, sometimes humorous and comic, and sometimes grave, bitter and tragic. His comico-satirical vein is seen in his "Enraged Musician," his "March to Finchley," his "Beer Lane," and others; his tragico-satirical in his "Harlot's Progress," his "Rake's Progress," and his "Gin Lane." "Marriage à la Mode," one of his best series, contains pictures in both these styles: indeed, all his paintings are characterized by originality, as well as a deep and intimate knowledge with the manners of the period.

Music.—The period of the first two Georges is distinguished for the great advance made therein in the science of music. The taste for music, which had made considerable progress in the reigns of William and Anne, made still greater progress in the period of the first two Georges. Much of this is due to the institution of "The Academy of Music," which was founded in 1710, and which had for its object "the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony." Among the founders of that institution were several eminent professors. The English opera, too, had its share in its advancement, some of the dramas performed being intermingled with ballad song furnished by some of the most popular composers of the day; as Arne, and George Haydon. But above all, the Italian operas and the oratorios of Handel contributed to this growing love of harmony among the English people at this period, or rather the revival of that love which towards the close of the seventeenth century had well-nigh become a thing of the past. George Frederick Handel, as we have seen, on his first arrival in England played the harpsichord over the coal-shed of the musical "small-coal man," Thomas Britton, in Clerkenwell. But the young Saxon was destined to take a higher place in the history of music than as a professional in a concert loft. To Handel, whose great talents speedily brought him into notice, the management of the Italian opera was consigned, in which capacity he produced fifteen of his best operas. But he was not in his proper sphere in the Italian opera. His musical talent was trammelled by the caprice and pride of the nobility, who were the chief frequenters of that fashionable place of amusement. Too independent therefore to submit to his noble audience, Handel withdrew from the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, and commenced the greatest of his works—his magnificent oratorios. These works, which have immortalized the name of Handel, were first commenced in 1720, a year ever to be remembered as the commencement of a new and great epoch in the history of music in England. It was in that year that Handel set "Esther" to music, which was quickly followed by other oratorios, which were publicly performed under his own direction. For some time, however, they were performed "under difficulties." The taste for music was not sufficiently refined duly to appreciate his magnificent creations. Even his "Messiah," that sublime emanation of genius, failed when in 1741 it was first performed in London. But it was not so in Dublin. When the immortal composer, driven almost to despair, repaired thither, it received the highest proofs of admiration. On Handel's return, however, to the British capital, the former decision of the public was reversed. Henceforth the matchless oratorios of Handel became the delight of all who have a taste for all that is sublime in sacred harmony, as they will be to the remotest period of time.

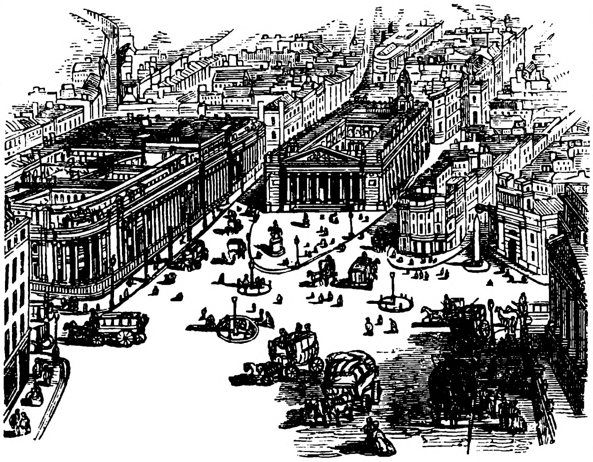
1760–1789.—The interval between 1760, the dawn of a new reign, and the close of our period in 1789, presents some cheering revivals and marvellous growths in the intellectual life, not less than in the development of the material wealth and resources of the nation. Literature and art in well-nigh all their branches witnessed a snapping asunder of not a few of the bonds of evil custom, which at length were found to be better honoured in the breach than the observance. The poets in particular abandoned the trammels of French and classical models, such as had been in vogue from the time of Queen Anne, and recurred to native poetry of unsophisticated times as their guides in simplicity and fidelity to nature. The publication, in 1765, of Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," comprising choice old ballads, together with the best lyrical pieces of later writers, gave the start to this wholesome revival. The favour bestowed by the reading public on these garnered treasures of genuine home-grown verse, untrammelled by artificial restraints, breathing all the fragrance and freshness of nature, and teeming with mingled tenderness, pathos, heroism, earnestness, and grace, created a demand which was only in part supplied within the period, though it yielded the choice productions of Goldsmith, Beattie, and Cowper, illustrious precursors of the tuneful band whose genius shed a resplendent lustre on the second half of the reign of George III. Warton's "History of English Poetry," and Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," came forth opportunely to feed and strengthen the new-born taste for native English undefiled. While the fervour for buried or forgotten treasures of poetry was at its height, Chatterton, the marvellous boy-poet and literary impostor, came into the field with spurious wares, which he easily foisted upon the undiscerning reading public of his day, though he failed to palm his forgeries on such experts as Gray and Mason, to whom Horace Walpole in all seriousness submitted samples for their critical investigation. A few years earlier, and through a long subsequent period, the literary world was divided by a keen controversy on another set of spurious antiques, the so-called poems of Ossian, which, on the one hand, were denounced as sheer impostures, and on the other were upheld as genuine fragments of a great epic poem, written in the third or fourth century in the Erse or Celtic tongue as then spoken in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. Macpherson, who claimed to be the discoverer and collector of these fragments of ancient poetry, published an English prose version of them, from which translations were made into several other languages. Later times find it difficult to comprehend how readers could be found in numbers sufficient to remunerate the audacious pretender whose impudent forgeries obtained an immense circulation and yielded large profits. He afterwards turned pamphleteer, and gleaned substantial rewards for literary taskwork in behalf of successive ministries. There was besides a very shoal of minor poets, whose rhymes will never more beguile the leisure of readers; for later times have grown too dainty to expend an intellectual appetite on food which found ready acceptance in a generation that rejoiced in the literary kingship of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Dramatic literature was well represented by Sheridan, Cumberland, Murphy, Macklin, Goldsmith, and the two Colmans. The graver prose literature of the period includes among its prominent names the three philosophical historians, Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson, all in varying degrees characterized by lofty, polished and ornate diction, laborious and learned research, masterly digest of unpromising materials, and beauty of arrangement. To this section belong also the following distinguished names, selected from a larger number for whom our limited space affords no place:—Adam Smith, author of that "Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations," whence has flowed the comprehensive science and diffuse literature of political economy; Blackstone, the lucid commentator on the laws of England; Burke, the political philosopher, whose spoken and written utterances commanded the rapt attention of his contemporaries, and are still held in high esteem; Philip Francis, author of the "Letters of Junius"—those eloquent invectives under which winced every public character of the day who bore a part in the guidance or control of affairs; Paley, the biblical critic and lucid expounder of the principles of morals and government; and not least, though last in our brief list, Johnson, the accepted chief of the world of letters, the biographer, essayist, editor, moralist, critic, poet, philologist, lexicographer, in fine, the representative man of the literature of an epoch, and the connecting link between two distinctly marked periods.

Prose fiction had now discarded the indelicacies and gross coarseness which mar the best products in this line in the days of the second George. Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," and Johnson's "Rasselas," are among the best examples of this change for the better. But Sterne, in his "Tristram Shandy" and "Sentimental Journey" — works replete with chastest thoughts, couched in tenderest and touching language—remains nevertheless an instance of the yet lingering taste for indelicacy and coarse sensuality, such as disfigures the greater works of his immediate predecessors, Smollett and Fielding. Horace Walpole, author of "The Castle of Otranto," and Henry Mackenzie, best remembered by his "Man of Feeling," stand at the head of a second rank of novelists of the time who are still read. In voyages of discovery and travels through unexplored lands the period is marked by the names of Cook, Wallis, Bruce, Macartney, Staunton, and others. Banks, Solander, and Green stand pre-eminent among naturalists.

Newspapers.—The year 1771 is memorable as the starting-point of a vast improvement in that form of literature which addresses itself to the greatest number of readers. In that year printers and reporters may be said to have finally exhausted the resistance of parliament to the publication of debates. Before that time sundry disguises had to be adopted to shield the owners of newspapers, the reporters, and even the humbler servitors of the press, from the awful visitations of the Black Rod, the Serjeant-at-arms, the messengers of the House, and the ulterior terrors of Newgate. The "Gentleman's Magazine" furnished its abstract of parliamentary proceedings under the title of "The Senate of Great Lilliput." Dr. Johnson, the fiery Tory, who for several years wrote these distorted parliamentary reports, was not ashamed to avow that in his dressing-up of the arguments of rival politicians "he took care the Whig dogs should not have the best of it." On another occasion, when high praises were being lavished on one of Pitt's brilliant orations, he told his admiring auditory, "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street." In the "London Magazine" the debates were assigned to the Political Club, and the few speeches reported were attributed to Brutus, Mark Anthony, Cato, and other celebrities of ancient days. In the "St. James' Chronicle" the work of our legislature was sent forth to the public as the "Debates of the Representatives of Utopia." But after vexatious entanglements, in which an unpopular House of Commons involved themselves with the popular magistracy of the City of London through their angry contests with the press, the quarrel came to a long pause with the discussion of Colonel Onslow's motion of 12th March, 1771, in which the minority turned to merciless account all the machinery of adjournments, amendments, and other parliamentary forms, that warded off a decision until past four in the morning. Burke afterwards said of this memorable discussion, in the course of which there were no less than twenty-three divisions, "Posterity will bless the pertinaciousness of that day." In the long truce that then tacitly ensued between parliamentary privilege and the freedom of the press, newspapers made immense strides in respect to the literary ability displayed in their comments on public affairs, and in the fulness and rapidity of their intelligence. Their influence and usefulness grew with their independence when government abstained from questioning their right to criticise public affairs. The demand for political news augmented with the progress of stirring events, and journals of higher power now started into being. The "Morning Post" (1772), the "Morning Herald" (1780), and the "Times" (1788), claim mention as the first-fruits of this drawn battle between the legislature and the press. The "Morning Chronicle," which long held the foremost position among newspapers, originated in 1769, two years earlier than the virtual abandonment by parliament of its long-continued jealous efforts to fence round its freedom of speech by the guard of so-called privilege.

The mathematical and physical sciences are represented by no illustrious name in the earlier half of the reign of George III. These branches of learning seem to have passed over to France, whence, however, they returned to adorn the succeeding period.

All the elegant arts exhibit very marked advances in the interval between the commencement and the middle of the reign of George III. Architecture offers, among its most distinguished professors, the following names: Dance, who built the Mansion House, St. Luke's Hospital, and Newgate; the two Woods (father and son), of Bath, successful in street architecture, of which their native city affords abundant samples; Robert and James Adam, architects of the Adelphi, Portland Place, and Caenwood House at Hampstead; Sir W. Chambers, whose best work is Somerset House, still one of the noblest buildings in the metropolis; Taylor, architect of the Bank of England; and Wyatt, whose first work, the Pantheon in Oxford Street, built in 1772, brought him into a successful practice extending beyond our period. Banks, Flaxman, and Bacon, worthily upheld the honour of English sculpture through and beyond the same limit of time.



BANK OF ENGLAND.

Painting no longer yielded its chief places, as in previous reigns, to foreign professors. A thorough English school now sprang up, and sturdily held its ground against all the traditions of stilted artificiality. Reynolds, Wilson, Gainsborough, and West, fill the front rank among a throng of artists who, in 1768, banded themselves into the association known thenceforward as the Royal Academy. Exhibitions had been held in the seven preceding years with increasing success, and from this time onward landscapes and portraiture drew their yearly crowd of admirers and patrons to the rooms of the academicians in Pall Mall. On the completion of Somerset House, rooms in it were assigned for the purposes of the annual exhibitions and for instruction in art. The first exhibition in the new home of the Academy occurred in 1780, when Copley, Loutherbourg, and Stothard are found among the list of contributors, in companionship with the artists already named. From Somerset House the Academy afterwards passed to the National Gallery, where it remained until the completion of its present magnificent home under the same roof with the London University, to which it was transferred in the spring of 1869. At about the close of our period political disruptions on the continent sent many superb collections of pictures with their owners into England, where they were soon thrown upon the market, and found resting-places in private galleries of art in the mansions of wealthy connoisseurs, thus adding largely to the art treasures of the country. Engraving kept pace with the progress of painting; Strange in the historical section, and Woollett in landscapes, were at the head of their art, while Byrne, Magor, Rooker, Ryland, Sharp, Watson, MacArdell, and Sandby, ably sustained in a second rank the honour of this branch of art. The exportation of engravings represented a substantial branch of commerce, and throughout the continent these copies of English pictures found eager purchasers.

Music received abundant encouragement in the half reign that ends our period. Arne's operas of "Love in a Village," and "Artaxerxes," belong to the early years of the reign. In church music occur the well-known names of Kent, Nares, Arnold, Cooke, Battishill, Dupuis, and Hayes. The concerts of ancient music date from 1775, and the Catch Club from 1761. The literature of music owes to this period the important contributions of Hawkins, Burney, Browne, and Mason.

CHAPTER V.

History of Industry, Commerce, etc., from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1789.

Agriculture.—It has been seen in previous pages that a reform of agriculture had commenced. In the reign of Anne, indeed, the quantity of land under cultivation in England and Wales was not much more than in the reign of James I. One solitary inclosure Act was passed in the reign of Charles II., and there were two inclosure Acts passed in the reign of Anne, but these Acts could not greatly extend the area of land under cultivation. There were waste lands—moor, forest, and fen—on every hand. A more extensive system of inclosing land by Acts of Parliament was adopted during the reigns of the first two Georges. Thus in 1729 one of the most powerful arguments the friends of Walpole urged in favour of his administration, were the great sums that had been of late years expended in the inclosing and improving of lands. It was not, however, till the reign of George III. that the inclosure of waste lands became a prominent feature in the history of agriculture. A marked change came with inclosures, long leases, and large farms, by the marling of light lands, and by a system of rotation of crops, in which the culture of turnips and clover was the principal feature. Norfolk was among the first of the counties which adopted what was called the new system of husbandry. Indeed it appears to have taken the lead in the improvement of husbandry, having adopted the new system from the practice of the Flemings, with whom a direct intercourse has always been kept up from the eastern parts of England. At all events, Norfolk and its neighbour Suffolk became the nurseries of "the new husbandry." But as yet the lands of these famous eastern corn-growing counties were imperfectly cultivated. The rotation of crops began to supersede the old system of fallow; but something more was required to bring much of the land into a perfect state of cultivation. A reform of agriculture which had commenced in the previous period was progressing, but it proceeded very slowly. New implements of husbandry, as the horse-hoe and the drill, were now first employed, and cultivators began to learn the value of manure as well as the rotation of crops; but the knowledge of perfect draining and subsoiling was the fruit of a more enlightened age. Even in Suffolk the farmer was too often content to let his land be water-slain; and as for the sandy districts on the shores of the Channel, the cultivator never dreamt of looking for the elements of fertility in the organic matter below the sand.

Towards the close of this period it is certain that a most important revolution in the history of agriculture had commenced. The despised turnip came to be esteemed as most important in laying the foundation of other crops. It began to be at last discovered that to leave the land, after growing two or three white crops in succession, to recruit itself by a year or two's rest, was only to exhaust it by a rapid growth of weeds; and that to sow turnips first on well-manured land, and to apply the hoe thoroughly between them, was the best method of producing the three after crops of barley, clover, and wheat.

A taste for planting and agriculture had been manifest in the preceding period. New vegetables had been cultivated. Gardens had now become a luxury among the rich, and were deemed essential for the comforts of the poor. A cottage without a plot of ground for the cultivation of vegetables was now rarely seen, and there was a considerable increase in the variety grown and in the quantity consumed. The farmer who did not provide plenty of greens, peas, and beans for his farm-labourers was despised for his parsimony. That valuable root, the potato, was not yet in high favour among the poor. At the same time it was more extensively cultivated, and was becoming, like the turnip among the farmers, a highly-valued esculent. Great advances were made in this period in the higher branches of horticulture. The greenhouse, hitherto, had only been a receptacle for plants which could not stand the winter's cold, but would flourish in the open air as soon as the warm weather returned. In 1717, however, glass roofs were adopted, by which plants too tender even for the summer's breeze luxuriated in the light and heat these glass roofs provided. Archibald Campbell, duke of Argyll, who died in 1761, was one of the first great encouragers of planting in England. Walpole, in his "Memoirs of George II.," writing of his good qualities, says, that "most of the curious exotics which have been familiarized to this climate" were as then known introduced by that nobleman, whom he designates as "a patron of ingenious men," and "a promoter of discoveries."

Commerce, Manufactures, &c.—Although agriculture had not yet arrived at a state of perfection, there is evidence on record that at the close of the period there was a marked improvement in the system of husbandry. This evidence is especially to be found in the quantity of corn exported from England. For eighty years after the Revolution England was a corn-exporting country. At that date there was a law in force which prohibited the importation of corn, unless the home price per quarter was fifty-three shillings and fourpence, and even then, the duty on imported corn was eight shillings per quarter till the home price was eighty shillings, which was almost equivalent to a prohibition. At the same time corn was allowed to be exported on payment of a moderate custom duty to any extent, so long as the price at home was low and the sending it abroad proved profitable to the cultivators. It does not appear, however, that corn was exported to any extent anterior to the Revolution. It was evidently not a very profitable trade, for immediately after the Revolution an Act was passed by which landlords were allowed a bounty of five shillings per quarter of wheat exported so long as the price at home did not exceed forty-eight shillings. This system of bounties continued throughout the whole of this period and for many years afterwards, the prevailing idea being that by the extension and improvement of tillage, to which the system greatly contributed, the exportation of corn operated favourably to its cheapness in the home market. And this idea was not, it would appear, altogether a delusion.

During the reign of George I. the foreign trade of England appears to have diminished rather than increased. In no one year did the value of the exports reach the amount in value of the exports of the last year in the reign of Queen Anne. As might be supposed, the amount of shipping which cleared outward suffered a corresponding diminution. But it does not follow that because the foreign trade was not so flourishing in the reign of George I. as it was in that of Queen Anne, that therefore trade and manufactures languished. The reverse appears to be the case. It would seem, indeed, that the value of exports had diminished simply from the fact that there was an improved market for our produce and manufactures at home. That the country was in a flourishing condition is evident from the growing abundance of capital. The value of capital is always represented by the rate of interest, which in 1720 was not more than three per cent. It was this national prosperity and plenty that gave rise in part to the bubble companies of that memorable year.

Warned of the danger of seeking to grow rich by speculation, men turned their attention more than ever to legitimate trade and commerce. The spirit of gambling had greatly interfered with the foreign trade of England in the reign of George I., but though it did not greatly flourish in that reign, from that and other causes before mentioned, some arrangements were made which produced good fruits in the reign of his successor. Thus in the year 1715 a treaty of commerce was made with Spain, which, though it was for some years a nullity through war, did not in the end prove a dead letter. By that treaty it was stipulated that British subjects were to pay no higher duties in the Spanish ports than they paid in the reign of the Spanish monarch Charles II.—that is before the "War of Succession;" that they should neither pay higher nor other dues than were paid by the subjects of the Spanish monarchs in the same places; and that the subjects of both nations should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations. Two years after this treaty was made with Spain, the duty on the export trade of British linen was taken off on the same grounds that the duty on the export of woollens had been for several years, namely, that the manufacture of linen employed many thousands of the poor of England. But the most important arrangement for the extension of trade and manufactures was made the year after the bubble companies had blown and burst. In 1721 an Act was passed of a threefold character. First, it enacted that certain bounties should be paid on the exports of home-made silken stuffs and ribbons, and mixed stuffs of silk and grogram, silk and inkle, or cotton, and silk and worsted. Second, all duties whatsoever payable on the exportation of native produce and merchandizes were taken off; those on alum, lead, tin, tanned leather, coals, copperas, white woollens, skins, and a few other minor articles excepted. Third, all substances used in dyeing, except saltpetre, were to be imported duty free, and a reduction was made in the duties paid on the importation of condiments. By another Act which passed in 1726 greater facilities were given for the importation of salt from England into Newfoundland and the northern parts of America, for the curing of fish with which the River Delaware, the bay and coast of the province of Pennsylvania, and the adjacent seas abounded, in order to increase the trade of the inhabitants of that province, whereby, as it was stated in the preamble of the Act, they would be enabled "to purchase more of the British manufactures than at present they are able, by reason of the little trade and produce the said province affords." Further encouragement was given in the reign of George I. to the whale fishery, by taking off the duty of threepence per pound on whale fins, and allowing fins, whale, and blubber to be exported duty free for seven years in British ships. The whale fishery had been long abandoned by the South Sea Company; but on the removal of the restrictions upon the trade it was renewed, but only as before to prove a signal failure. From the year 1725, when the company renewed their trade, to the year 1732, when they retired from it, their returns had not equalled one-third of their expenditure, which, during the eight years, had amounted to more than two hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds sterling.

At the commencement of the reign of George II., notwithstanding the wide-spread ruin caused by the bubble companies in 1720, and the reduction of the value of our exports throughout the reign of his predecessor, the country was undoubtedly in a prosperous condition. This prosperity went on rapidly increasing both in commerce and manufactures. In the course of this reign the amount of exports became nearly doubled; and although there was not a corresponding increase in the tonnage of the shipping cleared outwards, yet the mercantile marine of the kingdom had been considerably augmented. As regards the tonnage of the royal navy, that was, like the exports, nearly doubled; it being at the commencement of this reign in 1727 only 170,286 tons, whereas at its close in 1760 it was 321,104 tons. All this is indicative of the growing wealth and prosperity of the kingdom. While during the period which intervened between the date of the Revolution and the death of George II., eight new parishes were added to London, and Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Frome, in England; Edinburgh and Glasgow in Scotland, and Dublin in Ireland, had each greatly increased in population, either from the extension of their trade and manufactures, or from the diffusion of luxury, the natural fruit of commercial prosperity.

Several causes contributed to that commercial prosperity. One of these, and not the least in importance, was the union of Scotland and England, which, as recorded in a previous page, took place in the reign of Queen Anne. Till that period, though under the rule of one sovereign, the commercial relation between the two kingdoms had been of no great advantage to either. The English parliament had long treated the Scots as aliens and rivals. High duties, and in some cases prohibitory duties, had been imposed on the products of Scottish industry. Time was when the sovereign of the two countries dared not either to refuse his assent to any English law injurious to the trade of Scotland, or to give his assent to any Scotch law injurious to the trade of England. For several years, however, neither the English nor the Scotch greatly benefited by the Union in a commercial point of view. The markets of both countries were thrown open to each other; but for a long time very little advantage was taken of it either by the English or Scotch. Prejudice was a barrier to the free commercial intercourse of the two nations for several years after the union was effected; but the barrier was not too strong to be broken down by the more powerful passion of self-interest. According to Anderson, towards the close of the reign of George II. the coarse woollen stuffs and stockings of Scotland, together with the more valuable linen manufactures of many various, beautiful and ingenious kinds, found a large market both in England and in the American plantations. The black cattle and peltry of Scotland, also, found their way into the south in large numbers as articles of trade and commerce.

Another source by which the commerce of Britain was greatly extended in this reign was the growing importance of the West Indian and American colonies. Those of America were especially of importance to the trade and manufactures of the mother country. Every year, chiefly from the tide of emigration which had set in, the American colonies became more and more populous. As an example, it may be stated that in the year 1729 not less than six thousand two hundred and eight emigrants from Europe sought homes in the single province of Pennsylvania alone. Of these emigrants the greater part were Irish, but others were English, Welsh, Scotch, and Germans from the Palatinate. As there was as yet no manufactures of any consequence in Pennsylvania, it followed that what was needed for the clothing of the population was derived from Great Britain. And as it was in Pennsylvania, so it was, or nearly so, in New Hampshire, New Jersey, and New York. The exports of the American colonies were various. Among them may be enumerated wheat, flour, biscuit, barrelled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cider, apples, soap, myrtle wax, candles, starch, hair powder, tanned leather, bees'-wax, tallow candles, and other productions of the country. The exports of the southern colonies were of a different character. From Virginia and Maryland Great Britain received large stores of tobacco, besides skins, furs, flax, and wool equal in fineness to the best grown in England. About the commencement of this century rice was first cultivated in Carolina, which in a few years was exported to Europe in such quantities, especially to Spain and Portugal, that the trade with Venice and other parts of Italy in that article by those two countries was almost annihilated. Other exports from Carolina were made to a considerable extent, especially of indigo. This latter article had been hitherto obtained from France, but in 1747 about two hundred thousand pounds were sent from Carolina to England; and parliament in the next year having granted a bounty of sixpence per pound on all indigo raised in the American colonies and imported into Great Britain, its cultivation became so extended, that before the close of this period the quantity exported annually from Carolina was about four hundred thousand pounds. Between Carolina and the Spanish possession of Florida there was a large extent of unoccupied territory in 1732; but in that year a new colony was formed by philanthropists, of whom General Oglethorpe was the principal, as a place of settlement for destitute debtors liberated from gaol, and for foreign Protestants who were desirous of a refuge where they might enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The independence of this new colony was established by royal charter, and was named Georgia. Two towns, Savannah and Frederica, were founded by these philanthropists, and a nursery of white mulberry trees was planted for tha breeding of the silkworm.

As regards our older colonies in the West Indies, they do not appear to have been during this period in a very flourishing condition. Great complaints were made by them of what they considered the illegal traffic of the American settlements with the French and Dutch dependencies in their neighbourhood. Those dependencies were furnished with agricultural produce and shipping by the American colonists, for which they received in return sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, ginger, pimento, and other articles, some of which they largely imported into Britain. An attempt was made by the West India colonists of the British islands to prove that they possessed a legal monopoly in respect of their produce to all the colonies of the mother country. This claim was not established, but in 1733, in order to enable them to carry on the sugar trade upon an equal footing with the foreign sugar colonies, an Act was passed which, while it granted a drawback upon the re-exportation from Great Britain of West India sugar, imposed certain duties upon the importation into the American settlements of the produce of the foreign plantations.

It has been fully recorded in previous pages how, during the period of the first two Georges, the East India Company, by policy and force of arms, had from a mere trading company become the rulers of an empire. Before the close of that period the fabric of political power which France had been erecting in the gorgeous East was thrown down, and native princes bowed their necks to the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street. By the victories of Clive the broad foundation of our Indian empire was securely laid. But while the company was thus acquiring political power and territorial possessions, its trade underwent no material change. Of its imports the chief article in which there was a gradual and marked increase was tea, which became annually more and more an article of consumption in Britain. On the whole the East India Company throughout this period was more intent upon becoming wealthy by conquest than by the more legitimate mode of acquiring riches by trade and commerce.

In the reign of the first two Georges, and especially of George II., new fields of commerce were opened up, whereby it was greatly extended. The demand for British manufactures was greater than the human hand could well supply. This was particularly the case with a species of mixed fabric—linen and cotton—which had for nearly two centuries been manufactured at Manchester and other towns in Lancashire. Every one connected with the manufacture felt a present need for some invention to find modes of supply. Attempts, indeed, were made during this period to render the spinning of wool and cotton mechanical processes. In 1733 Wyatt constructed a model of a machine, by which it is said that the first thread of cotton ever produced without the intervention of human fingers was spun; but from the imperfect character of the machine it proved a failure in accomplishing the object which the inventor designed.

The introduction of machinery for manufacturing purposes was not yet encouraged by the legislature. On the contrary, the Acts of Edward VI. and Mary, which were passed to prevent the introduction of new machines, were still in force. Inventive genius was shackled by these Acts, and enterprise was trammelled. There can be no doubt that they had the effect of repressing mechanical improvements in the art of cloth-making, and they might still further be repressed by the unenlightened notions which prevailed respecting the influence of machinery on human labour. For although manufacturers felt the want of some process of increasing the quantity of their goods, to supply the ever-increasing demand of the weavers and the spinners, they themselves felt that by the introduction of machinery their "craft would be in danger." This was aptly illustrated in 1767, when the spinning-jenny which Hargreaves had invented was destroyed by his neighbours, and he was obliged to flee from his home near Blackburn to Nottingham to escape from their vengeance.

But while during this period the same machines which were in use at the commencement of this period remained for the most part in use at its close unimproved, the skill of the workman had become manifest in every department of the manufacture.

During this period the silk manufacture was growing into greater importance than ever. In 1722 an Act was passed granting bounties on its exportation for the three succeeding years. The advancement of this important manufacture was in a great measure owing to the enterprising spirit of three brothers of the name of Lombe, who in 1719 erected the first silk mill in England, at Derby. The history of that first silk mill in England savours of romance, or perhaps, more properly speaking, chivalry. At the beginning of the century the Lombes had carried on the business of silk throwsters in London. At that time all the silk thread was imported from Italy, where machinery of a superior kind was applied to its manufacture, with such success that the English manufacturer could not compete with the Italian. The Lombes were deeply impressed with the disadvantage under which the manufacture of that article of merchandise laboured, and they resolved to overcome the difficulty and disadvantage. Accordingly, in 1715 the youngest brother of the Lombes courageously set out for Leghorn on this truly perilous errand. Though young in years, Mr. John Lombe had a wise and cautious head on his shoulders, and he at last obtained employment in the establishment, through the agency of a priest, whom he bribed; he was allowed to sleep in the mill, and working during the day, he took his drawings of the machinery by night, and having accomplished his mission, made his escape, and reached his native shores in safety. Yet after all it is not clear that John Lombe was not one of the martyrs of trade, for he died at the age of twenty-nine, and it was said that he was poisoned by a female whom the Italians sent over to England for that deadly purpose. Such was the origin of the first silk mill in England. One of the three brothers, Sir Thomas Lombe, obtained a patent for the sole making and use of the engines for fourteen years; but as the king of Sardinia prohibited the exportation of raw silk, and no adequate supply could be obtained from other quarters, it did not prove so profitable as he had anticipated. In consideration of this, parliament granted him the sum of fourteen thousand pounds, on condition that his invention should be thrown open to the trade. The silk manufacture was greatly encouraged at this time by the legislature. Duties were imposed on foreign wrought silk, and by an Act which passed in 1750, the exportation of tools and foreign utensils used in the manufacture of silk was prohibited: a proof they were much sought after at that time for their superior workmanship by foreign manufacturers.

During this period the manufacture of linen languished in England. But it was not so in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, at the time of the Union, only about one million and a half yards were manufactured, but in 1750 it was about seven millions and a half. Coarse linens were even made in the Highlands, which is a new feature in Scottish industry of the period. In Ireland the trade was chiefly carried on among the Protestant community. To encourage that community to enterprise in the linen manufacture, a board which was established in Dublin in 1711 bestowed premiums and bounties, and in 1743 bounties were granted on its exportation. A similar board was established in Scotland in 1727; so that Scotland and Ireland may be said to have vied with each other in this important branch of industry.

Considerable improvements were made during this period in the metallic manufactures. In 1740 the process of making bar iron with coal, for which Lord Dudley had in 1619 obtained a patent, was revived. Iron was made with pit coal at Colebrook Dale, by which means it was rendered brittle or tough at pleasure. The manufacture of iron was at this period an essential branch of native industry, ranking third at one time of our national manufactures. New iron-works were established in addition to those already in existence. Among these were the iron-works at Rotherham in Yorkshire, about 1750, and the still more important works of Carron in Scotland, in the last year of the reign of George II. Considerable quantities of iron were also smelted in Ireland, the woods of Ireland furnishing abundant fuel for that purpose. In Wales, about 1730, tinned iron was made, the art of which was brought from Germany by Andrew Yarranton in the Stuart period, but which had never made any great progress, and had recently been wholly set aside. The manufacture of copper in Cornwall greatly flourished during the whole of this period, and in 1748 the manufacture of brass was commenced at Birmingham. In 1742 a new manufacture was added to our native industry in the ware known as Sheffield plate, from its being first manufactured in that town. In a few years Sheffield plate furnished articles for the side-boards of the gentry, elegant in design, and as brilliant in appearance as silver. Another new or rather improved manufacture still more important to the public weal than Sheffield plate was in 1720 introduced into England. This was printing type, by which means knowledge "covers the land as the waters cover the sea." At that date one Caslon, an engraver of gun-locks and barrels, having been employed to cut a fount of Arabic type, commenced business as a letter-cutter, and the types he produced were superior to any that we had received from Holland. Further improvements were made by Baskerville the printer, and the English type became an article of demand on the Continent. But the achievements of Caslon and Baskerville were eclipsed by William Ged of Edinburgh. It was Ged who in 1725 discovered the art of stereotyping: that is, of casting metal plates by which edition after edition of books can be printed without the cost of resetting the type. It is by this means that books are multiplied at this time to meet the ever-growing demand at a price within the reach of the million. But this art met with the stern opposition of the compositors of the reign of George II. It was employed by the university of Cambridge in the multiplication of Bibles and Prayer-books; but as the compositors of the Cambridge press conceived that their craft was in danger, they so mutilated the pages, as set up in the movable types, that the Bibles and Prayer-books were rendered imperfect, and the process was therefore abandoned. So greatly was the type made in England improved during this period, that it became in great demand on the Continent. But it was not so with printing paper. White paper was manufactured, but down to the close of the period the best used in the manufacture of books was imported from Holland.

We have thus passed in review the trade, manufactures, and commerce of England during the reigns of the first two Georges. Smollett observes, that the increase of commerce was owing to the natural progress of industry and adventure, extending themselves to the farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance. But Smollett was no true prophet. Trade and commerce though greatly extended may be said as yet not to have reached a state of adolescence, much more of maturity. In the last years of the reign of George II., and in the first few years of George III., providence raised up special instruments who have been lightly termed the great captains and champions of modern industry. These were Brindley, Arkwright, Compton, Roebuck, Wedgwood, Cartwright, and last and greatest of all, Watt. Brindley, who alone of these unfolded his genius in this period, claims a brief notice first in this chapter. Francis Egerton, third duke of Bridgewater, conceived an idea that a canal might be so constructed as to cross rivers and cut through hills like our modern railways. Accordingly in 1753 he held deep consultation at his manor house at Worsley with John Gilbert, a land-agent, who had been engaged in mining speculations, and James Brindley, a millwright, on the feasibility of constructing such a canal. Brindley, who was a man of original genius, but who had had no scientific training, was enthusiastic in the matter. If only money could be found for the undertaking the work could be effected. The duke himself had no money for the purpose. His estate was, indeed, already encumbered, whence it was in part, and perhaps chiefly, that he had devised his plan. He wished to improve his fortune. Gilbert, however, undertook to raise the money to carry on the projected operations, and Brindley to construct the canal. The work was soon commenced. It was thought by professional men and the public at large that the duke and his engineer were mad. As they saw stupendous mounds of earth raised in deep valleys, and an aqueduct erecting over the Irwell high enough for masted vessels to sail under, they conceived that it would be to no purpose. They wanted to know whence the supply of water was to be drawn to fill an aqueduct of nine miles in length. They saw nothing but utter failure in the enterprise. But how were they confounded when, in 1761, the aqueduct was opened at Barton, when the water flowed into it as a river, and Brindley, the millwright of no scientific reputation, had thus proved himself to be the greatest civil engineer in England. In the next year, when the works were finished, above and under the ground, they were pronounced to be the greatest engineering achievement in the world. Immediately after their completion the price of coals in Manchester was reduced one half, and thus a great impetus was given to its trade; but, what was of more importance, the value of canals for the transit of goods from one end of the kingdom to the other, if constructed, was demonstrated.

Coinage.—In consequence of great loss having been sustained by the mint price of gold in England being higher than that of other countries, the legal value of gold coins in the reign of George I. was reduced. Thus the guinea was reduced from twenty-one shillings and sixpence to twenty-one shillings, and other coins in proportion. Quarter guineas were issued in 1718, but they were not extensively circulated. The chief coins of this reign were crowns, shillings, and halfpence. They were remarkable as being the first on which the letters F. D. —*Fidei Defensor*—appeared. His majesty's electoral titles were on the reverse, and in the arms Ireland was placed in the bottom shield; while in the dexter, where those of Ireland had heretofore been, were the arms of his German dominions. The hammered money of the Stuart dynasty was still current in this reign, and continued so till the sixth year of the reign of George II., when it was called in and paid for at the Mint at the rate of eighty-one shillings per ounce, after which it was declared to be illegal. During the reign of George II. the usual coins—gold, silver, and copper—were issued from the Mint, even to the silver groat, threepenny, twopenny, and penny pieces. Upon his gold coins the arms were disposed in one shield crowned, instead of being placed in four shields, as had been done upon all the milled money—some few coins of William and Mary excepted—since the Restoration. As the shape of the milled money was exactly circular, and its edges inscribed with a legend, clipping was not to be apprehended; but according to Leake, who wrote in the reign of George II. an historical account of English money, the silver coin of the preceding reigns since the Revolution had diminished in a manner equivalent to clipping; the sixpence in 1745 being not worth more than a groat, and the shilling not much better in proportion. The half-crown, he says, was not so common, and therefore was not so much worn and reduced in value, while the crown remained in its perfect state from its disuse, it being found so burdensome that two half-crowns answered the purpose of buyer and seller better. But notwithstanding the burdensomeness of crown pieces, they were issued from the Mint in the reign of George II., if only to disappear as soon as put in circulation. On his coins the letters F. D. do not appear; the superscription being: *Georgius II. Dei Gratia.*

1760–1789.—Amid the rush and stir of fervid party strife, the excitement and strain of a burdensome foreign war, and the contest with the revolted American colonies, the first half of the long reign of George III. gave birth to a series of inventions, discoveries, and developments of manufacturing processes, and to such an expansion of the means of internal transit, that the national well-being made a very conspicuous advance for so brief a term of years. Men of lowly station bore a great part in these industrial triumphs. Arkwright, a poor barber, whose descendants are now the possessors of millions of money, invented in

1767 the process of spinning by rollers, from which dates the enormous growth of our cotton manufacture, and the establishment of our factory system. Arkwright was never at school; to the end of his days he continued very illiterate, and scarcely able to write; but his great force of character, his indomitable energy, his wonderful faculty for business, his restless ingenuity, his practical sagacity, and the prodigious and rapid success of his invention, raised him from the ranks of poverty to fill a high place in society, and identified his name for ever with the foundation of the chief branch of English industry. Arkwright's first patent for his roller spinning machine was taken out in 1769; his first cotton mill was erected in that year at Nottingham, and driven by horses. Soon afterwards he built a larger mill at Cromford, in Derbyshire, worked by a water-wheel. As water formed the moving power in this Cromford factory, the spinning machine acquired the name of the water-frame. After encountering much ignorant and malicious opposition from the Lancashire manufacturers, who denounced him as the enemy of the operative class, and incited the mob to destroy a mill which he set up at Chorley, he eventually tired out his tormentors, and by the excellence of his products acquired the entire control of the market. In 1787, his eminence as the chief among the cotton spinners, and one of the wealthiest men of his county, led to his appointment to the office of high sheriff of Derbyshire, and soon afterwards he was advanced to the honour of knighthood. Up to the date of Arkwright's invention, no fabric consisting entirely of cotton had been made in England. The goods called cotton were mixtures, having only the weft of cotton and the warp of linen or woollen threads. The hand-loom was incapable of spinning fibres of cotton into thread strong enough for the warp. The spinning-jenny, invented in 1764 by a poor weaver named Hargreaves, multiplied the productive power of human labour, by enabling one person to spin several threads at once, instead of only one, but the thread spun by it was fit for weft only, like that of the old wheel. Arkwright's machinery solved the problem which had occupied thousands of ingenious minds for scores of years; it produced cotton thread strong enough for the warp. Up to the date of this discovery the machines used in the cotton manufacture in England were of the same primitive type with those used centuries before in India, except that the loom was more strongly constructed, and that cards for combing the cotton had been adopted from the woollen manufacture. The cotton manufacture could never have grown into a leading branch of national industry except for the discovery of means of multiplying the quantity and improving the quality of the yarn with the same expenditure of human labour. In 1776 cotton-spinning gained another important auxiliary, in the *mule* or *mule-jenny*, invented by Samuel Crompton. This machine combined the principle of Hargreaves' spinning-jenny and Arkwright's water-frame; hence its name—the *mule*. Crompton kept his invention secret for some years, but the yarns turned out of his establishment attracted so much attention by their superior quality, that he at length found concealment impossible. "The mule enabled the spinner," says Dr. Ure, in his "History of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain," "to make a prodigious advance in the fineness as well as rapidity of his work; and it may be considered as the parent of the muslin manufacture, destined in so short a time to render Europe the successful competitor of the hitherto unrivalled productions of Hindostan." Towards the close of the period under notice, on the expiration of Arkwright's patents, new cotton-mills sprang up in every north-country valley that had a stream to furnish motive power. Spinning and weaving lost their old character of domestic occupations, carried on in the cottages of the operatives, and took up their quarters in huge factories. A vivid picture of the great social change brought about by the inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton, and their less distinguished fellow-labourers in the same field of industrial enterprise, is conveyed to us in the narrative of William Radcliffe, an intelligent observer of the transition which he so graphically depicts. He was a cottager in the parish of Mellor, fourteen miles from Manchester, where in 1770, as he tells us, the land was in the occupation of fifty or sixty small farmers, whose rents were ten shillings per acre. Very few of them depended solely on their farming; they followed in addition some branch of domestic manufacture, usually spinning and weaving cotton, linen, or woollen. The cottagers were still less occupied in husbandry, and employed most of their time at the hand-loom. "Being one of these cottagers," says Radcliffe, "and intimately acquainted with all the rest, as well as every farmer, I am better able to relate particularly how the change from the old system of hand labour to the new one of machinery operated in raising the price of land. Cottage rents at that time, with convenient loom-shop, and a small garden attached, were from one and a half to two guineas per annum. The father of a family would earn from eight shillings to half a guinea at his loom, and his sons, if he had one, two, or three alongside of him, six or eight shillings each per week. But the great sheet anchor of all cottages and small farms was the labour attached to the hand-wheel; and when it is considered that it required six or eight hands to prepare and spin yarn, of any of the three materials I have mentioned, sufficient for the consumption of one weaver, this shows clearly the inexhaustible source there was for labour for every person from the age of seven to eighty years (who retained their sight and could move their hands) to earn their bread. * * * From 1770 to 1788 a complete change had gradually been effected in the spinning of yarns; that of wool had disappeared altogether, and that of linen had also nearly gone; cotton, cotton, cotton, was become the almost universal material for employment; the hand-wheels were all thrown into lumber-rooms; the yarn was all spun upon common jennies; the carding for all numbers up to forty hanks in the pound was done on carding-engines; but the finer numbers of sixty to eighty were still carded by hand, it being a general opinion at that time that machine-carding would never answer for fine numbers. In weaving no great alteration had taken place during these eighteen years, save the introduction of the fly-shuttle, a change in the woollen-looms to fustians and calico, and the linen was nearly gone, except the few fabrics in which there was a mixture of cotton. * * * Water-twist and common jenny yarns had been freely used for some years prior to 1788; but it was the introduction of mule yarns about this time, along with the other yarns, all assimilating together and producing every description of clothing, from the finest book muslin, lace, stocking, &c., to the heaviest fustian, that gave such a preponderating wealth through the loom. * * * The fabrics made from wool and linen vanished, while the old loom-shops, being insufficient, every lumber room, even old barns, cart-houses, and outbuildings of every description, were repaired, windows broken through the old blank walls, and all fitted up for loom-shops. This source of making room being at length exhausted, new weavers' cottages, with loom-shops, rose up in every direction; all immediately filled, and, when in full work, the weekly circulation of money, as the price of labour only, rose to five times the amount ever before experienced in this district, every family bringing home forty, sixty, eighty, one hundred, or even one hundred and twenty shillings per week." Many of the silk-mills of Knutsford and Macclesfield were at this period converted into cotton-mills, and scarcely a stream in the northern counties that would turn a mill was without its cotton factory. In 1788 there were one hundred and nineteen cotton-mills in England, nineteen in Scotland, four in Wales, and one in the Isle of Man, making a total of one hundred and forty-three; the estimated cost of their erection being set down at 715,000*l.* Besides these there were five hundred and fifty mule jennies of ninety spindles each, and twenty thousand seven hundred hand jennies of eighty spindles each, for spinning yarn for the shoot or weft, the cost of which, with their associated machinery and the buildings containing them, was reckoned at 285,000*l.* Thus the capital invested in machinery for the cotton manufacture was scarcely under 1,000,000*l.* Watt's engines began to animate the factory system with redoubled energy just at the close of our period. This is not the place to trace the development of a force which in a few more years was destined to inaugurate the manufacturing and factory system as it now exists. Speaking of this era of industrial prosperity, Mr. Baines, in his "History of the Cotton Manufacture," remarks: "Nothing like it has been known in any other great branch of industry. Capital and labour rushed to this manufacture like a torrent, attracted by the unequal profit which it yielded. Numerous water-mills were erected and filled with water-frames; and jennies and mules were made and set to work with almost incredible rapidity. The increase of weavers kept pace with the increase of spinners, and all classes of workmen in this trade received extravagantly high wages." The supply of raw cotton continued to respond to the fast increasing demand. In the first ten years of the reign of George III. the quantity imported averaged about four million pounds annually; in the five years ending 1775, the average increased to four millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds; in the next five years, to six million seven hundred and sixty-six thousand; in the next, ending in 1785, to eleven millions three hundred and twenty-nine thousand pounds; in the following year the total was nineteen millions four hundred and seventy-five thousand; and in 1789, the concluding year of the period, it had sprung up to thirty-two millions five hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds.

The other textile manufactures, woollen, linen, and silk, made considerable progress in this period, but the advance under these heads was entirely overshadowed by the enormous growth of the cotton manufacture. Arkwright's inventions for the carding and spinning of cotton were quickly pressed into the service of woollen and worsted manufacture, and produced an entire revolution in the trade in woollen and worsted fabrics. The quantity of woollen cloth produced in the West Riding of Yorkshire increased from forty-nine thousand pieces of broad, and seventy-five thousand pieces of narrow cloth in 1761, to one hundred and two thousand pieces of broad cloth, and ninety-nine thousand pieces of narrow in 1781. In 1789 the corresponding quantities of each sort were one hundred and seventy thousand and one hundred and forty thousand respectively. The data for similar statements respecting other branches of the woollen trade are less reliable than the returns handed down of the products of the Yorkshire looms. The total value of the manufactured articles in all branches of the woollen trade reached 17,000,000*l.* in the latter years of this period, and it is estimated that this important section of national industry furnished employment to a million and a half of the population.

The linen manufacture made steady progress during the first ten years of George III.'s reign. In 1760 Scotland produced for sale nearly twelve millions of yards, valued at 523,000*l.*, and about half as much besides was absorbed in private use without passing into the market. The quantity of linen cloth exported from Ireland in 1760 was thirteen millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand four hundred and fifty-six yards, and in 1770 it reached twenty millions five hundred and sixty thousand seven hundred and fifty-four yards. In several following years the linen trade suffered a severe depression. The value of linens exported from Dublin in 1771 was 1,691,000*l.* Two years later the total had fallen to 900,000*l.* A third part of the looms remained idle for some time in all the seats of this industry, and a considerable number of distressed operatives from the north of Ireland emigrated to America. This comparative stagnation lasted several years, after which a steady rate of progress again set in. In the latter years of the period Scotch linens stamped for sale numbered close on twenty millions of yards, valued at over 900,000*l.*, while the Irish linens exported reached the value of 1,500,000*l.* a year. Much attention was bestowed in England, in the earlier years of the period, on the production of fine linen fabrics. Cambrics equal in quality to the best French samples, heretofore unrivalled, were produced at Winchelsea, and three hundred pieces of the material were sold in January, 1765, at 13*s*. 6*d*. per yard. Lawns and cambrics found also a congenial nursery in Paisley, Glasgow, and neighbouring localities.

The silk trade made little progress through this period. The following passage, from Macpherson's "Annals of Commerce," exhibits the conflict between silk and the formidable rivals brought into competition with it by the improved processes already noted in the section on cotton goods. "The rapid increase in the number of spinning engines, which took place in consequence of the expiration of Arkwright's patent, forms a new era, not only in manufactures and commerce, but also in the dress of both sexes. The common use of silk, if it were only to be worn while it retains its lustre, is proper only for ladies of ample fortune; and yet women of almost all ranks affected to wear it, and many in the lower classes of the middle ranks of society distressed their husbands, parents, or brothers, to procure that expensive finery. Neither was a handsome cotton gown attainable by women in humble circumstances; and thence the cottons were mixed with linen-yarn to reduce their price. But now cotton-yarn is cheaper than linen-yarn; cotton goods are very much used in place of cambrics, lawns, and other expensive fabrics of flax, and they have almost totally superseded the silks. Women of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, are clothed in British manufactures of cotton, from the muslin cap on the crown of the head to the cotton stocking under the sole of the foot. The ingenuity of the calico printers has kept pace with the ingenuity of the weavers and others concerned in the preceding stages of the manufacture, and produced patterns of printed goods, which for elegance of drawing exceed everything that ever was imported; and for durability of colour generally stand the washing so well, as to appear fresh and new every time they are washed, and give an air of neatness and cleanliness to the wearer beyond the elegance of silk in its first transitory lustre. But even the most elegant prints are excelled by the superior beauty and virgin purity of the muslins, the growth and the manufacture of the British dominions. * * * Cotton stockings have also become very general for summer wear, and have gained ground very much upon silk stockings, which are too thin for our climate, and too expensive for common wear for people of middling circumstances."

English earthenware formed a rude and inconsiderable manufacture up to the commencement of the period under review. Before its close the products of the Staffordshire potteries attained the rank of an important branch of national industry and commerce, and achieved the further distinction of taking a position among the elegant arts. The credit of this immense development belongs to another of nature's noblemen, the illustrious Josiah Wedgwood. This remarkable man sprang from the ranks of humble industry. Like Arkwright, he was the child of a very poor artisan. His father and other members of his family were potters. At the age of eleven he began work, to use his own words, "at the lowest round of the ladder." Passing through all the stages of this humble employment, he began business on his own account in 1759, at Burslem. No porcelain heretofore produced in England was hard enough to resist a scratch with a hard point. Wedgwood now directed his attention to the chemistry of his art, making innumerable experiments on fluxes, glazes, and mixtures of the various clays. A succession of important discoveries rewarded his incessant efforts. In 1763 he brought out a new kind of cream-coloured ware, which at once gained high favour with all classes, and supplanted the imported porcelain of Holland and France. It found its way all over the Continent, where the excellence of its manipulation, its fine glaze, its solidity, its impenetrability to acids, the beauty of its appearance, and the cheapness of its price, ensured it a ready acceptance, despite the heavy duties imposed on its importation. Wedgwood now turned his attention to the higher elegances of his art, and soon rivalled the choicest porcelains of the time of Pliny. Cameos, medallions, vases, statuettes, came out in quick succession among the products of his persevering ingenuity; and he snatched from the oblivion of eighteen centuries the lost art of painting on porcelain as practised by the Etruscans. The technical skill of the chemist, the learning of the antiquary, and the genius of the artist were brought into sympathetic alliance with the brilliant conceptions of the inventive potter. He produced exact copies of some of the most marvellous productions of ancient ceramic art, including the celebrated Barberini vase.

When Wedgwood began his course of improvements the pottery district of Staffordshire was sparsely peopled by a rude and very poor population of about ten thousand. Towards the close of this period, viz., in 1785, a statement was made by Wedgwood to a committee of the House of Commons, from which it appears that the number of persons then employed in the processes of pottery manufacture was fifteen thousand or twenty thousand, in addition to whom were many thousands more, gaining a livelihood by various industries dependent upon the staple trade of the district, such as digging and preparing clays and flints, raising coal for fuel, and conveying the manufactured wares and the raw materials to and from their several destinations. The clays of Devon and Dorset, and flints from the valley of the Thames, to the amount of fifty thousand or sixty thousand tons, were annually conveyed to Staffordshire to feed this important branch of industry.

The manufacture of glass made several important advances in this period. Crown glass was first made in England in or near the year 1760, and plate glass, properly so called, in 1773. In the last-named year the Ravenhead Works, near Prescot, were commenced by an incorporated company. The glass sent forth from these works maintained from the outset a successful rivalry in respect to size and brilliancy with the best foreign glass.

Some most important developments of the iron manufacture date from this period. The increased use of machinery in other manufactures occasioned a brisk demand for iron, and the application of pit-coal instead of wood and charcoal to the smelting of iron ore removed the very serious obstacle which had long stood in the way of any large expansion of the home production of iron. It was not until the iron works had swept away the woods within all available distances, that our immense stores of mineral fuel were turned to account for smelting purposes. In order to use coke instead of charcoal in the smelting furnace, alterations in the shape and management of the furnaces were needed, especially in respect to the injection of an abundant supply of air to induce rapid combustion. These obstacles were for the first time effectually surmounted in the Carron Works, which commenced operations on the 1st of January, 1760, and rapidly attained a position of first-rate importance. Dr. John Roebuck projected and established these extensive works, and the names of Smeaton and Watt are associated with the earlier engineering and mechanical devices connected with the founding of this celebrated establishment. In 1777 the exportation of the products of the Carron Works had reached a position of national importance. Under that date, Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," remarks: "Their great guns, which were cast solid, and bored by a drill worked by the whole force of the River Carron, were exported to Russia, Denmark, Spain, &c.; and the quantities were so considerable, that the government was unwilling to let them be carried in ordinary ships, lest they should fall into the hands of American cruisers. At works in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, which imported large quantities of American and Swedish iron ore, anchors up to seventy hundred-weight, chain cables, rolling machinery, cranes, forges, and other massive articles were produced in large quantities." South Wales began its career as a chief seat of iron manufacture a few years before the commencement of this period. The works at Cyfarthfa, near Merthyr, were set on foot in 1755, and in the next thirty years a succession of blast-furnaces came into competition with them. The use of cast-iron for bridge-building dates from this period. The first iron bridge on a large scale was that over the Severn at Coalbrookdale, which was finished in 1779. It consists of a single arch of more than a hundred feet span: though this is small indeed in comparison with bridges of later date, it was long regarded as a marvel of engineering and manufacturing skill. Even towards the end of this period bar iron could only be produced by the use of charcoal. In 1785 the Society of Arts, with the view to encourage the more economic production of malleable iron, offered a premium on the successful application of pit-coal to the making of fine bar-iron. Mr. Cort, an ironmaster of Gloucestershire, earned the reward by the discovery of the process by which pig-iron is converted into malleable iron, by exposing pig-iron in a reverberatory furnace to the action of the flame of pit-coal. This process he quickly improved into what is known as puddling, and soon afterwards he invented the process of drawing, by means of grooved rollers, the incandescent mass of malleable metal produced by puddling into bars of convenient size. His bar-iron proved to be better as well as cheaper than any before produced by the action of charcoal. In working out his inventions he exhausted all his means, and involved himself and his family in want, but his contemporaries and successors in the iron trade reaped a rich harvest from his fruitful conceptions.

The hardware goods of Birmingham claim some notice in this chapter. Anderson's "History of Commerce," under the date 1761, acquaints us that this town had, "through the general increase of our national commerce, gradually grown up to the magnitude of a considerable city, by means of her vast, numerous, and most ingenious manufactures of iron, steel, brass, and hardware, in an almost endless variety; such as enamelled, landscaped, and polished steel snuff-boxes, keys, locks, hinges, buckles, buttons, &c., not only for supplying ourselves and our foreign plantations, but almost all the rest of the world therewith. This very busy place is reckoned to contain at least fifty thousand inhabitants." The Soho Works at Birmingham have a special interest in this period, from the fact that in them were developed those marvellous improvements in the steam-engine which were destined in the early future to exert an enormous influence on the industrial progress and prosperity of the nation. By a rare coincidence, Arkwright's first patent for his wondrous cotton-spinning machine, and Watt's original patent for his steam-engine, were taken out both in the same year, 1769. In that year Watt became connected with the Soho Works, and, in conjunction with Boulton, systematized the business of engine-making, and laid the foundations of a new and boundless source of power and wealth, not alone for England, but for all nations. The new engines began to find customers among the Cornwall mining interest in 1774. The first use to which they were applied was that of pumping water from mines, being the same work that for some sixty years had been performed by the cumbersome atmospheric engine of Newcomen. They were single-acting, that is, made a downward stroke only; and it was not till 1782 that Watt had sufficiently developed his machine to feel that the time had arrived for patenting his double-acting engine, in which the piston was forced upwards as well as downwards by the action of steam, and rectilineal was converted into rotary motion. By these and other improvements the steam engine passed, during the years now under review, from the condition of a cumbrous pumping machine into that of a moving power capable of exerting boundless force, or of performing the most delicate operations in manufacturing purposes. The closing years of this period witnessed the first application of Watt's engine to the machinery of a cotton-mill. The first mill built with express reference to the employment of the new motive power was at Manchester, in 1789.

Agriculture made immense advances in this period. Up to the last year of the previous reign vast tracts of land, stretching from the southern bounds of Yorkshire and Lancashire to the extreme north of Scotland, remained unenclosed and wholly waste, and the other portions were very imperfectly tilled. But the growth of manufactures, the large increase of population, and the badness of the harvests for the ten years succeeding 1765, gave an impulse to the enclosure of waste lands and the extension of arable cultivation. The enclosure bills passed throughout the reign of George II. averaged seven per annum only. In the first half of George III.'s reign they exhibit a seven-fold increase in the yearly average. Arthur Young deserves to rank as the apostle of agricultural progress in this period. In his youth he had acquired and practised the arts of husbandry, and the pursuit which he commenced as a means of livelihood continued to the end of his days to engage his incessant attention. In 1768 he investigated the condition of agriculture in large sections of England, and published the result of his observations in a book which bears the title of "A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties." Encouraged by the success of his book, he soon afterwards undertook fresh labours in the same direction, the fruits of which were given to the public in his "Tour in the Northern Counties," followed by a similar work on the tillage and husbandry of Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1780 appeared his description of the agricultural state of Ireland, the result of another of his tours; and four years later he started a monthly publication, his "Annals of Agriculture." Among the contributors to this useful periodical was no less a personage than his majesty George III., who under the name of Ralph Robinson, of Windsor, sent accounts of farming experiments and processes carried on by himself at Petersham. A considerable time elapsed before Young found out that his sensible correspondent on questions of tillage was no other than the king. Under the patronage of royalty, and with the express encouragement of the king's personal predilection for scientific farming, many landed proprietors set up model farms on their estates, and thus furnished to their respective neighbourhoods examples which proved of the greatest value. Slovenliness and a stubborn preference for old methods are the faults charged upon the farmers of that time; but the agriculture of England, according to Young's narrative, was every day improving. The introduction of turnips as a field crop displaced the wasteful custom of leaving the land to lie fallow in order to restore its fertility. Experiments on the fitness of various manures, and the most suitable rotation of crops for the different kinds of soil, were rife in all directions. Some roots and plants, heretofore known only in gardens, were now cultivated on a large scale in the fields, as the potato, cabbage, parsnip, and turnip. Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent took the lead in good farming. "Great farms," says Arthur Young, "have been the soul of the Norfolk culture: split them into tenures of a hundred pounds a year, and you will find nothing in the whole county but beggars and weeds." Scotland exhibited the extremes of good and bad husbandry. In 1772, when Sir John Sinclair began his vigorous improvements in Caithness, the whole county wore a discouraging aspect of desolation. Hardly any of the farmers owned a cart; burdens were carried on the backs of women, who indeed took by far the larger share of rough and hard work, such as rowing boats, cutting peats, and the various kinds of field labour. Miss Sinclair, in the biography which she wrote of her father many years afterwards, relates that at the period in question, thirty or forty women might be seen in a line, carrying on their backs heavy burdens in wicker creels; and that "it sometimes occurred that if a man lost a horse or an ox, he married a wife as the cheapest plan to make up the difference." The Lothians, on the other hand, were on a level with the best districts of England in regard to husbandry and tillage, while in gardening they took the lead. Towards the close of 1769, Boswell reminded Dr. Johnson that almost all good gardeners in England were Scotchmen. Johnson admitted the fact, but improved the occasion for the display of his customary pleasantry at the expense of all things Scottish. "Gardening," said the doctor, "is much more necessary amongst you than with us, which makes so many of your people learn it. Things which grow wild here must be cultivated with great care in Scotland."

Very considerable improvements in stock-breeding occurred in this period. Bakewell took the lead in this important branch of rural economy, and many persons of rank and wealth zealously followed in the track which he opened up. Sheep and cattle underwent a striking transformation, the old large-boned, coarse-fleshed breeds giving place to animals with less bone, better meat, and more of it. The breeds that yielded these satisfactory results had the further merit of being more moderate consumers of food, and better shaped than their lean and ungainly predecessors.

The means of internal communication were very defective in the first half of this period, but made large advances before its close. Arthur Young's tours abound in passages showing the miserable state of the highways. He tells of ruts of incredible depth, floating with mud; of turnpike roads "infamously stony," and narrow as a cross-country lane; that the only mending some of the principal roads received was "the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting the carriage in the most intolerable manner." In the road between Preston and Wigan, which he traversed in the summer of 1770, he found so many obstacles to easy transit that he seriously cautions all travellers to avoid that "terrible country" and that "infernal road." He "actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory." Even within fifty miles of the metropolis he found some of the highways quite as bad as this piece of Lancashire turnpike. "Of all the cursed roads that ever disgraced this kingdom, in the very ages of barbarism," says our tourist, in one of his customary explosions of indignation, "none ever equalled that from Billericay to Tilbury. It is for near twelve miles so narrow that a mouse cannot pass by any carriage. I saw a fellow creep under his waggon to assist me to lift, if possible, my chaise over a hedge." Having by this expedient got over one obstacle to progress, he soon encountered a lot of chalk-waggons stuck so fast in the ruts, that twenty or thirty horses were needed to draw them out, one by one. He adds that the proposal for a better road in that part of Essex was opposed by the detestable stupidity of the bruins of that country, whose horses were worried to death on the vile roads. He characterizes the turnpike roads near Chepstow, "as they have the assurance to call them, and the hardiness to make one pay for, mere rocky lanes, full of huge stones as big as one's horse, and abominable holes." Here and there he does justice to the merits of samples of highway such as are too rare after the lapse of a whole century. The road from Salisbury to Romsey and Winchester moved Young to raptures of admiration, on account of its ample width, its hard, smooth, sloped surface, and its entire freedom from loose stones in its whole length of nineteen miles. Wooden tramways from the coal-pits to the waterside attracted Young's attention in the vicinity of Newcastle. He praises them as "great works, carried over all sorts of inequalities of ground, as far as the distance of nine or ten miles." Similar roads existed at the Coalbrookdale iron works, where the use of cast-iron plates to cover the timber wheel-tracks was adopted in 1767. Nine years later flanged wheels, and cast-iron rails for them to run on, were brought into use in a colliery near Sheffield. These germs of a future system of highways remained without any further growth during the rest of this period and for many a year beyond it. The hope of that time, with respect to the transit of heavy goods from place to place within the kingdom, was centered in navigable canals. Brindley, whose name is associated with several of the earliest and most famous canal enterprises, furnishes another instance of illustrious men who have sprung from the humblest industrial ranks. He worked on a farm until his seventeenth year, when he was apprenticed to a millwright. Though destitute of the humblest forms of learning, his innate genius for mechanics, and his unfailing fertility of resource, bore him onward step by step, until his reputation as a mechanician and engineer pointed him out as the best qualified man of his time to reduce to practice the current aim for the promotion of inland navigation. The duke of Bridgewater owned an estate at Worsley, near Manchester, in which was a rich bed of coal; but the expense of land carriage from the pits to Manchester, or of transit by the River Irwell, which was only navigable when water was abundant, stood in the way of any extensive traffic, and detracted seriously from the value of the estate. The duke decided to have a canal, and engaged Brindley to carry his project into effect. The work was successfully completed in 1762, despite many difficulties which the regular engineers of the day looked upon as insuperable. The first-fruit of this achievement was the reduction of the price of coal in Manchester to one half its former cost. The work included subterraneous navigation by means of tunnels, some of which extend into the midst of the coal-pits, and an aqueduct thirty-nine feet above the surface of the River Irwell. A few years later the same canal was extended to Runcorn, where it joined the Mersey, and the freight of goods between Liverpool and Manchester was in consequence reduced from twelve to six shillings per ton, at the same time that the charge by land carriage was forty shillings. The great success of the duke of Bridgewater's canal as a commercial undertaking awakened a widespread attention to fresh schemes of the kind. In 1766 Brindley's services were engaged by the promoters of the Trent and Mersey canal, called also the Grand Trunk Navigation, in anticipation of the branch canals which were subsequently connected with it. This canal joins Liverpool to Hull, passing through a hill at Harecastle, in Staffordshire, by means of a tunnel two thousand eight hundred and eighty yards long. In quick succession other enterprises of the same sort were carried out, and before the end of the period under notice the Thames, the Severn, the Mersey, and the Humber, with many of the smaller rivers, were all linked into one system of internal navigation, ramifying so extensively through the country, that all the great seaports were connected each with the other and with every considerable town in the interior. Floods and dry seasons no longer interrupted the punctual carriage of merchandise; the superiority of canals over rivers for internal traffic now became a fundamental article of professional faith among engineers, and found expression in the celebrated saying, attributed to Brindley, that "rivers were created to feed navigable canals." In 1779 the Forth and Clyde were linked together by a ship canal, thirty-five miles long, and a similar work a few years later gave access from Gloucester to the sea. The further extension of the system of artificial navigation was checked, and well nigh suspended, by the drain on the national resources caused by the American war. New enterprises of the kind will claim attention in the next period.

British commerce increased considerably in this period, despite the very serious checks it sustained in the wars which cover nearly half the interval. At the termination of the war with France, Austria, and Spain, commonly called the Seven Years' War, at the close of 1762, the number of vessels belonging to all the ports of England and Scotland was seven thousand six hundred and thirty-three, of an aggregate burthen of five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five tons. In the succeeding twelve years of peace a steady progression brought up the total to nine thousand one hundred and eight ships, of six hundred and ninety-seven thousand three hundred and four tons burthen. The increase of the export trade carried on in our own shipping during the same term of years was very little under fifty per cent. The official value of the total exports from England and Scotland, in foreign as well as native bottoms, was 14,543,336*l*. in 1762, the last year of the war. In 1771 the corresponding total value was 19,018,881*l*. The augmentation in the value of imports was in pretty nearly the same proportion. The aggregate value of imports into Great Britain in 1762 was 9,579,159*l*., and in 1775, 14,815,855*l*. In the twelve years' peace, from 1763 to 1775, the total value of exports and imports together increased, from 28,147,870*l*. in the earlier year, to 31,766,363*l*. in the latter. The amount of customs dues paid into the exchequer rose from 1,853,691*l*. in 1762, to 2,567,770*l*. in 1774. In the first three years of the war with America the average annual value of British exports was only 14,857,000*l*., and a further diminution of more than 2,500,000*l*. accrued in 1778, when the French sided with our American colonists. In 1781, when the Spaniards and Dutch had joined the confederacy against us, the year's exports fell to 11,342,000*l*. This, however, proved the lowest point of depression to which our foreign commerce fell during the war with our colonists and their powerful auxiliaries. On the return of peace, in 1783, a new tide of prosperity set in. The shipping cleared outwards in 1784 represents a tonnage of one million and fifty thousand, and the value of exports reached 15,734,000*l*. The remaining years of the period are all marked by decided indications of increased activity and energy in commercial enterprise. In 1788 British shipping included eleven thousand two hundred and twenty-two vessels, of an aggregate burthen of one million two hundred and four thousand four hundred and eighty-four tons. In the same year the official value of our exports is stated at 17,472,238*l*., and imports at 18,027,170*l*. These figures exhibit a vigorous development of the foreign trade of the kingdom, small as they appear in contrast with similar returns for our own times. The trade with Ireland is not included in any of these summaries, for at that period, and down to a much later date, the sister kingdom was rated as a foreign nation in respect to its commerce. The American colonies occupy the first place among customers for our exports down to the year 1775, when hostilities broke out. But the estrangement between England and the colonists, consequent on the Stamp Act of 1764, and the older causes of quarrel which preceded the war of independence, seriously deranged the course of trade for some years before the formal cessation of commercial relations between the mother country and the revolted provinces. Societies were started in America for the encouragement of native manufactures, and the irritation against England found vent in the disuse of her products. The productions of American industry were bought with avidity, and it became the fashion among all classes in New York and Boston to appear dressed in the coarse cloths and other rough native fabrics. American merchants stopped payments due to their British correspondents to the extent of several millions, and widespread trouble ensued in all the trading and manufacturing towns that had found occupation in this large branch of our foreign commerce. The manufacturers suffered by the inability of the merchants to fulfil their engagements, and found their made-up goods become a dead stock upon their hands. Multitudes of workpeople were thereupon reduced to idleness and want. These facts, and the threatening aspect of affairs in America, became the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and made so deep an impression on the ministry, that an Act was passed early in the session of 1766, repealing the obnoxious Stamp-duties Act of the previous year. But the colonists, appeased for the time by this concession, were thoroughly committed to the principle of resisting the imposition of taxes by the mother country. The home government, on the other hand, adhered as firmly to the principle that the imperial legislature had the right to raise revenue in any part of the dominions of the crown. The issue of this quarrel has been traced in earlier pages. England has long since learnt from the protracted strife engendered by its fiscal legislation for remote dependencies, that the supremacy of the mother country is not worth maintaining a day longer than the colonists themselves find it to their advantage to prolong the tie. After the war of independence, harmonious commercial arrangements were gradually called into existence by the mutual interests of England and her late dependencies. It belongs to the opening years of the succeeding period to exhibit the large expansion of trade between England and the United States which followed the severance of the old political relations between them.

Improved commercial relations between England and France were established by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation entered into by the two governments in 1786. This treaty professed, in its preamble, to aim at "a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties that had existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages on both sides to the national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trades, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection." Chief among the provisions of this liberal treaty was that of "a reciprocal and perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories," subject to the respective governments. Other stipulations placed English and French subjects on an equal footing as respects the right of coming "with ships and merchandise to all places belonging to either government in Europe, to hire houses, to warehouse their goods, subject to no other duties than were payable by the native born as well as the foreign trader." The subjects of either power were further "without license or passport, by land or by sea, to enter, return from, pass through, or remain in, any places whatsover belonging to the other, therein to purchase whatever they pleased." The subjects of the two crowns were to be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their own religion in their own houses and in their own way." One article of the treaty secured the right of decent sepulture for the subjects of either power dying in the territory of the other. Should either government subsequently grant any additional trading privilege to any other nation, the subjects of the respective crowns were to be admitted to the same advantage. The subjects of either power were further left free to sail with their ships into the ports of countries at war with the other; the cargoes, even if the property of a power hostile to either of the contracting parties, to be free from capture, with the exception of certain specified commodities, coming under the head of contraband of war. The right of search for contraband goods was guarded by several careful stipulations. The tariffs or list of duties on the enumerated articles of merchandise included the following among its leading items. The wines of France to be admitted into English ports on the same terms as those of Portugal; French brandies to pay seven shillings per gallon duty; beer from either country to pay an *ad valorem* duty of thirty per cent.; the same rate of duty to apply reciprocally to hardware, cutlery, turnery, cabinet-ware, and all works of iron, steel, copper, and brass; cotton and woollen goods, millinery, porcelain, glass, and earthenware, to pay twelve per cent.; saddlery, fifteen per cent.; linens, the same rates as were, or might thereafter come into force, in the case of the same goods imported from Flanders or Holland. Under this treaty the trade between England and France expanded and thrived immensely in the few years of peace which permitted its operation. In the last year of this period our imports from France stand at the value of 556,060*l.*; our exports at 1,290,171*l.* Six years earlier the imports were only 87,119*l.*, and the exports 98,166*l.* The other branches of foreign commerce in this period present no peculiarities to warrant special notice here. The trade of the East India Company continued in a flourishing and progressive state, despite the large expenditure entailed upon them in their new character of a great political power, and despite the complications arising out of their mixture of commercial and political transactions. The annual produce of their tea sales in London ranged from 900,000*l.* to 1,200,000*l.*, out of which they paid to government duties averaging 700,000*l.* a year. In the debate on Mr. Fox's India Bill, in November, 1783, it transpired that the company had contributed to the home government in the preceding fifteen years 19,889,673*l.* in customs and excise, in addition to which they had paid into the public exchequer subsidies to the amount of 2,569,000*l.*, for being secured in their privileges and territorial revenue. In 1779 they presented to the nation the opportune gift of three well-equipped ships of war, each of seventy-four guns. Their losses in the war with France and the other allies of America were estimated at 3,856,000*l.*, besides the four cargoes of tea destroyed in Boston Harbour.

The royal navy in 1760 consisted of a total of three hundred and seventy-two vessels of three hundred thousand tons burthen. At the conclusion of the American war the number of vessels in commission was three hundred and ninety-three, manned by one hundred and five thousand men, besides seventeen ships of from sixty to ninety-eight guns each ready to be commissioned.

The first half of the reign of George III. is memorable, in the annals of navigation, for Cook's three voyages of discovery, which largely extended the bounds of maritime science; and for the introduction of Harrison's marine chronometers, which greatly surpassed all preceding inventions for the determination of longitude at sea. These men, like several other of their distinguished contemporaries, whose achievements have been recorded in this chapter, came from the ranks of poverty and humble industry. Cook, the son of a Yorkshire peasant, worked his way from the lowly station of an apprentice boy in a coasting collier to the first rank among navigators and discoverers. Harrison, also a Yorkshireman, was the son of a journeyman carpenter, and for some years followed his father's trade, until his inventive genius lifted him into the sphere in which he won the reward of 20,000*l.*, offered by government for the discovery of a chronometer that should determine the longitude within certain specified limits.

The growth of the post-office revenue in this period affords a good indication of the advance in commercial activity. In 1765 the total was 281,535*l.*; in 1785 it reached 463,753*l.*, and a steady progression appears in the succeeding period. The privilege of franking, under which every member of parliament could free any number of letters from the payment of postage, by adding his signature on the cover, was largely curtailed by an Act passed in 1764, and still further restricted twenty years later.

The coinage between 1760 and 1789 offers no novelty for notice except the quarter-guinea gold piece, issued in 1761, and discontinued after a few years on account of its inconvenient smallness. All the gold in circulation was displaced by a fresh issue of 20,000,000*l.* in guineas and half-guineas, in the years 1773 to 1777.

CHAPTER VI.

History of Manners and Customs from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1789.

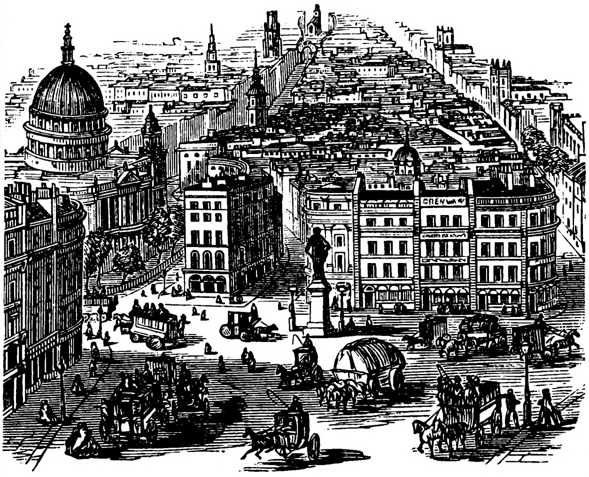
Social Life and General Features of Society.—It might be supposed that the manners and customs of the period when the first two Georges sat upon the throne of England were "one and indivisible" with those of the reigns of William and Anne. And so they were, with this exception, that, as a rule, while their general features were the same, they became more and more strongly marked by folly and depravity. Dark as the picture of society was painted by the essayists from 1689 to 1714, it is painted still darker by the novelists and poets, and that great delineator of manners, the painter Hogarth, from 1714 to 1760. For it is from their pages and his pictures that we derive the best materials for the history of manners during the transition time from Anne to George III.

Pre-eminent among these delineators of manners stands Hogarth the painter. The novelists and poets of the day afford bright glimpses into the state of society as it then existed, but the inimitable painter has put it on his canvas as with a sunbeam. As he walked about London his eye imprinted its varied features on his mind, and his cunning hand has revealed to posterity London life, in all its broad reality, which no pen could so forcibly depict. His portraiture is the more to be depended upon, as, although he possessed a keen sense of humour, it was restrained from wandering into extravagance or caricature by his profound reverence for nature and truth. His graphic representations have with strict justice been termed "books."

The highwayman of Hogarth was no imaginary being. The audacity of highwaymen and footpads at this period is almost past belief. At the foot of the first advertisement of the opening of Bellsize House as a place of entertainment in 1720 was this curious notice: "For the security of the guests there are twelve stout fellows completely armed, to patrol between London and Bellsize, to prevent the insults of highwaymen and footpads which may infest the road." That this precaution was necessary is illustrated by the fact, that eight years later there was a design to waylay and rob the queen in the very streets of London, as she returned, with escort to St. James's, from a supper in the city. As her majesty approached the gang, they were busily employed in robbing Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who was returning from the House of Commons, so that she was enabled to pass without molestation. This impudent attempt had the effect of exciting the vigilance of the authorities. Such a vigorous system of repression was adopted, that Maitland says "the streets were soon cleared of those wicked and detestable rogues, many of whom being apprehended, they were justly condemned and executed for their many and enormous crimes." But this security only lasted for a brief period. There is evidence on record that highwaymen and footpads carried on a flourishing trade during the whole of the eighteenth century.

The state of the streets of London was peculiarly favourable to the commission of crime. They were for the most part narrow, winding, unpaved, and when the weather was wet choked with mud and filth. Even in fair weather, the clouds of dust with which every breeze was laden made the streets almost intolerable. A night journey through them was an adventure. In 1736, London could boast of no more than about a thousand lamps, and they were only lighted from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and were always suffered to go out at midnight, leaving the streets in utter darkness. It was by night that the thieves chiefly plied their trade. The very cripple who had been begging alms all day would then convert his crutch into a truncheon, and knock his victims on the head. If it had not been for the link boys who frequented the public streets, a night walk in the metropolis would have been almost impossible. And even their services were not to be depended upon. Some of them were in league with the thieves, and would put out their links in the most favourable place for robbing those who paid them to be escorted through the streets in safety. Broad daylight too had its varied dangers, from want of competent authority to check the daring lawlessness that prevailed.

About the middle of the reign of George II. some slight improvement took place in the streets of London. It has been mentioned that tradesmen's signboards projected from their houses far into the street, where they swung and creaked with every blast of wind, and, when it rained, collected and discharged the water in one heavy and pitiless stream on the passers by. They were so numerous, that it was at length discovered that they interfered with ventilation, and they were ordered to be placed against the walls of the shops, as at the present day. The signboards of that period were very costly. It is recorded that some of them on Ludgate Hill, with their iron supporters, cost several hundred pounds. Particular departments of trade occupied particular localities. The milliners, as before, were located at the Royal Exchange, the New Exchange which was situated between Durham Yard and York Buildings in the Strand, and Change Alley. Fleet Street was noted for its linendrapers' shops, and Monmouth Street for old clothes retailers. Covent Garden was the mart for fruit, and Thames Street for cheese. The butchers had different localities. They sold mutton at Newgate, beef at Leadenhall, and the more delicate viand of veal at St. James's. Booksellers, whose trade had become of considerable importance, had different localities for their different branches of trade. Old books were sold in Moorfields, Paternoster Row, and Little Britain; those of divinity and classics on the north side of St. Paul's Church; those of law, history, and plays around Temple Bar; and those in the French language in the Strand.



PATERNOSTER ROW.

The book trade having become of note, it follows that authors were an important section of the community. Authors in this period abounded. Time was when a writer, "like a silkworm, spun out his existence into a huge folio, and died." It was not so now. Byron's couplet—

> "'Tis mighty fine to see one's name in print,
> A book's a book although there's nothing in't"—

is not wholly satirical: it has its foundation in fact. In Pope's day there was a rage for authorship. Precarious as was the bounty of the press, men forewent more lucrative occupations to appear before the public in print. A pamphlet or a copy of verses was sufficient to gratify the vanity of many of the writers of this period. But many authors of the day obtained immortal fame. Our present object, however, is to illustrate their general manners. The first step which an author had to take at this period to reach the goal of his ambition was to discover some lordly patron. Hence it is that we find the poet "spouting verses amongst tailors and wig-makers," in the antechamber of the "Rake's Levée." The man of genius was generally found besieging the door of some great man to obtain patronage,

> "While the grim porter watches every door,
> Stern foe to tradesmen, poet, and the poor."

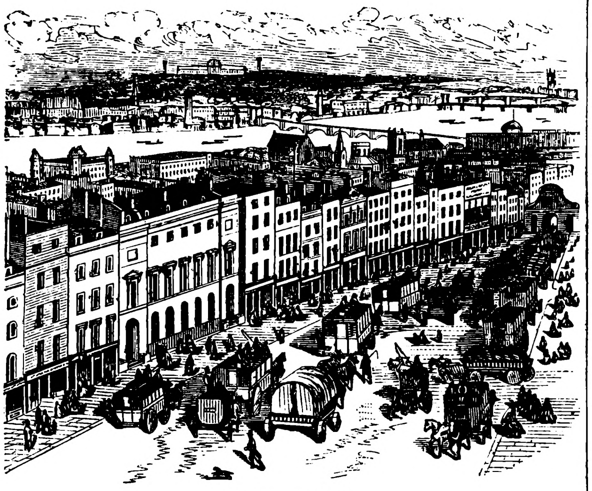
Without patronage success in literature was almost deemed hopeless. But, when obtained, what was that patronage worth? Having passed the great man's portals, probably by feeing the "grim porter" with his last shilling, the author's best reward was an alms for a dedication fee, for which he was called upon to trump his patron's fame as a Mæcenas to the world. Smollett alludes to this degrading practice of men of genius in a Satire published in 1746:—

> "Shall I then follow with the venal tribe,
> And on the threshold the base mongrel bribe?
> Bribe him, to feast my mute imploring eye
> With some proud lord who smiles a gracious lie!
> A lie to captivate my heedless youth,
> Degrade my talents, and debauch my truth;
> While fool'd with hope, revolves my joyless day,
> And friends, and fame, and fortune flee away;
> Till scandal, indigence, and scorn, my lot,
> The dreary gaol entombs me where I rot."

The literary dinner party of a patronising peer is a frequent picture of this period. But it must not be supposed that the patronage of literature depended wholly on the "proud lords" of the day. The more gifted authors found a better market for their productions than carrying them to the antechambers of the great to obtain a dedication fee. It is true they could not command their thousands for their works, like authors of modern times. But it must be remembered that this period was only the commencement of a reading public, on which the liberality of publishers must ever depend. Readers were few, and the kinds of writing in request were limited: chiefly consisting of essays, tales, and poetry. Works of science as yet could scarcely find a market, for the simple reason that they would not have found readers. The lampoons of the day are replete with bitter sarcasm on the want of liberality on the part of the Tonsons, the Lintots, and other publishers of the period; but the familiar intercourse of authors and publishers proves that they were after all the best patrons of literature. That in some instances the sarcasm poured upon them was just there can be no doubt. Thus Newbery only doled out twenty guineas in 1764 for the "Traveller," which Johnson pronounced to be the finest poem that had appeared since the days of Pope, from the publication of which Newbery reaped a golden harvest. The case of Goldsmith will well illustrate the manners of authors at this period. Recklessness and eccentricity were then considered to be the true marks of genius, and authors generally established their claim to genius on this false principle. Goldsmith's "Traveller" was followed by the pathetic ballad of the "Hermit," which was published in the "St. James's Chronicle," and these two works so fully established the author's fame that he felt himself called upon to improve his style of living. He removed from a humble lodging in Wine Court to chambers in the Temple. The "Hermit" was followed by the "Vicar of Wakefield," which improved his circumstances and increased his popularity. He now became the fine gentleman. When his comedy of "The Good-natured Man" was produced on the stage, he appeared there magnificently attired. This comedy brought the author five hundred pounds: four from the theatre, and one from the publisher. But his extravagance kept pace with his profits. He fancied that his five hundred pounds was an inexhaustible sum. He purchased his chambers, consisting of three rooms on the second floor, furnished them with sofas, card-tables, bookcases, curtains, mirrors, and Wilton carpets; and invited all his courtly acquaintances, young and old of both sexes, who by their romps and rioting caused Blackstone, who was writing his "Commentaries" in the rooms beneath, to complain of the racket made overhead by his revelling neighbour. Poor Goldsmith went on writing and spending the fruits of his labours in expensive entertainments, till at length he was obliged to sell his chambers and retire to a poor lodging in the country, where he died—in debt. But it was not every author who could live in chambers in the Temple. The usual habitation of authors was some poor garret, chiefly in Drury Lane and Grub Street. These, however, were writers of the lowest grade; especially those who took up their abode in the "holy ground" of Grub Street. The Mint, also, was frequently their sanctuary from duns, and Pope calls the Fleet a "haunt of the Muses."

The Fleet was not only the "haunt of the Muses:" it was an institution for clandestine marriages. Until the Act of 1753 was passed, which made the publication of banns indispensable, a marriage celebrated between two persons, whether infants or of full age, in a church or in a private room, by any person in orders—whether Protestant or Roman Catholic—if the principals assented to the ceremony, was held to be valid. The consequence was that a flourishing traffic in marriages was carried on in London and in other great towns by the most abandoned of the clergy. Youths were decoyed into brothels and married to prostitutes, and young girls who had fortunes became the prey of gamblers, swindlers, and "led captains," who haunted the public rooms and gardens, when not engaged in their usual occupation of highwaymen. The Fleet and its vicinity were celebrated for these clandestine marriages, although there was no want of persons who were ready to marry couples at a moment's notice at the court end of the town. It was a profitable affair. A fellow named Keith is said to have derived a revenue equal to that of a bishop from his practice in May Fair. The Fleet, however, was the great temple of Hymen for the middle and lower classes.

Massey attributes these clandestine unions to the unnatural restraints put upon regular marriages. He thus describes these restraints: "The tastes and feelings of the principals were seldom consulted in matrimonial engagements, which were usually concluded by parents on behalf of their children. These contracts were, like ordinary contracts, based entirely on calculations of worldly advantages to the parties concerned. Estates were consolidated, fields were laid together, encumbrances were paid off by means of marriage settlements. It was upon women that this matrimonial commerce proved most oppressive. The heir-in-tail cared little for the commands of a father who was only tenant for life, and he consequently followed his own inclinations. But a girl, even though she may have an independent provision, cannot so easily resist parental authority; and throughout the last—the eighteenth—century, as a general rule, the power of a father in the disposal of a daughter was absolute; and it was commonly exercised by the fondest as well as the most selfish or indifferent head of a family. These unnatural restraints upon regular marriages, combined with the facilities afforded to clandestine unions before the Act of 1753, were undoubtedly to be reckoned among the most active incentives to the immorality of the age; and when to these are added license of manners, voluptuous and exciting amusements, together with the opportunities they afforded, it is easy to believe how low the standard of morality had fallen."



FLEET STREET.

The low standard of morality at this period may be attributed to another cause. In our days the clergy are the great civilizers, but during more than half the eighteenth century there was no perceptible struggle against great social evils on the part of those who took upon themselves to "minister in holy things." The essayists by their wit and humour made some attempts to correct them; but vice is not to be laughed out of countenance. Every attempt at social reform was left to the legislature; but the legislature was indifferent to the task; and even if the attempt had been made, it is morally certain it would have failed, while those whose duty it was to stand in the breach stood idly by, or, what was still worse, by their lives and characters brought religion into contempt. As a body the clergy were as corrupt in their manners as the laity. In point of education the lower orders of the clergy were little superior to their flocks, and in social position they were below the yeoman and the tradesman. Very frequently a rector or a vicar was a pluralist, and hence an absentee. Even if he lived upon his glebe, he differed only from the squire in that he discharged the formal duty of his sacred calling. He drank as deeply, and joined in the field sports with as keen a relish, as any gentleman in his locality. His presence was no restraint on the conversation or indulgence of the festive board. As for the services of the Sabbath, they were hurried over, and parochial visiting, the most important duty of a clergyman, was wholly neglected. When called upon to perform the solemn offices of matrimony or a burial, the jovial rector would often have his surplice thrown carelessly over his hunting-coat, that as soon as they were over he might mount his horse and join the hunt. Even the more refined and educated class of clergymen, whose lives and characters were not wholly disgraceful to their order, was not more useful to the community than the half-educated curate who laboured for his daily bread, or the jovial parson who joined in the sports of the field. If a parson had the manners of a gentleman, he had the tastes and habits of polite society. If he did not pass his time in field sports and convivial parties, he passed it away as uselessly. The poet Cowper has presented us with a picture of the more refined parson in these lines:—

> "But loose in morals, and in manners vain,
> In conversation frivolous, in dress
> Extreme, at once rapacious and profuse,
> Frequent in park with lady at his side
> Ambling and prattling scandal as he goes,
> But rare at home, and never at his books,
> Or with his pen, save when he scrawls a card;
> Constant at routs, familiar with a round
> Of ladyships, a stranger to the poor,
> Ambitious of preferment for its gold,
> And well prepared by ignorance and sloth,
> By infidelity and love o' the world
> To make God's work a sinecure; a slave
> To his own pleasures and his patron's pride."

While authors were seeking the patronage of noble lords, and the different orders of the clergy were climbing the ladder of ambition by unworthy means, there was another class of aspirants of a motley character, ever seeking to build up their fortunes by courting the favours of the principal ministers of state. It was the custom of ministers at that period to hold daily levees, which were attended by persons who had business to transact, but chiefly by those who wanted favours. Thither flocked bishops, and reverend aspirants of every class; members of both Houses, who had some political object to further; men about town, who wanted a place or a borough; mayors and corporations, who had boroughs to sell; political agents, pamphleteers, and coffee-house politicians. The number attending these levees was a test of a minister's popularity. If it was in its zenith, his saloons were thronged; but if his sun was setting, they became more and more deserted. Thus it was with Robert Walpole. For many years his levees were crowded, but after the failure of his excise scheme, and the death of his patroness, Queen

Caroline, the attendance rapidly diminished. The great centre of attraction for place-hunters was the mansion of the duke of Newcastle, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His grace was the patron of the day. For a number of years his saloons became the great mart of patronage. It is said that almost the whole bench of bishops had been filled by him, and that every department of the public service swarmed with his nominees. But the duke shared the fate of his rival, Walpole. After the loss of Minorca, in 1756, there was a loud cry of popular indignation raised against him. The whole city of Westminster was disturbed by the song of a hundred ballad singers, the burden of which was, "To the block with Newcastle and the yardarm with Byng." The prime minister was deserted by his colleagues, left without any support in the House of Commons, and the whole tribe of place-hunters vanished from his levees.

When such were the manners and habits of the upper classes—clergy and laity—it would have been a marvel if the lower orders of society had not exhibited vice in all its naked deformity. There was scarcely any effort made to redeem them from the depths of ignorance into which they were sunk. Down to the end of the reign of George II., the higher ranks deemed education to be their prerogative; a matter with which the middle classes had no concern, and which the lower orders had no business to meddle with. The "tree of knowledge" to them was forbidden fruit. Tradesmen had barely sufficient instruction to qualify them to add up a bill and to keep their ledgers in order; and the labourer and mechanic were utterly unable to check their accounts. The prevailing vice of the common people, as with the higher ranks, was drunkenness. While the rich drank themselves insensible with their four or even six bottles of wine, the common people imbibed their ale, or their porter, or their gin with equal avidity. The consumption of exciseable articles was marvellous. It is said to have almost equalled the consumption of the present day, although there was only one-third of the population, as taken by the last census. A gaol delivery at the Old Bailey was also eminently calculated to demoralize and even brutalize the spectators; far more so than an execution at the present day. Convicts were drawn through the streets to Tyburn; but the procession served rather to inflame the imagination of the spectators and stir them up to evil deeds than to deter them from the commission of crime. If the convict had been found guilty of a notorious crime, such as committing murder, or burglary, or taking a purse on the road, his tumbril was more like a triumphal car than of infamy. It was drawn by four horses, and it was decked with garlands and ribbons, while the doomed wretch sat within in full dress, with a nosegay in his hand, as though he were a hero.

The prison life of this period was of the most terrible character. The state of the prisons was fearful. At every assize the nosegay laid on the desk of the judge told that death reigned within the precincts. The justices never entered therein, and the vicar heeded not the reproach of our Saviour: "I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." The state of the Fleet Prison is indicated by the clandestine marriages performed within its precincts. They were only performed by the connivance of the authorities. But there were other abuses still more detestable existing. Cruelty went hand-in-hand with cupidity. Too frequently the cruelties committed in the Fleet converted it into an intermediate station from homes of comfort to the mad-house. For half a century prisoners had petitioned for a redress of grievances, but in vain. Some slight attempts, indeed, had been made to redress the more apparent evils, but they were ineffectual. In 1727, however, there was an inquiry instituted into the state of the Fleet. From the inquiry it was pretty certain that murders had been perpetrated, and Bambridge and others were prosecuted on that count by the crown; but as there was not sufficient legal evidence to convict them they were acquitted.

The manners and customs of country gentlemen and ladies, and of the peasantry, were similar to those described in a previous chapter, during the reigns of William and Anne, and therefore need no further description. Country life at this period must have been of the most dreary and monotonous character; and if the country ladies had made any advances in education and refinement, as probably some of them had, an English manor-house must have been an intolerable home. With few books to amuse themselves; with husbands rude and coarse in manners; and surrounded by scenery for the most part dreary and desolate—swamps and wastes forming the pervading character of the landscape—the refined country lady "wasted her sweetness on the desert air." Her visitors were "few and far between." During a great part of the year the state of the roads was such as to render visiting impracticable. It is not surprising, therefore, that the more opulent of the country families were impatient of such a life, and that the tide of emigration to London was now more rapid than ever. This increased resort to the capital caused some improvements in the internal communications of the country, as Bagshot, Hounslow Heath, and Popham Lane, the great approaches to the capital, were frequent scenes of robbery and violence.

There can be no doubt that towards the close of the reign of George II. some improvement had been made in the mode of travelling. The stage-coach had for some years appeared on the road, but it was not a "machine," as it was called on some roads, for common travellers. They could not afford to go at the then rapid pace of four miles an hour; but were content with a cheaper accommodation. There was a waggon upon the north road, in which a passenger might ride for a shilling a day, and in which he might reach London from York in somewhat less than a fortnight. This was the conveyance in which Smollett's Roderick Random arrived at the great metropolis. The novelist, writing from personal experience, gives a faithful picture of this waggon and its insides. Random and his companion Strap having ascended the waggon by a ladder, find themselves in straw, and in the society of Captain Weasel and his spouse, and an old usurer with his friend, a most vivacious female. After rumbling over the road a few miles only—for the waggon had to encounter many difficulties—they arrived at an inn, and the captain—in reality only a nobleman's valet—demanded of the innkeeper a separate supper and room for himself and lady. But there was no such accommodation for them. There was no separate room to spare, and viands had been prepared for those who travelled by this celebrated waggon, "without respect of persons." The novelists of the age are the chief authorities on the modes of travelling, as of most other matters connected with the prevailing manners and customs of all classes.

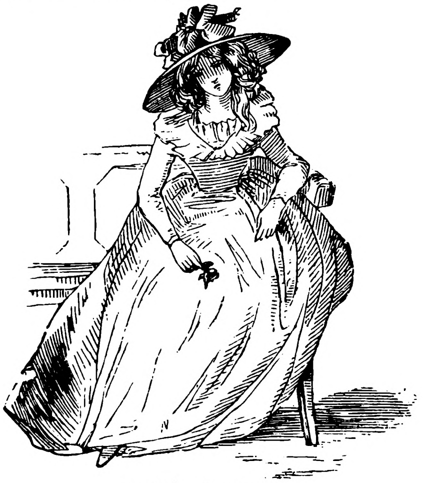
Fielding gives us a glimpse of a wayside inn of this period. The usual mode of travelling was on horseback, changes of horses being ready saddled at post-houses, which were established in all large towns. It was thus that the novelist's Parson Adams travelled. He could outstrip a coach on foot, and therefore disdained to travel by such a slow mode of locomotion. But Parson Adams was not rich. He was a man of some learning, but of little wealth. The squire had given him a curacy of twenty-five pounds a year, and he was accustomed to take a cup of ale in the kitchen with his patron; the lady of the house not thinking his clothes good enough for parlour company. According to Fielding, Parson Adams seems to have considered the kitchen his proper place. "The kitchen was the only room in this inn for entertainment in the house, paved with red bricks, remarkably clean, furnished with three or four windsor chairs, adorned with shining plates of pewter and copper saucepans, mostly scoured, that even dazzled the eyes of the beholder." But however humble the inns of this period were, travellers appreciated the comforts they afforded.

In a previous chapter we described the manners of servants in the reign of William and Anne. Like most other classes, they had now grown from bad to worse. The conduct of the footmen in their "gratis gallery" at the theatre, for instance, had become so intolerably insolent, that on the 5th of March, 1737, they were excluded from the privilege they had so long enjoyed. This reform was opposed by them with violence. Arming themselves with weapons, three hundred of them broke open the doors of Drury Lane Theatre, and took the stage by storm. Some members of the royal family were there, but the footmen paid no respect to persons. The rioters were finally quelled by force, but not before they had wounded many persons. Thirty of the ringleaders were captured and sent to prison; but it was some time before the fraternity could reconcile themselves to the loss of their privilege. They threatened to appear in a body and pull down the house if the gallery was not again opened to them, and the theatre was for some time guarded by fifty soldiers, lest they should carry their threat into execution. Both male and female servants were plagues to their masters and mistresses. Great complaints were made of the arrogance, dishonesty, laziness, and luxury of the former; and of the vanity and upstart airs of the latter. If country damsels were engaged, they soon imbibed the manners of the town-bred menials. They soon learned to "drink tea, take snuff, and carry themselves as high as the best;" while servants of the middle classes were as great pests as those of the higher ranks.

Furniture.—Under this head little can be added to the former description of furniture at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A difference in the shape of some of its articles took place, but they were similar in elegance and durability. In 1745, however, the art of making "Brussels carpets" was introduced at Kidderminster from Tournay, and towards the close of the reign of George II. the floors in all respectable houses were carpeted. Some of these carpets vied with those of Persia in fabric, equalled them in lustre, and excelled them in harmony of colours.

Costume.—The description of the costume of noblemen and gentlemen in the reign of Queen Anne answers in every particular to that in the reign of her successor. George I. was even less inclined to the freaks of fashion than Anne. That monarch was naturally heavy and phlegmatic, and his two German mistresses were neither young, gay, nor handsome, and cared little about dress. One of them—the countess of Platen—was so uninfluenced by fashion as even to dress without stays! These ladies, therefore, were not qualified to make any impression on prevailing modes. After the peace with France there was more intercourse between the two countries, but it was so little that it did not materially affect the fashions. If there was any difference in the tone of the prevailing fashions it was by introducing a more Quaker-like solemnity into the shape of the dresses, both male and female. Wigs still maintained their ground, and in 1720 white hair was largely used in their manufacture. In 1719 black and beaver hats were advertised for ladies, faced with coloured silks, and trimmed with gold or silver lace. When out walking they appeared in scarlet cloaks, with hoods and masks. In "Mist's Journal" the beau of 1727 is described as dressed "in a fine linen shirt, the ruffles and bosom of Mechlin lace, a small wig, with an enormous *queue* or tail; his coat well garnished with lace; black velvet breeches, red heels to his shoes, and gold clocks to his stockings; his hat beneath his arm, and a sword by his side." George II. ascended the throne in 1727, and in that year he reviewed the Guards in a habit of grey cloth, with a purple feather in his hat, and the three princesses went to Richmond in riding habits, with hats and feathers and periwigs. Notwithstanding the example which the countess of Platen had set at the court of the first George, the ladies laced as tightly as ever. Their hoops, too, still remained as ugly and as inconvenient. As before, Spanish broad cloth trimmed with gold lace was still in use for ladies' dresses. Furbelowed scarfs were worn from the duchess to the peasant. In the early part of the reign of George II. the ladies prided themselves upon excessive simplicity. Their pride aped humility. Sometimes they would appear abroad as market girls, and at others as milkmaids. The works of Hogarth afford fine examples of the various wigs of this period, and of costume in general in all its varieties. The frontispieces of books are also authorities on dress. Fairholt thus describes a gentleman which appeared in the frontispiece of "The School of Venus, or the Ladies' Miscellany," of 1739: "The contrast in the male costume is striking. The elderly gentleman wears the large cocked hat, full-bottomed tie-wig, laced cravat, with long ends, and, in fact, the dress of the twenty preceding years."

The hoop, under various forms, was worn throughout this period. The more graceful hoop which was worn in 1744 gave place in the next year to one with increased sides and diminished front. It was so large that caricaturists declared it made the wearer "look like a donkey carrying its panniers." Half a dozen men might be accommodated in the space occupied by a single lady. Her dress was so stretched out at the sides that it was lifted up from the ground, and allowed the passers by to see the small-pointed high-heeled shoe underneath. Ten years later the hoop was so much reduced as to be scarcely discernible in some figures, but in 1757 it re-expanded right and left in all its monstrous fulness. Writers of every description and reputation ridiculed "the enormous abomination of the hoop petticoat."



LADY'S COSTUME.

In 1752 the hood of ladies was succeeded by a covering for the head called a *capuchin*, from its strong resemblance to the hood of a friar. When not used as a head covering it hung down the back.

There was now a considerable change made in male costume, which was equally ridiculous as that of the ladies. That change is amusingly depicted in a tract published in that year, entitled "The Proceedings on a Commission of Common Sense held at a Court of Humour." According to this author the change had taken place from the heel to the head; not suddenly, but progressively; taking one limb at a time. "For instance," he asks, "what gentleman now rolls his stockings? or lets his breeches cover the cap of his knee? Who suffers his coat-skirts to hang low enough to hide his thighs? or who dare appear now with high-topped gloves? Are not, even on the stage, full bottoms discouraged? Nay, a brigadier is as unseemly; the scratch usurps the place of long-bobs, and a tie-wig is banished for a pigeon-winged toupée. But the hats, the hats, gentlemen, suffer most. Is not the Dettingen-cock forgotten? the noble Kevenhuller—the large hat of Germany—discouraged? Are not hats brought down to caps?" According to this author distinctions in dress were so little regarded, that a Whitechapel apprentice wore as small a hat, carried as high a stick—swords being now out of fashion—and wore as short a frock as "the best gentleman at St. James's."

The costume of the ordinary classes during the reign of the first two Georges underwent little or no alteration from that which had been worn in the reigns of their predecessors. It consisted "of a plain coat buttoned up in front, a waistcoat reaching to the knees, both having very capacious pockets with overlapping flaps, plain bob wigs, hats slightly turned up, and high-quartered shoes." Hogarth's picture of "Industry and Idleness" well illustrates the male costume of the tradesmen and lower orders; as does the first plate of "The Harlot's Progress" the dress of a country girl, which the higher ranks, affecting the innocence they did not possess, so universally copied.

In the reign of George II. a uniform for the navy was first selected. A naval uniform had for some time been under consideration, but blue and white, the naval colours, originated with that monarch. In 1748, meeting her grace the duchess of Bedford on horseback, attired in a riding habit of blue faced with white, he immediately ordered those colours to be adopted for his navy. The army had long been dressed in uniform. The buff coat and the cuirass were its essentials down to the close of the reign of William III., but this was succeeded in the reign of Queen Anne by a scarlet and blue national uniform. In that reign, also, the musket, with the socket-bayonet, superseded the pike, the cartouch-box, the bandelier, and the gorget, the last fragment of defensive armour. It was in the reign of Queen Anne that the red and white feather appeared first in the soldier's hat. During the reign of George II. the black cockade was adopted, probably in opposition to the white cockade of the Pretender. The costume of the soldier needs no description. They may be seen in the numerous prints of the battles of this period; and the dress of the grenadiers, with their sugar-loaf cap, which had been adopted from the Prussians in the reign of Queen Anne, is well depicted by Hogarth in his "March to Finchley," painted in 1745.

Sports and Pastimes.—Among the amusements which illustrate the character of this period, watering-places are a prominent feature. Medicinal springs had long been resorted to by invalids in search of health, and others who, jaded by pleasure, sought rest. As the healing waters increased in reputation, it became fashionable to spend the summer in their neighbourhood. Bath was the most fashionable watering-place. Early in the reign of Anne, Bath began to be frequented by people of fashion; but it was in the reigns of her successors that it obtained its height of popularity. It is said that about eight thousand families generally repaired to it in the course of a season. As it was an idle population, it followed as a matter of course that the day and night were chiefly spent in amusements. There were parties, balls, and festivals following each other in quick succession throughout the season. For a time misrule was the order of the day at Bath. Gentlemen appeared at the ball in boots, and ladies in aprons. About the middle of the century, however, there arose a "King of Bath," in the person of Beau Nash. He became the ruler of the people of fashion assembled there, and master of the ceremonies. Nash established and rigorously enforced two laws among his subjects. By one, all politics were banished from Bath, whereby a fruitful source of quarrels among gentlemen was removed; and by the other all scandal was prohibited among the ladies, whereby they were reduced to an equally pacific state. He established a colony at Tunbridge, another watering-place in great repute, whither he often travelled in state, drawn in a post-chariot by six greys, with outriders, footmen, and French horns. He derived a considerable revenue from his subjects at Bath and Tunbridge. At length, however, a check was put upon his sovereignty by the legislature. Basset and hazard and all other games of chance were declared illegal. That statute was evaded, and an amended law was passed which declared all games with one die or more, or with any instrument with figures thereon, to be illicit. By another statute all gaming-houses and gaming-tables were suppressed, and the "King of Bath's" dominion came to an end. But the people of quality still indulged in their gambling propensities in private clubs, now first established.

The Londoners had places of entertainment still nearer home. Vauxhall Gardens existed as we have seen in the reign of Queen Anne. Addison gives a glimpse of what it was then in the "Spectator." It would appear that the chief period of visiting it was in the spring. Writing in the month of May, he says:—"The garden is excellently pleasant at this time of the year. When I considered the fragrance of the walks and the bowers, with the choirs of birds that sung upon the trees, and the loose tribes of people that walked under their shades, I could not but look upon the place as a kind of Mahometan paradise." The gardens were a rural retreat for the Londoners at that time: a place where they drank Burton ale and ate slices of hung beef while they enjoyed the scenes of nature. The gardens had not then risen to the zenith of their reputation. In the reign of George I. they were rendered more attractive by art. One Jonathan Tyers, a friend of Hogarth, opened them in a style of novel magnificence, and in a short time they assumed the character they have ever since maintained. Hogarth decorated them with some admirable sketches simply for a free ticket of admission; Hayman painted the boxes with copies from Hogarth's pictures; and Roubiliac graced the gardens with a magnificent work of art—the statue of Handel. The company who frequented the gardens were of a mixed character.

Vauxhall had a formidable rival in Ranelagh. That place of amusement was opened in 1742, and in two years it had totally outshone Vauxhall. According to Fielding, the magistrate, both these places were set apart for the use of "the great world,' and hence he did not meddle with them. They were not entirely appropriated to the people of fashion, but they were seldom frequented by any below the middle rank. Ranelagh had attractions peculiarly its own: the water, for instance, formed a pretty feature of the gardens, and the rotunda was a building of extraordinary size and magnificence. One of the amusements was to parade round and round this building. But going round and round the rotunda to see and be seen was not the only amusement of Ranelagh. Public breakfasts were held, and concerts and other musical performances were given at these gardens. Dr. Arne was engaged to add choral and musical accompaniments to the glees and catches that were sung at Ranelagh. On ordinary nights the dazzling illumination of the rotunda, the music, the cheap refreshments—half a crown including entrance, tea, coffee, or punch—and the lords with stars and ladies with hoops, were attractions which drew a large company to these famous gardens. Occasionally the amusements were diversified by a masquerade, which, if the "Connoisseur" is to be believed, was sometimes of the most depraved character.

The masquerade was a popular amusement at this period. Its general features have been humorously described by Addison, 1715, in the "Freeholder." A Tory fox-hunter arrives from the country at Charing Cross about daybreak. "To his great surprise he saw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a waterman in the same kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagance of their masters who furnished them with such dresses and accommodation, when on a sudden he beheld a chimney-sweeper conveyed after the same manner with three footmen running before him." Presently he meets in the Strand a great many in rich morning gowns, and was amazed that persons of quality were such early risers in London. These were succeeded by lawyers in bar gowns, which caused him equal wonder, as he knew by his almanac "that Term was ended." But what was his surprise when he sees four heads stretched out of a hackney coach saluting him with a hearty peal of laughter? He was on horseback, and having a long whip, horsehair periwig, jockey belt, and coat without sleeves, they fancied he was riding home from the masquerade. He concluded that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and was indignant that they should presume to laugh at a country gentleman. But he soon found that they were native born. Presently he hears their voices, and one dressed as a shepherdess threaten to break the coachman's bones in masculine tones, and in language which the Tory fox-hunter perfectly understood, as it was common amongst English gentlemen. But in the midst of his perplexity he caught sight of a lovely milkmaid, for whom he was conceiving a particular affection, when to his amazement he was told that most likely she was a duchess.

Play-going was still one of the most fashionable amusements. The theatre and the opera had indeed increased in popularity. In point of splendour theatrical representations had now reached their perfection. Under the able management of Cibber, Quin, and Garrick, the theatre became one of the greatest attractions of the day. Cibber was one of the managers of Drury Lane Theatre, and one of the most celebrated writers of comedy: Quin and Garrick were rival actors. Quin made his first appearance in 1717, and till Garrick appeared he was considered at the head of his profession. Garrick was a pupil of Johnson's at Lichfield, and the master and the scholar set out for the metropolis together to seek fame and fortune. Johnson's success was a work of time: Garrick almost instantly became known to fame. He first appeared on the stage at a little theatre at Ipswich, in which he played all kinds of characters, harlequin included, with great success. The manager of the Ipswich theatre was also the manager of a petty London theatre in Goodman's Fields, where in 1741 Garrick appeared in the character of Richard III. Not many nights elapsed before he became famous. Pope went to see him act Richard III., and was so delighted with his performance that he declared the new actor never had his equal, and would never have a rival. But he *had* a rival in Quin, and in 1746 the rivals performed together at Drury Lane Theatre in the "Fair Penitent." Two years afterwards, however, Quin left the stage, and then it was that the town confirmed the verdict of Churchill in the "Rosciad," of, "Garrick, take the chair." By his wonderful power as an actor he gave Shakespere an extended popularity, and made the public "understand the true and the natural in dramatic art, as opposed to the pomposity and the exaggeration of the actors whom he supplanted."

The common sports of the people both in town and country remained, with few exceptions, of a similar character to those described in the reigns of William and Anne. Some advances, however, appear to have been made in the manly game of cricket. We learn, indeed, from advertisements in the public prints, that matches were often made between equal numbers of gentlemen of two counties, clearly indicating that cricket was becoming what it is in our days, the national game: a game which makes the "Gentleman" and the "Player" equal at "Lord's" or the "Oval," and the young yeoman and the best bowler associate on the village green.

A game of fisticuffs was the special sport of the lower orders. They desired no better amusement. Prize-fighting had now become frequent for their entertainment; and, as at the present day, people of higher rank enjoyed the brutal sport. At first the gladiators mangled each other with broadsword, sword, dagger, and single-stick for the amusement of the crowd. There were men who devoted themselves to this savage calling as a regular trade; subsisting only upon subscription purses or admittance fees. Many of them rambled about the country to exhibit their prowess. At the same time magistrates sanctioned pugilism, under an impression that it would promote manliness of character; and persons of rank and wealth patronized the ring as a medium for betting. Noblemen had their favourite champions, on whose prowess they wagered immense sums. One of the most eminent of these patrons of the ring was the duke of Cumberland, who on one occasion lost several thousands by the defeat of his pet bruiser, Broughton. Prize-fighting, indeed, became so popular, that challenges were commonly published in the daily papers.

Horse-racing, one of the leading national sports of our times, towards the close of the reign of George II. was becoming popular; and, as at the present day, it was made the medium of betting. Fortunes were lost and won by the issue of a race. Newmarket was then the chief race-course, but the sport has taken such fast hold of the public mind that Newmarket divides the honours with Ascot and Epsom, while racing grounds are established throughout the kingdom.

The national character and manners of the people of Scotland during this period were largely moulded upon the spirit of Presbyterianism. At the revolution the Scottish Church was restored to its ancient authority. Church courts were re-established, and their censures and penances were directed not only against open sins, but even against all gaiety and levity of manners. Innocent festive recreations were held to savour of "chambering and wantonness;" and the ancient games and athletic exercises in which the people had of old times displayed their martial temper were now regarded as sinful. Card-playing had the special reprobation of the Scottish Church. All games of chance with cards were denounced as practices proceeding from the Evil One, or from atheism. In order to mould the people effectually to its will, the Scottish Church enforced a rigid observance of the sabbath. It was accounted sinful to stand in companies upon the streets on that day; or to hold idle discourse, or withdraw from the city to take recreation either before or after church in the parks, fields and meadows; or to receive and pay visits; and even to gaze out at windows and behold vanities abroad. No man might enter into taverns, alehouses, milk-houses, gardens, and other places, or bathe in rivers on the sabbath, without subjecting himself to the severest ecclesiastical censure. To enforce this rigid discipline, in most of the large towns there were ecclesiastical officers whose duty it was, during divine service, to search out all delinquents and bring them before the spiritual tribunal, to be dealt with according to the laws of the Presbytery.

To the Scottish Presbyterian clergy at this period, however, this high honour is due: that they practised what they preached, and what the Church inculcated. If they were intolerant, they were sincere in their faith and practice. They were of the race of those who had fled with their flocks to the caves and dens of the mountains, when driven from their churches in the storm of persecution which burst over them in the reign of Charles II. The covenanters had endured all for the sake of their faith, and their posterity still held it dear to themselves. And while the English peasantry were at this time uneducated, and unable to read, it must be remembered that those of Scotland were taught to read; and thus light was given to the gudeman of the cottage—who was the priest as well as the father of the family—to understand the Bible. "The Cotter's Saturday Night," of Burns, beautifully illustrates the character and habits of a Scottish peasant family. Gilbert, in his "Observations on the Highlands," published in 1789, described the pleasing simplicity of country life; the small Erse Bible, which was then the Highlander's usual companion; the mother spinning or knitting, and the children standing round her reading God's book, or repeating the catechism. By way of illustrating his description, he quoted the poem of Burns; "a bard," as he called himself, "from the plough," and gave this touching anecdote of the composition :—"Robert had frequently remarked to me that he thought there was something peculiarly venerable in the phrase 'Let us worship God,' used by a decent sober head of a family introducing family worship. To this sentiment of the author, the world is indebted for 'The Cotter's Saturday Night.' The hint of the plan and title of the poem was taken from Ferguson's 'Farmer's Ingle.'" Gilbert says that when the poet repeated "The Cotter's Saturday Night" to him, he never heard or read anything by which he was more highly electrified; and that the fifth, sixth, and eighteenth stanzas especially thrilled with peculiar ecstacy through his soul :

"Wi' joy unfeign'd, brothers and sisters meet,
An' each for other's welfare kindly spiers;
The social hours, swift-wing'd, unnoticed fleet;
Each tells the unco's [news] that he sees or hears;
The parents, partial, eye their hopeful years.
Anticipation forward points the view.
The mother, wi' her needle an' her shears,
Gars [makes] auld claes look a maist as weel's the new;
The father mixes a' wi' admonition due.

"Their masters' an' their mistresses' command,
The younkers a' are warned to obey;
An' mind their labours wi' an eydent [diligent] hand;
An' ne'er, tho' out o' sight, to jauk or play:
An', oh! be sure to fear the Lord alway,
An' mind your duty, duly, morn an' night,
Lest in temptation's path ye gang astray.
Implore His counsel and assisting might:
They never sought in vain that sought the Lord aright."

"Then"—the cheerful supper done, and family devotions over—

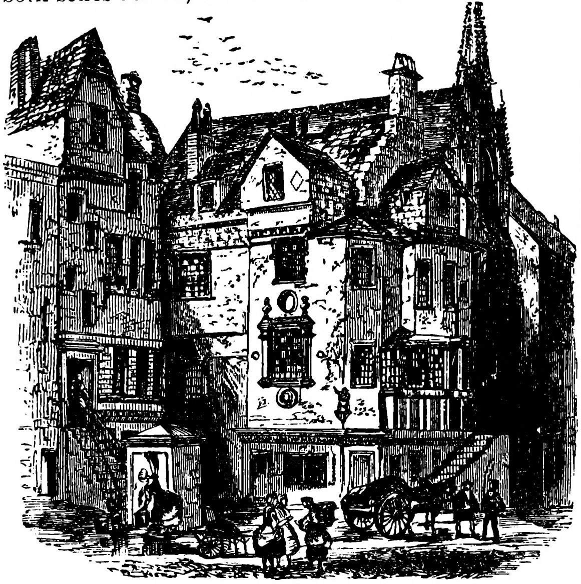
"Then homeward all take off their several way;
The youngling cottagers retire to rest;
The parent-pair their secret homage pay,
And proffer up to heav'n their warm request,
That He, who stills the raven's clam'rous nest,
And decks the lily fair in flow'ry pride,
Would in the way His wisdom sees the best
For them and for their little ones provide;
But chiefly in their hearts with grace divine preside."

The "Cotter," in the "Saturday Night," is no imaginary picture. The poet's brother, Gilbert Burns, bears testimony that it was an exact copy of their father, in his manners, his family devotions, and his exhortations; and as the poet was born in 1759, William Burns, the father, may be taken as the type of the Scottish peasantry in the period of which we are writing—of men who held that the Holy Scriptures contained the absolute rule of faith and conduct.

Happy and enlightened were the Scottish peasantry of this period compared with the rural population of England. But while such simple and pious manners characterized the dwellers in the glens and the mountains of Scotland, the inhabitants of the larger towns, and especially of the capital, exhibit a different picture of society. There the excessive rigour of discipline which the Scottish Church attempted to enforce had, with a large portion of the population, the contrary effect to that which was intended. The severe acts for the strict observance of the sabbath, for instance, which denounced the King's Park, the pier of Leith, and the Castle Hill, as the places chiefly resorted to for the profane sport of walking, did not prevent them from being frequented. Denounce them as the Church might, human nature could not be debarred from enjoying the "profane sport of walking" abroad in these places of public resort. The Castle Hill appears to have been the favourite promenade. Multitudes of respectable people might be seen there taking their pleasure during the intervals between morning and evening service. Ramsay, the poet, was a decent and regular attendant at the old church in St. Giles's, but he openly dissented from the severe manners which the Church sought to impose upon him. In 1725, Ramsay even set up a circulating library, whence he diffused plays and other works of fiction among the people of Edinburgh, and, despite the attempts of the Church and the magistrates —who took the alarm at the effect of such kind of reading on the minds of youth—to put it down, his library flourished. Ramsay subsequently attempted to establish a theatre, but it failed. The good people of Edinburgh had not so far "gone away backward" as to afford him the requisite patronage for his success. Or it may be that their lower tastes were an obstacle to the establishment of such refined amusement in their city. For as a natural consequence of the rigorous discipline of the Scottish Church, a part of the population of Edinburgh threw off all restraint, and became notorious for their turbulence and recklessness of character.

"Tavern dissipation," writes Chambers, "now so rare amongst the respectable classes of the community, formerly prevailed in Edinburgh to an incredible extent, and engrossed the leisure hours of all professional men, scarcely excepting even the most stern and dignified. No rank, no class or profession, indeed, formed an exception to this rule. Nothing was so common in the morning as to meet men of high rank and official dignity reeling home from a close in the High Street, where they had spent the night in drinking. Nor was it unusual to find two or three of his majesty's most honourable lords of council and session mounting the bench in the forenoon in a crapulous state."

The desperadoes of the Scottish capital appear to have outrivalled the most desperate roysters of London in wanton excesses. There was a Hell Fire Club, consisting of a set of wild young fellows who met in various profound places in the city, where they practised orgies of the most infamous character. About the middle of the last century there was also a Sweating Club, whose members resembled the Mohocks of London in their practices. After drinking till they were mad drunk, about midnight they were accustomed to sally forth, and if any one was so unlucky as to fall into their hands, they would jostle, and pinch, and pull him till he was almost sweated to death in the vain attempt to escape from his tormentors. Edinburgh boasted of many other clubs or associations not so vile in character as the Hell Fire and Sweating Clubs. Among these were the Spendthrift Club, consisting of respectable men of the middle class, and which took its name from the extravagance of its members, who spent no less a sum than fourpence-halfpenny a night, to which they added another halfpenny for the maid servant. A still more respectable association was that of the Pious Club, which was composed of the more orderly and decent citizens, who met every night, not excepting Sundays. Early in the eighteenth century the Horn Club was established, chiefly by the exertions of the earl of Selkirk, who was then the most distinguished beau of Scotland. This club consisted of a coterie of gentlemen and ladies, and it took its name from the simple circumstance that a horn spoon was used at a merry meeting when the association was yet in embryo. The "Order of the Horn," it was thought, would be a capital caricature of the more ancient and better sanctioned honorary dignities. But it was commonly believed that the "Horn Order" had a more hidden significance; it being a species of masquerade in which both sexes mixed, and all ranks confounded.



CANONGATE, EDINBURGH.

The taverns of Edinburgh at this period were of a gloomy character. They held out no external attractions to the worshippers of Bacchus. Large, well-lighted rooms, like the gin-palaces of the present day, would not have suited them. Hard drinkers shunned the light of day. The taverns which they frequented were for the most part cavern-like houses, to enter which they had to dive down alleys which were sometimes dark as Erebus. Of such a character was a tavern in Parliament Close, which the wits who frequented it significantly named "the Groping Office." Other taverns might be somewhat more cheerful, but their general character was that of "a coarse and darksome snugness." But, however gloomy they were, half the business of life was carried on in taverns and public-houses. The rich deserted their mansions and entertained their guests in them; and the lawyers met their clients, and merchants their customers there, transacting their business and making bargains over plentiful libations of strong liquor. Even physicians used to receive visits from their patients at the taverns.

After the tavern debaucheries were over the streets of Edinburgh were often the scenes of wild tumult at midnight. Judges and advocates might then be seen reeling homewards, "laughing to scorn the laws which they administered by day, roaring bacchanalian catches, and hailing every ragamuffin they met." The *diurnal* of a Scottish judge at the beginning of the eighteenth century represents that hardly a night passed without some expense being incurred at taverns, where his associates on the bench became his boon companions in the debauch. Conviviality was the characteristic of some of the most able advocates and most esteemed judges of the day. It is related of Hay, a famous counsel, and who became a judge under the name of Lord Newton, that he considered himself the better for business after he had imbibed six bottles of claret. With such examples before them, lawyers' clerks drank as deep as their betters. They were often a terror to the peaceable and sober inhabitants of the city. After a night's debauch they would sally forth from the taverns and drive all before them like a flock of sheep. One of their principal amusements was to wrench off knockers from the doors. "Every drunken fellow," says Chambers, "in reeling home at night, thought it good sport to carry off all the knockers in his way; and as drunken gentlemen were very numerous, many acts of violence were committed, and sometimes a whole stair was found stripped of its knockers in the morning." They were frequently used as missile weapons by midnight brawlers against the town guard, and when day broke, the High Street was sometimes strewed with them. The town guard were the special objects of hatred on the part of the midnight brawlers of Edinburgh. That body, consisting of two or three hundred Highland veterans, armed with formidable Lochaber axes, was originally established by the regent Murray for the preservation of public order. But they appear to have had a very trying duty to perform. The corps was very unpopular. By night, and even in broad day, sometimes, they were considered as a fair mark for every missile. Their bodies were often bruised by stones, and their uniforms soiled with mud thrown at them in the performance of their duty by the unruly populace. But their assailants uniformly got the worst of it. The Highlanders were not men famed for patience, and their Lochaber axes were often wielded with very little ceremony. Sometimes, indeed, the guard-house during the course of a single night was filled with broken-headed captives.

As a class the ladies of high rank in Scotland during the early part of the eighteenth century, like those of England, were not distinguished for learning and accomplishments. An educated lady was an exception to the general rule. Many were so illiterate that they could neither read nor write. And yet the opportunities for education were not wanting. The general state of the manners of the ladies of Edinburgh is found in a custom which prevailed among them of resorting with gentlemen to what were called "oyster suppers." During the winter, when evening set in, they were accustomed to roll in their carriages to one of those little dark cellars in which Edinburgh abounded, called "laigh shops." In these subterraneous dens they regaled themselves with raw oysters and porter, served up in huge dishes upon a coarse table, by the flickering light of tallow candles. But they had a double purpose in resorting to these dens. Their object was not only feasting, but revelry. One of the chief features of the entertainment was the scope given to the conversational powers of the company. Their conversation was as low as the place of festival. Both ladies and gentlemen indulged in language which elsewhere would have been deemed offensive to ears polite without restraint, and without the blush of shame.

Moralizing on this peculiar feature of Scottish society in the capital, Chambers remarks: "It seems difficult to reconcile all these things with the staid and somewhat square-toed character which our country has obtained amongst her neighbours. The fact seems to be that a kind of Laodicean principle is observable in Scotland, and we oscillate between a rigour of manners on the one hand, and a laxity on the other, which alternately acquire an apparent paramountcy. In the early part of the last century, rigour was in the ascendant, but not to the prevention of a respectable minority of the free and easy, who kept alive the flame of conviviality with no small degree of success. In the latter half of the century—a dissolute era all over civilized Europe—the minority became the majority, and the characteristic sobriety of the nation's manners was only traceable in certain portions of society. . . . Intemperance was the rule in such a degree, that the exception could hardly be said to exist. Men appeared little in the drawing-room in those days, and when they did, not unfrequently their company had better been dispensed with. When a gentleman gave an entertainment, it was thought necessary that he should press the bottle as far as it could be made to go. A particularly good fellow would lock his outer door to prevent any guest of dyspeptic tendencies or sober inclination from escaping. Some were so considerate as to provide shake-down beds for a general bivouac in a neighbouring apartment."

The dancing assemblies of Edinburgh were in high repute among the more refined ladies about the middle of the last century. They were very different affairs to the dances which took place at the oyster suppers. All was order and decorum. Those who attended them were very select. To preserve order they were under the direction and dictatorship of some lady of high repute. At this period the Honourable Miss Nicky Murray, one of the daughters of the earl of Mansfield, was the queen of the assembly-room. And never did Beau Nash, king of Bath, keep his subjects in better order than did Miss Murray those who frequented her dancing-court. The dancing-room had a railed space in the centre, within which the dancers were arranged, while the spectators sat round on the outside. There was no communication allowed between the parties sitting opposite each other. The directress sat on a lofty chair or throne at the end, from which she could overlook all the assembly.

The costume of the Scottish ladies in many respects resembled that of the English ladies at this period. Their articles of attire may thus be enumerated: The calash, bongrace, capuchin, negligée, stomacher, stays, hoop-lappet, plaids, fans, breast-knots, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and what was called a pong-pong, which was a jewel fixed to a wire with a long pin at the end, worn in front of the cap, and which oscillated with the wearer's movements. It would appear from a song in the "Charmer" of 1751, that the Scottish ladies received gentlemen at their toilets, and wore patches to denote their political tendencies, like those of whom we read in the "Spectator." It is related of Lady Eglintoun, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies Scotland ever produced, that she never painted; by which it may be presumed that it was a prevailing practice at this period. Lady Eglintoun, who died in 1780, at the age of ninety-one, preserved her complexion to the last, by a more simple process. She washed her face periodically with sow's milk!

At this period Edinburgh was reputed to be the filthiest city in all Europe. And this reproach does not appear to have been unmerited. During the war between England and Scotland, the citizens erected their houses as near as possible to the castle for protection. Instead, therefore, of increasing the limits of the city, they built storey upon storey, so that many of the houses rivalled steeples in height. Some of them were the abodes of thirty or even forty families. In the High Street some houses were fourteen storeys high, and as they faced each other in pretty close proximity, it followed that the streets were ill-ventilated and dirty. And their filthiness was increased by various abominations. One distinguished feature of the houses of Edinburgh was, that they contained a fore stair; that is, a flight of steps which ascended from the pavement to the first floor, and projecting a considerable way into the street. These outside stairs had their denizens as well as the mansions. They were called swine's cruives, from the circumstance that most of them served as shelter for swine. The altitude of the houses was such, that their inhabitants did not take the trouble to descend with their refuse below, and if they had there could not have been, from the close proximity of their dwellings, any convenient places for its deposit. In his "Traditions of Edinburgh," Chambers says that the drum of the town guard announced at ten o'clock a sort of licence for deluging the streets with nuisances, and warning the inhabitants home to their beds, but its sound does not seem to have been regarded. It was early morn when the tipplers generally went home to their beds, and in wending their way homewards they not unfrequently received on their heads sundry abominations from the many-storeyed windows, despite the warning notes from above. In the eighteenth century the houses in Parliament Close were twelve storeys high, which gave the square a majestic appearance: the ancient cathedral, which formed one of its sides, adding greatly to its grandeur. Some of these lofty buildings were inhabited by the more élite of Scottish society; but the court end of the town was the Canongate, at the lower extremity near Holyrood House. The street formed the main avenue from the palace into the city, and was composed of noblemen's houses of great magnificence. The street still presents an antique appearance, although some of the houses are modernised, but its glory has vanished. Its mansions, once the abodes of the noble, the brave, the gallant, and the beautiful, are now turned into workshops, and the once gay Canongate has become a secluded, and in general a meanly-inhabited suburb; the city, no longer needing the protection of the castle on the hill, having "flung her white arms to the sea."

As education was cheap at this period in Scotland, a Scottish gentleman was enabled to send all his sons to the university. The education of youth was rarely neglected. In general it was his fortune. The eldest son only inherited the patrimonial estate, and the younger commonly went abroad to win their way by their good swords. Their success in foreign countries was proverbial. In the thirty years' war in Germany hundreds of the younger sons of noble families of Scotland won fame and honours in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. It was the complaint of Fletcher of Saltoun that the younger sons of ancient Scottish families were generally devoted to the career of a soldier of fortune. But the time came when that cause of complaint no longer existed. War is an ephemeral employment: that of commerce is co-existent with the duration of the world. The youth of Scotland proved that they could turn their attention with as much zeal and success to the arts of peace as those of war. When Scotland at length became smitten with a new commercial ambition, it was the custom of the younger sons of ancient families to learn some mechanical art for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. And all history testifies how, notwithstanding the narrow jealousies of the English manufacturers and merchants, the people of Scotland, by their shrewdness, perseverance, and industry, have by degrees raised themselves to rank high as a nation in the world of commerce.

As regards the diet of the Scots, with certain exceptions it was similar to that of the English. These exceptions were certain dishes which had been national from the most ancient times. A scorched sheep's head boiled was to them a dainty, and oatmeal porridge and cakes were the food of all classes.

The amusements of the people of Scotland were chiefly of an athletic character. Among them were the games of bowling, curling, penny-stane, and golf. This latter game was peculiar to Scotland, although it was once popular in England. It is said that James II. was the best golf-player in England in his day, and that he had but one rival in Scotland, an Edinburgh shoemaker of the name of Paterson. In the highlands of Scotland shinty was a favourite sport. In that game the ball was struck by a stick, and the object of the contending parties was to drive it beyond certain boundaries.

Little was known of the Highland population of Scotland before the rebellion of 1745. Even those who lived near them in the Lowlands only knew them as troublesome neighbours, ever ready to make forays upon their lands, or subject them to the tribute of blackmail. The government of the Highlanders was essentially patriarchal. They were divided into clans or families, and at the head of every clan there was a chief, who was regarded as the descendant and representative of the father of the tribe. This chief was the steward of the soil, and the magistrate, judge, and general of his clan. He administered justice to his people, punished them for evil doing, and led them forth to battle. Next in rank were the tacksmen, who were kinsmen of the chief's, and who held land of him either by lease or mortgage. The only other class in the Highlands were men by whom the land was stocked and cultivated, and who were at once the chieftain's warriors and the tackmen's labourers. The cultivation of the land, however, was subordinate to the art of war. A Highland chief was wont to value himself not upon his rental, but upon the number of broadswords he could muster in the field. The manner in which a chief called his clan into the field is fully shown in the narrative of the rebellion of 1745, when, as it has been seen, the clansmen gathered round their chiefs almost as one man to do battle for the Pretender. The Highlander was at all times completely armed and ready for battle. He even went to church in his armour, his target only excepted, so that his weapons were always ready when he was called upon to wield them. The life of a Highlander was a hard lot. There were no towns in the Highlands, properly so called, but its inhabitants lived in hovels chiefly in the glens, which were built either of sod, or turf, or clay, or stone without lime. Their food was of the most simple kind, and from their ever-increasing population it was sometimes so scanty that they were compelled to live upon the blood of their black cattle boiled with salt. Even their chieftains, proud as they were, led lives which more civilized people had no reason to envy. There was a rude mixture of pomp and simplicity in a chief's mode of living. If he possessed a castle it was simply a rude square tower, but more generally he lived in a plain house erected with stone. But he had his state. He was surrounded by a crowd of officers; and pipers, bards, henchmen, and speechmakers swelled the number of his household. The retinue of some of the chiefs was so large that they kept several tables for their sustenance, and for want of room had their lower apartments covered with straw at night upon which their attendants reposed. Such was the state in which old Lord Lovat, one of the greatest of the Highland chiefs, lived: a sovereign without the domestic comforts of a private gentleman. Yet no eastern monarch was ever prouder of his wide dominions than was Lord Lovat of his miniature mountain kingdom.

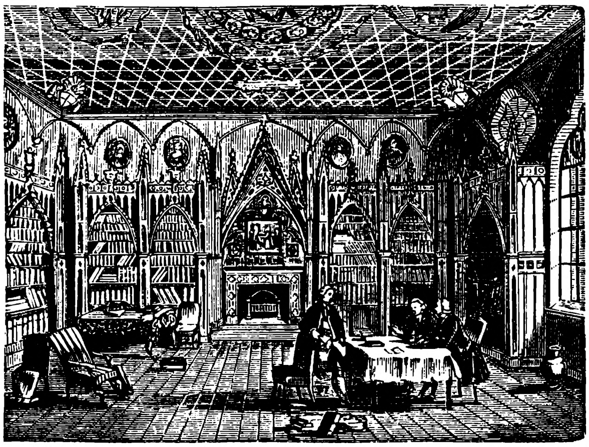
Macaulay draws this graphic but perhaps overwrought picture of Highland life at this period. He writes:—"We may well doubt whether, in 1689, one in twenty of the well-read gentlemen who assembled at Will's Coffee House knew that within the four seas, and at the distance of less than five hundred miles from London, were many miniature courts, in each of which a petty prince attended by guards, by armour-bearers, by musicians, by a hereditary orator and a hereditary poet laureate, kept a rude state, dispensed a rude justice, waged wars and concluded treaties. While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigour no account of them was given by any observer qualified to judge of them fairly. Had such an observer studied the character of the Highlander, he would doubtless have found it closely intermingled the good and the bad qualities of an uncivilised nation. He would have found that the people had no love for their country or for their king; that they had no attachment to any commonwealth larger than the clan, or to any magistrate superior to the chief. He would have found that life was governed by a code of morality and honour widely different from that which is established in peaceful and prosperous societies. He would have learned that a stab in the back, or a shot from behind a fragment of rock, were approved modes of taking satisfaction for insults. He would have heard men relate boastfully how they or their fathers wreaked on hereditary enemies in a neighbouring valley such vengeance as would have made old soldiers of the Thirty Years' War shudder. He would have found that robbery was held to be a calling not merely innocent, but honourable. He would have seen, wherever he turned, that dislike of steady industry, and that disposition to throw on the weaker sex the heaviest part of manual labour which are characteristic of savages. He would have been struck by the spectacle of athletic men basking in the sun, angling for salmon, or taking aim at grouse, while their aged mothers, their pregnant wives, their tender daughters, were reaping the scanty harvest of oats. Nor did the women repine at their hard lot. In their view, it was quite fit that a man, especially if he assumed the aristocratic title of Duinhe Wassel, and adorned his bonnet with the eagle's feather, should take his ease, except when he was fighting, hunting, or marauding. To mention the name of such a man in connection with commerce or with any mechanical art would have been an insult. Agriculture was, indeed, less despised: yet a high-born warrior was much more becomingly employed in plundering the lands of others than in tilling his own. The religion of the greater part of the Highlands was a rude mixture of popery and paganism. The symbol of redemption was associated with heathen sacrifices and incantations. Baptized men poured libations of ale to one demon, and set out drink offerings for another. Seers wrapped themselves up in bulls' hides, and awaited, in that vesture, the inspiration which was to reveal the future."

1760–1789.—The task of depicting by descriptive narrative the social characteristics of a short term of years, like that now to be noticed, increases in difficulty as we draw near our own times, owing to the lack of material on which to found any very striking contrasts between the past and a present which is severed from it by only a few score years. There are, however, several aspects in the social condition of the people in the first half of the reign of George III. which fix on that period a character distinctive enough to mark it off, as by clearly defined lines and boundaries, from an equal term of years commencing with the accession of his grand-daughter, Queen Victoria.

The costs, the risks, and the slowness of travelling in the days of stage-coaches, bad roads, and highwaymen, formed an effectual hindrance to extended intercourse on the part of the great mass of the people, such as belongs to our own times of cheap, easy, and rapid journeyings. Highway robberies, and fatal conflicts between travellers and the daring assailants who waylaid them, find frequent mention in writings of the time. Thus, in 1775, for example, a gang of seven highwaymen attacked the Norwich stage coach on the margin of Epping Forest. The guard made a resolute defence, and shot three of his assailants dead before he was himself killed in the unequal contest. In 1777, the Neapolitan ambassador was robbed in his carriage in Grosvenor Square by four footpads, who made good their retreat. A few years later, as we glean from Horace Walpole's letters, Twickenham, Hounslow, and neighbouring places were so infested with dangerous marauders that gentlemen were afraid to stir out after sunset to visit a neighbour except with an escort of servants armed with blunderbusses. The increase of crime at that date is ascribed to the disbanding of large bodies of troops, some of whom turned marauders as their regular vocation, at the close of the American war.

The royal household presented a high example of domestic purity, and discountenanced all whose loosenes of morals affronted the decorum of their court. The king and queen were regular in their attendance at church; they were frequenters, too, of the theatres and other public places, and especially of musical entertainments; they held frequent levees and drawing rooms, in which all the state and dignity, with more than the usual stiffness of earlier reigns were kept up. In private life they laid aside all the ostentation of a gorgeous court, and were plain almost to niggardliness in their domestic habits and tastes. But with all this there was a strong sense of the dignity appertaining to their rank. They were difficult of access, except to a few favourites. Their isolated and homely, yet most exclusive court, contrasted favourably, in the estimation of the mass of the people, with the licentiousness and costly pomp of foreign courts. Their severe decorum and their domesticity blunted the edge of those democratic theories which came in like a flood over the land in the middle of the reign. Many of the higher nobility, prudently copying the reserved and unostentatious deportment of the sovereign, laid aside, in a great measure, the external badges of rank at the time when searching disquisitions on privilege were rife, and an unusually earnest tone of thought and feeling pervaded society.

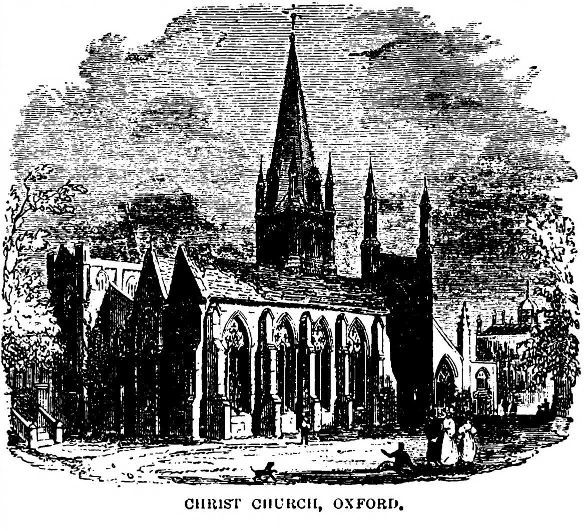
The higher classes exhibited frequent samples of vices that would now disgrace men among their fellows in any rank of life. Gross intemperance was so prevalent that men of rank often got tipsy without fear of damaging their good repute. The principal landed gentry in Scotland spent daily, at the convivial board, all the hours from a four o'clock dinner until ten or eleven at night, when they quitted the dining-room to rejoin the ladies. Genteel society in England was less addicted to hard drinking, certainly, but temperance was not among its prominent virtues, and its pleasure-seekers were not, as in Scotland, debarred from the use of theatres, routs, and other recreations, against which the rigid puritanism of the northern kingdom continued to maintain the sternest repression. Gaming, though rigidly discountenanced by the king, and his father before him, numbered its votaries by thousands, from the highest circles downwards. The 'Annual Register' for 1766 mentions the case of a lady who lost at a single sitting three thousand guineas at the game of loo. Walpole frequently formed one of the duke of Cumberland's and the Princess Amelia's parties for this game. He was quite a moderate gamester in comparison with some of his distinguished contemporaries, yet he mentions having won at a single sitting enough to defray the cost of a year's additions and alterations to his grounds and premises at Strawberry Hill. As much as 5000*l.* was staked by one infatuated gambler, a few years earlier, on a single card in the game of faro. On the testimony of Gibbon (in a letter to Mr. Holroyd, afterwards Lord Sheffield), we learn that Charles Fox lost 11,000*l.* in one continuous sitting of twenty-two hours at hazard. It is stated, on Fox's authority, that the deepest play ever known was between 1772 and the beginning of the American war. The club-houses, more especially Brooke's, Boodle's, and White's, were the favourite haunts for high play. Ancestral estates changed hands in the practice of this seductive vice. Gaming tables were set up in many hundreds of taverns, where the inferior ranks, down to servants and apprentices, on Sundays as freely as on other days, gratified on a humbler scale the same pernicious taste. In 1782 a bill for the suppression of sundry games of chance passed the Commons, but was lost in the Lords in the confusion of public business that followed the death of the premier, Lord Rockingham, towards the close of the session. Sheridan, addicted as he was to gaming and other fashionable vices of the day, could hardly be expected to favour such a bill. In speaking against it, he urged that it would be in vain to prohibit the games specified in the bill "while a more pernicious mode of gaming was countenanced by law—he meant the gaming in the lottery." Then, and for many years longer in England, one of the sources of the national revenue was the state lottery. We have it on the authority of Pitt, in 1788, that the clear annual gains of government from this source alone was not less than 260,000*l.* The practice still survives in several continental governments in unabated vigour



THE LIBRARY, STRAWBERRY HILL.

Throughout the last century, the perfection of a fine gentleman was supposed to be attained by a course of foreign travel. The "grand tour," conducted under the guidance of a tutor, had little or no reference to magnificent scenery, but aimed at the acquisition of taste and judgment in the fine arts, and familiarity with the amusements and usages of the highest society in the countries visited. The Rhine and Switzerland were rarely visited by members of the fashionable world until the celebrity of Voltaire drew pilgrims of exalted rank to Ferney, and Rosseau, by his writings, fixed on Swiss scenery an interest like that imparted by Sir Walter Scott to many a Scottish landscape. Chamouni was scarcely known, and only a few of the lesser Alps had ever been trodden by English feet up to the date of the French Revolution. But English gentlemen in large numbers had made dutiful pilgrimage to Rome, where they sedulously strove to acquire a taste, or, as it was then termed, a "gusto," for the fine arts, and they seldom omitted to take a full share in the gaieties of Paris until the events of the Revolution interposed for a long term of years an effectual hindrance to the time-honoured custom.

Country gentlemen, and even the clergy in this period, fell below the old level of intellectual culture that prevailed in the times of their grandfathers. The seats of learning are to blame for this. Oxford and Cambridge were at a low ebb in discipline, and hard work had long fallen out of fashion there. Gibbon speaks of his tutor at Magdalene College as a gentleman who well remembered that he had a salary to receive, but forgot that he had a duty to perform. The future historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire disposed of his time much at his own discretion, and was never rebuked by the professors or tutors on account of many absences during term, which he devoted to distant excursions and prolonged visits in some neighbouring counties, or in London. Dr. Johnson's experience of Pembroke College shows similar remissness and indifference to duty on the part of the teaching staff. The ease with which degrees were then and long afterwards obtained is simply ludicrous. Lord Chancellor

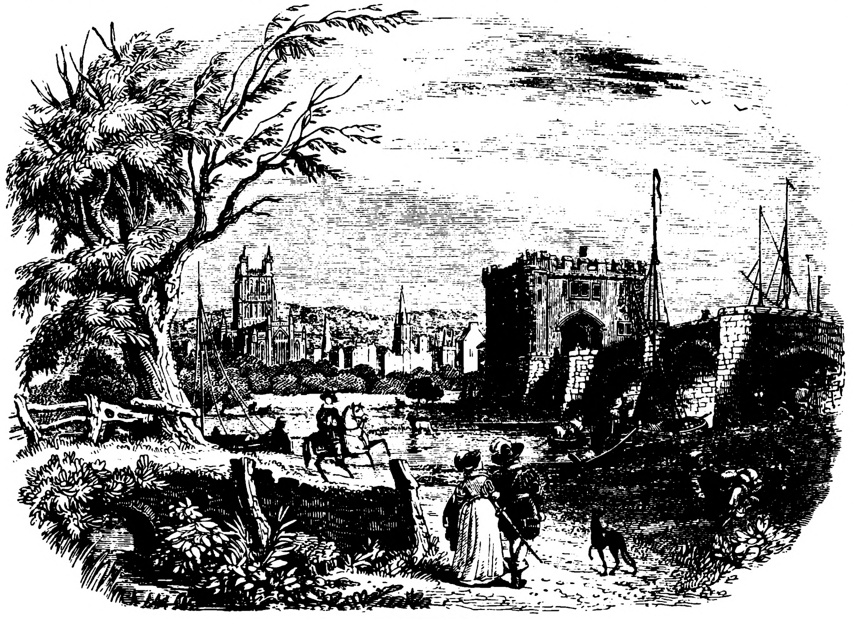


CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

Eldon, who graduated at Oxford in 1770, gives the following account of the make-believe ordeal:—"An examination for a degree at Oxford was in my time a farce. I was examined in Hebrew and in history. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?' I replied, 'Golgotha.' 'Who founded University College?' I stated (though by the way the point is sometimes doubted) that King Alfred founded it. 'Very well, sir,' said the examiner, 'you are competent for your degree." Another writer, Dr. V. Knox, in a book published in 1780, says:—"The masters take a most solemn oath that they will examine properly and impartially. Dreadful as all this appears, there is always more of appearance in it than reality, for the greatest dunce usually gets his testimonium signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius." So purely nominal was the examination that the candidate commonly chose his own examiners from among his circle of college friends, and invited them to a complimentary dinner after the performance was over. The degeneracy of the seats of learning forms the burden of more than one of Cowper's poems, written in this period. Zeal and piety shared the partial eclipse of scholarship at the ancient well-springs of learning. Many of the clergy carried from Oxford and Cambridge a worldliness of spirit and a scant measure of culture that too often brought discredit on their order. Under such guides the ordinances of religion lost much of their accustomed hold on the laity. Men in high station often spent the Sunday, or a part of it, in employments and pastimes utterly at variance with earlier or later notions on fitting occupations for the day. The hours of morning service were frequently employed in political conferences and interviews by men in the first ranks of society; and Sunday was commonly selected for cabinet councils and cabinet dinners by the statesmen who directed the destinies of England in the period under review. The low pitch of moral refinement among the wealthy classes, as well as among the lower orders, is indicated by their sharing in such demoralizing pastimes as prize-fighting and cock-fighting, which were in high favour through the period. The fashionable assemblies usually included among the amusements some boisterous musical performance, which gave its name to the entertainment. Drums, routs, and hurricanes, the grotesque names of some of the aristocratic entertainments in question, convey an idea of the energetic character of the performance, in which fifes, clarionets, and kettledrums played a prominent part. Concerts in private families, especially in Passion-week, find frequent mention in Walpole's writings; he mentions, too, a masquerade at the duchess of Bolton's in 1781. To the suggestion of the duchess of Bedford that he should give a ball at Strawberry Hill, he makes the playful yet ungallant rejoinder, "Not for the universe! What! turn a ball, and dust, and dirt, and a million of candles into my charming new gallery! No ball shall set its foot within my doors." Subscription balls were in great favour with the higher ranks. To meet the growing demand for this form of fashionable gaiety, Almack opened, in 1765, the new rooms which still continue to associate his name with the most exclusive gatherings of the world of fashion. The Pantheon, in Oxford Street, was another favourite resort for subscription masquerades and balls. Gibbon records his impression of one of the masquerades at this place as "above par" in magnificence and "below par" in humour. Vauxhall and Ranelagh continued to attract a concourse of aristocratic guests, who, however, in these resorts had to renounce the exclusiveness that appertained to the Pantheon or Almack's, and to mingle among throngs of the middle class. The theatrical performances that gained most favour with the public have the merit of being free from the coarseness and impurity of much of the popular drama of preceding times. The comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan may be quoted as fair reflections of the growing regard for decorum in stage representations. Foote's plays, however, are exceptions; he is as free-speaking and indecorous as many of his predecessors of a more licentious age. Garrick pruned with no sparing hand many a blemish from such of the older plays as still retained their hold upon the stage. But the habit of swearing, then prevalent among fine gentlemen almost as much as among the uncultured multitude, has left its traces in the favourite comedies of the time. So also the habit of duelling, and the frequent breaches of the marriage vow in polite circles, find their reflex in the current dramatic literature.

Among the middle ranks a better moral tone prevailed than in the aristocratic classes. This higher tone reacted upwards and downwards in the social scale. For the middle classes, now greatly increased in numbers, opulence and the refinement that springs up spontaneously in a rich community, had gained an influence that could not be despised, as in earlier times, by the territorial aristocracy; and that impressed itself, in the form of public opinion, on the classes below, through the natural influence belonging to employers of labour over the workmen who drew wages from them. The wide gap formerly dividing the mass of the people from so-called persons of quality was now occupied, and, as it were, bridged over. The most elevated ranks were now checked and awed by a cultivated and influential public opinion, emanating from the middle strata in the great social pyramid.

Rude manners and coarse amusements still prevailed among the lower classes. Little or no provision was made for their education. No efficient police force had yet been established to control the ruffianism of individuals or to keep in check the turbulence of the rabble. But a powerful agency was now at work among them for good. Wesley and Whitefield, reared in the fold of the Established Church in lukewarm days, withdrew from its pale to undertake a missionary duty among their ignorant and neglected fellow-countrymen. The exertions of these gifted men date from the preceding reign, but extend well onwards in the period under notice, and after they had passed away their labours were taken up by an earnest band of energetic followers. Prisons, workshops, sheds, barns, private houses, the fields, and the open streets were the scenes of the earlier gatherings of eager crowds who came to the preaching of these founders of Methodism. Then, as their followers were organised into regular congregations, spacious meeting-houses sprang up in quick succession in all the great towns for their accommodation. Then came, towards the close of the period, the powerful civilizing agency of Sunday schools. Robert Raikes, a printer at Gloucester, merits the chief praise of successfully starting the good work, the first conceptions of which has, however, been claimed on behalf of several others. Having gained a fortune by his trade, he devoted it to works of benevolence, and especially to providing instruction for the inmates of the county prison, and the factory children and workmen of his native city. His Sunday schools date from 1781, when he drew his first gatherings of noisy lads from the riot of the streets to listen and learn from self-denying lay teachers, often men of little culture themselves, but making up by earnestness and piety their lack of high professional qualification. Raikes thus expresses his views, and tells of some of the early first-fruits of a great coming harvest:—"I argue, if you can loiter about without shoes and a ragged coat, you may as well come to school and learn what may tend to your good in that footing. All that I require are clean hands, clean face, and the hair combed." He adds: "I cannot express the pleasure I often receive in discovering genius and innate good dispositions among this little multitude. It is botanizing in human nature." The good work was quickly taken up by all the religious communions in connection with their several places of worship. The bishop of Chester and other eminent churchmen were among the first to give all help and countenance to the good work, and schools on Raikes' plan were started in quick succession in almost every town. Mrs. Trimmer played a leading part in the new movement. She was in great favour with Queen Charlotte, and the royal sympathy which was consequently freely extended to the scheme gave it an impetus, and made it a sort of fashion with the more sedate frequenters of the court. Mr. Fox, a draper, and Mr. Hunway, a gentleman of property, who was ever foremost in works of benevolence, were the first to take up the work in the metropolis. Adam Smith expressed his admiration of the movement in the following emphatic terms:—"No plan has promised to effect a change of manners with equal ease and simplicity since the days of the apostles." The loutish and unintelligent peasantry had little or no share in these civilizing influences; but the pitmen of the coal districts, the miners of Cornwall and Wales, the factory operatives in all the centres of industry, and the poorer class generally in the towns, were largely and appreciably benefited by them. There were still, however, few readers and few books in the humbler walks of life; some old superstitions, together with the belief in witches, ghosts, and hobgoblins, continued to hold sway among the poorer sort of farmers and country people. The unlettered classes generally, in town and country, were addicted to such diversions as dog, cock, and bull fights, boxing and wrestling matches; and fine gentlemen were not ashamed to patronize these pastimes of the people.



GLOUCESTER.

Swords continued to be worn as the distinguishing mark of gentility of extraction down to the later years of the American war. But they dropped out of fashion before the close of this period, except as part of evening dress, in which they lingered a few years; eventually they were reserved for court dress alone. The disuse of the sword as a constant personal appendage marks an important stage in the history of manners. Fatal encounters on trivial occasions were not uncommon when the disputants had always at hand "the means to do ill deeds," and were moreover under the thraldom of a pernicious theory of honour, which required ill deeds to be done on small provocation. The duel in which the poet Byron's grand-uncle killed his friend and neighbour, Mr. Chaworth, in 1765, grew out of a discussion at dinner, in a tavern in Pall Mall, as to whose estate was best furnished with game. Difference of opinion led to angry words, whereupon the gentlemen hastened into another room, drew their swords, and by the light of a candle engaged forthwith in mortal combat. Twenty years later, when swords were no longer worn by every one who claimed to be of gentle birth or breeding, the change of fashion was lamented by Burke as a sign that the age of chivalry was gone; a striking illustration of the strength of traditional sentiment and prejudice even on minds of the highest order.

Wigs passed out of fashion in the beginning of this period. The "London Chronicle" of February 14, 1763, contains a petition to the king from the master peruke-makers of London and Westminster, praying his majesty to discountenance a change in fashion so hurtful to their craft. Royal example continued for many years to uphold the use of wigs, but false heads of hair lost ground in general estimation. The natural hair was, however, twisted into a pigtail, or, in the case of the exquisites, was worked up into a high peak. In Malcolm's anecdotes on this period, we are told, "The hair was a long time dressed or frizzed high on the head, like a negro's wool, and perfectly whitened with powder, and alternately plaited or turned up and queued behind. The powder-tax occurred, and thousands of heads became in an instant black and brown." The headdress of the ladies towards the time of the American war was also of the form of a lofty peak, formed by building up the hair on a framework until the head, with its hairy tower or pinnacle, came to be nearly one-fourth of the whole stature. This lasted about seven years, after which the hair was brought down from its preposterous elevation, frizzed out in curls on each side, or worn in ringlets over the shoulders. Long-skirted coats, often of scarlet cloth or velvet, with huge loose cuffs and ruffles; knee-breeches and silk stockings; shoes with large buckles; cocked hats, often ornamented with gold lace, continued to be the ordinary attire of gentlemen down to the close of the American war, when fashions of greater simplicity gradually crept in. The plainer attire of both sexes that marks the close of the period, although adopted like other fashions from Paris, seems to have had its origin in America. The French copied, with variations of their own, the rigid simplicity of garb that found favour in the new Republic. A few years later their own Revolution brought in as great changes in costume as in politics. Velvet and scarlet coats and embroidered stomachers fell out of fashion; round hats, sometimes seen in morning dress as early as 1780, became somewhat common in 1789; with them came in vogue plain frock-coats, muslin cravats, Hessian boots, instead of buckled shoes, and pantaloons, instead of knee-breeches. Embroidered stomachers, gowns of richest satins and brocades, with flowing skirts, hanging sleeves, the basket and cushion-like head-gear of the ladies, fell out of fashion with the scarlet and velvet coats of the gentlemen. Sleeves tight to the wrists; the bell or pocket hoop, to give some fulness to the skirt; hats broad in the brim, and ornamented with ribbons or feathers; broad sashes round the waist, tied in large bows behind; the hair in full, flowing, and natural curls, though still powdered; such were the salient points in female fashion at the close of the period.

In military costume no noteworthy change occurred, except the substitution of the Hessian boot for the jacked and gauntleted heavy boot of the days of Cromwell. Three-cornered cocked hats, with black cockades, were the fashion through the service.

END OF VOLUME III.